Role of charisma in creating social networks leading to development: Case of an informal neighborhood in Karachi

Saeeduddin Ahmed*, **Abrar Ahmed****, **Suneela Ahmed***

* Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology
** District Kemari, Karachi Division, Pakistan Administrative Service

Abstract- This paper revolves around the nexus of bureaucracy, informal practices and ideas of development. The paper is situated in Karachi, which is a mega city within Pakistan, housing a population of approximately 16 million people, where 60% of this population dwells in informally developed localities. Within this relationship, the theory of urban charisma and its connection to informal practices which help realize local culture and give a platform to existing social networks to work towards development, is analyzed. Using a case study methodology of an informal area within Karachi, the methods are based on recording personal experiences of the government servant positioned at the grass root level. The paper documents and analysis the methodology adopted and the outcome of his efforts. Furthermore, qualitative interviews of various stakeholders and personal observations and visits to the case study areas have been used to generate data. It was found that some of the services were able to sustain even after the transfer of the government servant, while the other service such as solid waste management could not even take off. The findings also point towards various conclusions that can be drawn through the different procedures adopted on ground and the role of the bureaucrat as a facilitator for community empowerment. The paper also explores ideas of urban charisma, community empowerment and development and the applicability of these theories/ ideas within informality as experienced in the global south.

Index Terms- Bureaucracy, Informality, Leadership, Philanthropy, Urban charisma

I. INTRODUCTION

Karachi, the primate mega city of Pakistan having approximately 16 million population and growing with a rapid rate of almost five percent, houses almost 60% of its population in informally developed settlements. Such settlements usually house low-income groups and lack formal land tenure and are or deprived of formal provision of municipal services, including water and sewage drainage systems. Thus, the resident's resort to alternative solutions to attain these services, and face various problems in doing so. This article explores the efforts of a government servant, appointed temporarily in the local government at the grass root level union committee, to provide basic services using alternative sources. In doing so, the paper

analysis the connection between bureaucracy, informal practices and ideas of development within the theoretical realm of urban charisma (Hansen & Verkaaik, 2009), role of informality (Kant, Nimbrain, & Mahindr, 2013; Raza, 2019), leadership (Purdue, 2001) and role of alternate support systems (Aguirre & Cadiz, 2013; Harrow & Jung, 2016). Bureaucracy and associated leadership are reviewed from the perspective of a government servant, appointed at grass root level. The bureaucrat is identified as a self-proclaimed leader having urban charisma and providing a platform for community empowerment and connections with different sustenance systems in the form of academia and philanthropists. The role of bureaucracy and the ideas of charisma are further connected to overall development of a community. The research paper relies on a case study methodology, and focuses on an informal area within Karachi. The methods are based on recording personal experiences of the government servant positioned at the grass root level, qualitative interviews of relevant stakeholders, various site visits to the sites by the authors, and through documentation and analysis of the existing situation in terms of civic facilities provision within the case study areas. The findings point towards various lessons that can be drawn through the different forms of nexus, the role of the bureaucrat within the larger nexus as an enabler leading towards community empowerment and towards the services which were able to sustain themselves beyond the presence of the government servant within the community and other services which collapsed.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1. Urban charisma, Community empowerment and development

Charisma is understood as an appeal, a trait that leads to inspiration and dedication in others. In an urban setting, cities are often associated with charisma (Hansen & Verkaaik, 2009)and charismatic figures. These people according to Hansen & Verkaaik (2009) emerge "on the basis of their capacity to interpret, manage and master the opacity of the city" (Hansen & Verkaaik, 2009, p. 5). Such individuals often take on leadership roles and help build upon the existing social capital within urban neighborhoods resulting in community empowerment and eventual development of localities. As according to Purdue (2001, p. 2211) "social capital consisting of trust relationships

between a community and its leaders can contribute to the effectiveness of neighborhood regeneration partnerships". These partnerships can further lead to generation of new resources which become vital for development of social capital for the community at large. The ability to organize social capital depends on community leaders, who often take on the role of social entrepreneurs and may become 'transformational leaders' (Purdue, 2001, p. 2211) cultivating urban charisma.

Savitch (2010, p. 43) points out urban 'charisma' as one of the 4C's that makes cities great, with the other three being currency, cosmopolitanism and concentration. Savitch (2010, p. 42) describes charisma as being "based on a magical appeal that generates mass enthusiasm, admiration and reverence". The indicators which are most relevant for urban charisma are leaders that emerge out of the urban settings, their quality as a leader and their associations with place. In most of the cases because these charismatic leaders are locals, and are themselves a part of the community, thus they are familiar with the active and non-predicted patterns of performance and self-organization of communities that can be built upon to ensure empowerment. According to Dovey & King (2011) these unpredictable patterns result in urban charisma, as they do not follow any formalized structure or organization, are out of the norm and are bottom-up approaches to problems or issues faced by certain communities occupying a certain space with which they have an intrinsic connection. These so-called unpredictable patterns take on many forms. Simone & Pieterse (2017) analyze many of these imaginative ways in which people perform in various urban settings to uphold or outspread livings. These innovative practices are many a times witnessed within the informal sector cities of global south and are not documented or acknowledged by the formal sector. The reason behind this non-recognition is usually the fact that these practices do not fit within any pre-defined formal sector paradigms and are mostly out of the box. The case study and the role of one such leader with urban charisma documented and analyzed as part of this paper, is one such out of the box example that led to the emancipation of the community and eventual development of a locality.

2.2. Role of informality and connection to formal processes

Many a times, informality itself becomes the generator of these out of the box attempts towards community empowerment and eventual development of a locality. Development can be defined in various forms too, it could be infrastructure development, social capital development or simply upgraded of local governance capacity (Brown, McGranahan, & Dodman, 2014; Dalby & Mackenzie, 1997; Dovey & King, 2011; Kant, Nimbrain, & Mahindr, 2013). Whichever form development takes, and whether it has origin in informality or formal practices, in order to have wide spread impact, these initiatives do need to connect to formal systems in place. In other words, informality may provide opportunities and may facilitate these out of the box initiatives by people with urban charisma, but long-lasting results are only achieved when these initiatives get linked to formal systems. Here too, the leader with urban charisma plays a vital role, as he/ she becomes the bridge between the formal and informal practices and leads towards

community upgradation and empowerment. These ideas are also propagated by Dovey & King (2011) where they stress on the idea of understanding cities through the role of various actors at grass root levels and their linkages with each other and with the larger whole, where practice, power and often informality may become the corner stones of analysis and research. Similarly, Hansen & Verkaaik (2009) also put forward the need of reading cities through 'performative spaces', spaces which are decoded through repetitive flows of accounts about 'us' and 'them'.

Understanding of grass root level networks and their role in shaping cities must be given as much importance as bureaucratic decisions coming from the top. The basis of this premise is that "a professionally organized local community could provide urban dwellers legible and durable pathways through urban social life" (Wekker, 2017, p. 11). The local community helps residents develop an association with the place and in turn develop a sense of safety, inclusion and attachment, which are elements that are required for the successful functioning of a community. This development of a sense of safety is in itself a pre requisite for urban development along with the cashing on the out of the box tactics to address and muddle through everyday life.

2.3. Role of alternate practices and link with development

Besides people with urban charisma, and connections with formal practices, community empowerment and eventual development may also be achieved via tapping on the role of alternate practice like academia and philanthropy. As development is a process of economic and social change, it does not merely rely on a set of policies and programs but is the outcome of realizing and channeling societal potential and preparing societies to be ready to face challenges (Aguirre & Cadiz, 2013). Thus, academia can play a very active role towards this end by preparing leaders of tomorrow and through providing a platform to connect research, practice and advocacy. The academia can also play a critical role in development by providing the human capital that may respond to the needs of society (Kant, Nimbrain, & Mahindr, 2013). The NED University of Engineering and Technology, through its development studies program, works towards bridging the gap between academia and practice, and uses advocacy for this purpose at times. It reaches out to various low-income communities, through engaging with them to understand various problems they face on a daily level and proposes solution while connecting them to the correct corridors of power. This is one of the aspects that is explored in this research too, via a case study methodology.

The last, but not the least element that played a vital role in the nexus that led to empowerment and eventual development in the case under consideration here was that of philanthropy. The non-availability of governmental funding for any community support suggests potent roles for philanthropy as a funding source, and the possibility of changing relationships between community development and philanthropy (Harrow & Jung, 2016) (Harrow & Jung, 2016). Community foundations are identified as settled and grounded organizations by Harrow & Jung (2016) with the leader giving direction to development and connecting

philanthropic organizations to the community. On the other hand, Harrow & Jung (2016), argue the financial security achieved via this connection often also leads to strengthening of the role and grounding of the leader in the community.

3. METHODOLOGY

This paper reports action research and adopts an inductive research approach to theorize findings of the research involving bureaucracy in the provision of various municipal services in an informal settlement of Machar Colony, located in the south part, abutting the sea port of Karachi.

The action research involved various layers of data gathering and understanding development techniques and actions. The office of the Assistant commissioner (AC) and the Union Committee (UC) office (see section 4.2 for details on government functions and hierarchy) were the hub of decision making, in which the Assistant commissioner (the bureaucrat) of that particular sub-division (Harbor sub-division) took the leadership role.

The staff posted in the UC office was instrumental, as these people were locals belonging to the neighborhood. Since the staff was connected with the grass root level decision making, they had an understanding of the area, its people, political dynamics, sensitivities and the development challenges. The local understanding of the UC staff paved the way forward for the AC to take up development issues of water provision, education and the solid waste management.

The office of the AC was instrumental in getting connection with the city level institutes and philanthropists to obtain the documents required which eventually led to development works. The AC office also created a connection with two prominent academic institutes of the city i.e. Department of Architecture and Planning at NED University of Engineering and Technology (DAPNED) and the Karachi Urban Lab (KUL) at the Institute of Business Administration (IBA) Karachi.

The DAPNED undertook a physical documentation of the whole locality of Machar Colony, its various sectors including housing, water provision, solid waste management, health and education. The DAPNED used ethnographic research methods for the documentation, which included 35 in-depth interviews of the locals, government officials, politicians, doctors, teachers, local businesses, coupled with observation, photographic documentations. The data was then analyzed; by coding the interviews, identifying themes around the major sectors of housing, municipal services and public utilities. While, the KUL team was helpful in developing GIS base maps of various services in the locality e.g., buried infrastructure of sewerage system, water supply system and at-grade infrastructure such as the electricity supply lines and street lights systems. The DAPNED experts also helped develop a self-sustaining solid waste management (SWM) system for the locality, which is discussed later in the article. The actions under the UC and the AC office were documented by the AC, which forms the basis of this article.

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE CONTEXT AND THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT SERVANT

4.1. The Socio-economic context

Machar Colony, also known as "Machera Colony" or "Muhammadi Colony", is situated in District West of Karachi. The settlement covers an area of 1.86 sq. km or 500 acres with about 100 acres encroachment on the mangrove forests. The area has an elevation of around two meters with the railway track of Wazir Mansion border its northeastern side (Naveed, 2018). The total population of the area is approximately 420,000 - as estimated through primary findings, whereas the population as per secondary sources is approximately one million (Naveed, 2018). There are around 35,000 houses in Machar Colony with housing density of 50 houses per acre, and population density of 840 people per acre (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Location of Machar Colony

In Machar Colony, 33 percent of the area consists of mixed land use, 42 percent of the land is used for residential purposes only, and 8 percent of the land is used for amenities (mosques, schools, madrassas, hospital, and playground).

The Machar colony abuts the Karachi port, which caters to 90% of the sea-based business of the country, defines its socio-economics and other aspects. The land of Machar colony officially belongs to Karachi Port Trust (KPT), the organization that is the custodian of Karachi Port and its functions. KPT has not leased out Machar Colony for the residential purposes, thus its official status is "Katchi Abadi" or an informal settlement.

Machar Colony, as other settlements abutting sea, has been part of the coastal belt connected with the historic Makran coastal belt, having small settlements of Baloch and Katchi Memon settlers, which forms a substantial number in the area, these people are working in the fishing industry, and related businesses. Bengalis form another important social group, reminiscent of combined Pakistan before 1971 which had current days Bangladesh as the Eastern Part of the Country. After 1971, the Bangladeshi population, in the locality, increased and consolidated. However, they are not considered as legal citizens and majority of them are deprived of National ID Cards, which deprives them of many rights as equal citizens in the country. Bengalese are also connected with the fishing industry and forms the most low-income group in the locality. Other ethnic groups such as Pashtuns, Punjabi etc. are also found in the locality and are connected with the fishing industry or the port related jobs. Majority of the locals are non-skilled workers and laborers.

Political influence also has ethnic dimensions. Most of the Baloch and Katchi Memons belong to the Pakistan Peoples Party, the leading political party in power, thus making them the most

powerful ethnic group of the locality. The Pashtuns have money and they invest in various businesses including real estate making them one of the powerful groups, adding that some of their leaders have political leadership as well. Bengalis are considered least politically represented, since majority of them cannot take part in the elections.

Each community has strong internal ties and hierarchy, in the form of community elders/leaders representing the community. The community elders/leaders are also instrumental in community level conflicts resolutions and at times of collective actions. The community listens and follows their community elders/leaders. Thus, these community leaders/elders have instrumental role in the development decision making in the locality.

4.2. The Administrative Setup

There exist three-tiered governance system in Pakistan, the federal government, the provincial government and the local government. The local government of any city also comprises of three tiers, i.e., the city level i.e., Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC), the district level i.e., the District Municipal Corporation (DMC) and the union committee (UC) that forms the smallest unit in the hierarchy. Since, the last local government completed its tenure, as an interim set-up the deputy commissioner (DC) office also assumed the charges of the district level local government, while the AC office took the charge of UC offices with their sub-division.

The commissioner forms the head of a division comprising of various districts. The DC is responsible for the district comprising of various sub-divisions. AC looks after the sub-division revenue boundaries. AC forms the third tier in the provincial government district administration, which works according to the revenue boundaries and take care of the related functions.

Various municipal functions of the local bodies are given in Table 1.

LG Body	Functions
KMC	Cleaning of Big Nallahs
DMC	Fixing Roads and Sewerage Networks, Road Carpeting, Provision of Street Lights, Cleaning of smaller Nallahs,
UC	Provision of Street Lights, Provision of manhole covers, Cleaning choke points of sewerage networks

Table 1: Various municipal functions of the local bodies

As mentioned in the methodology section, in the absence of elected local bodies, the DC office has taken the charge of DMC, while the AC has taken the charge of UCs in its sub-division. Often the above-mentioned functions are also sporadically performed by the local bodies. For instance, the KMC has undertaken to clear the bigger Nallahs in the Machar Colony after intervals of a few years and that too haphazardly. The gap between the functions envisioned in the Sindh Local Government Act, 2013 and the actual performance is due to the financial and

personnel constraints that has stymied the capacity of local bodies to perform the full range of their duties.

Apart from the municipal functions, various public sector agencies are responsible for related urban services. Sindh Solid Waste Management Board (SSWMB) is responsible to look after the solid waste management in the locality. Karachi Waste and Sewerage Board (KW&SB) is responsible for the water supply in the city. Similarly, Karachi Electric (K.E) is responsible for electricity and Sui Southern Gas Company (SSGC) is responsible for the gas in the city.

The AC was able to take initiatives, as mentioned earlier, due to his position as the head of the UC and as the AC. The UC office and staff gave him the grass root level understanding and access to staff and people connected to the ground realities and in actual contact with the people, he himself got in direct contact with the people in their localities rather than people coming to him. While the AC office gave him the edge to connect well within the provincial setup, the commercial organizations and the civil society, as the position of AC wields high social power.

5. INTERVENTIONS AND FINDINGS

Historically, the two foundational pillars of governance at the district level have been the office of the DC and that of the AC. Under the colonial state apparatus, their powers and duties ranged from direct control of agencies under their area of jurisdiction to magisterial powers in trying certain offences. Through numerous reforms, and the general thrust of the governance evolution, these powers have been reduced significantly. The magisterial powers were taken away in the Devolution Plan 2002, and the gradual agentcification has transferred many of the functions to the provincial departments, responsible to their own hierarchy, thereby reducing their domain to mostly coordinative functions. However, both the DC and AC offices are still one of the most widely entrenched governance institutions that penetrate deep into the grassroots of society. The deference associated with this office historically and its essential role of coordination necessitates a deep and complex stakeholder management, ranging from government agencies (federal, provincial, local) to civil society, donor agencies, NGOs and the general public. The AC office was able to tap into those networks in order to design and lead beneficial interventions in Machar Colony.

5.1.Water Stations

This intervention was designed around the recommendations of the Water Commission and to mitigate the loophole in the private water economy. In 2016, the Supreme Court of Pakistan had formed Water Commission headed by Justice Mohammad Iqbal Kalhoro of the Sindh High Court to hold an in-depth inquiry into the water and sanitation problems of the province and to make recommendations for improvement. After holding a thorough probe, the commission submitted its report in the apex court and in January 2018 the Supreme Court had appointed Justice Amir Hani Muslim, former judge of the apex court, head of the commission for the implementation of the recommendations of Justice Kalhoro. Justice Muslim completed his tenure in January 2019 and since then the commission remained dormant. As per

KWSB officials, one of the recommendations of the Commission was to provide water through tankers to low-income areas that didn't have water line. It was suggested that the government would install fiber tanks at public points in different areas which would be filled by the KWSB, based on the quota assigned for each district. The residents of the settlement could then fill their jerry-cans from these fiber tanks. The subsequent implementation of this recommendation was half-hearted, at best. In some instances, it made matters worse. Since, the government never installed fiber tanks in these areas, the other alternative sites for free KWSB water tanks on district quota were the private tanks at the houses of relatively well-to-do residents in these settlements. Capitalizing on the shortage of water, these people started selling this water at a premium, which was supposed to reach public for free.

Under this recommendation, Fiber Tanks were installed at various locations in the Machar Colony – and similar informal settlements nearby, including Sikandarabad and Bhutta Village. Availability of funds was an important consideration. Second, an important consideration was available space for the water bouser to reach the water station. In informal settlements, there is often very little space in streets, so we looked for mosques/ areas that had enough space to install these. Third, it was based on the interest shown on part of the locals/ imam masjid.

A total of 10 such fiber tanks were deployed as a pilot. The costs of these fiber tanks were raised through private donations from affluent individuals. Subsequently, the water in these tanks were filled by the Karachi Water and Sewerage Board (KWSB) tankers for free, based on the reserved District Quota, which was previously being sent to private houses, who would then sell the same at a premium. This mechanism necessitated a robust monitoring method that was sustainable and community-driven. These fiber tanks were conveniently set up in areas adjacent to a mosque. Hence, a monitoring committee was formulated that included the Imam of the Masjid as the focal person along with a local elder and the Secretary of Union Committee (UC) as the member. The role of the Imam of the Masjid was to receive the KWSB water tankers early in the morning, open the fiber tanks for general public to access water early in the morning, and to keep track of the total number and quantity of the water supplied. His job also included ensuring that there is a just distribution of water among people and children who would line up to fill their jerry cans with water (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Water Stations setup in Machar Colony

This simple intervention was both popular and successful. It provided access to fresh water to the community and it helped improve health issues previously caused by consumption of contaminated water. It also helped families increase savings by reducing the need to purchase expensive water, which given the size of their earnings had been quite substantial. In this context, the interaction of informal religious leadership at the grassroots level with district bureaucracy proved beneficial. The formal actors, i.e., the AC leveraged both his informal authority over KWSB and network management in the community to create a symbiotic relationship in addressing a fundamental issue of access to water.

The limitation of such intervention, however, is the issue of scalability. KWSB would be reluctant to provide continuous water tanks for the entire population, due to capacity and financial constraints. The long-term sustainable solution is the fresh water supply of water through piped network, which itself partially hinges on the land-regularization issue.

The KW&SB has a long-standing issue with the provincial government regarding the clearance of dues. The cost of the water that KW&SB provides for free at the request of district administration is supposed to be paid by the provincial government, which has been due for quite a while. This was the primary reason why this project could not be scaled up further.

5.2. School Rehabilitation

In another pilot project, the only public higher secondary school within Machar Colony, with attendance of around 1000 children was revamped with support of local communities through their elders. The school building had been in shambles without any electrical appliances and washrooms were non-existent. The AC was able to tap into the network of donors, architects and volunteers to improve the quality of the school experience.

For this purpose, the architectural consultancy was provided by a local architectural firm on a pro bono basis and the local member provincial assembly (MPA), and many facilities, including fans, lights and sanitary supplies were provided in kind by a local association of businessmen on the request of the AC. This substantially improved the overall infrastructure of the school. These facilities were provided along with a greater check on the Head Master by the provincial education department. Cumulatively, this reduced teacher absenteeism, and increased student attendance.

5.3. Improving Learning Outcomes

The above intervention was also coupled with, albeit sporadically due to COVID-19 school closures, with volunteer teachers who would visit the school to teach subjects to students based on their learning levels. The rationale behind the intervention was the understanding that all of the students in Machar Colony came from families with little formal education and cannot provide learning support to their kids. Teachers were also expected to complete the prescribed curriculum and schools did not provide learning support to children who fell behind.

The AC applied his learnings, that he was able to gain in the course of Running Randomized Evaluations and The Challenge of Global Poverty on Edx. This was a model developed by Pratham Education Foundation in India and the intervention was proven to be successful in contexts outside of India. Hence, the AC applied those learnings in this intervention. He also contacted some of his personal friends who were working in the Social Sector to connect with some people who might be interested in volunteering. From there, he got a few interested people who partook in the activity.

Hence, in this intervention, all the students, irrespective of their grade/ class, were reorganized in different groups based on their

performance/ learning level in groups where Mathematics, English and Urdu were taught. All the students with abilities in each of the subjects were grouped together irrespective of their grade/ class/ age. This allowed organizing students based on their learning level. Subsequently, a remedial after school session for each of the groups was arranged by volunteer teachers to improve the foundational skills of students in each of the areas. Even though this intervention was not rigorously implemented, it did have an impact on the learning outcomes of students as per the school administration. The reason for this is that it addressed the issue of learning outcomes at its core and gave the students the attention specifically on areas where they lacked a certain skill.

5.4. Community driven solid waste management model

Solid waste management within Machar Colony had various issues. Faculty of Development Studies at Department of Architecture and Planning at NED University (DAP NEDUET) was contacted by the AC, as per recommendation by Architect and Urban Planner Arif Hasan while the AC was trying to find people to help him out, to understand the issues and suggest way forward. The DAP NEDUET initiated the research work and used ethnographic methods to document and analyze the settlement. Several interviews were done and mapping was conducted leading to development of area profiles. The faculty provided services in kind, while the research assistants were paid.

Despite the presence of SSWMB and various private sector bodies working in the area of waste collection, piles of garbage can be seen in the locality. The sweepers of SSWMB collect the household waste more in the areas near to the main road, as compared to the areas located at the distant places of Machar Colony. Despite door-to-door household waste collection by sweepers of SSWMB and often at times by the private sweepers, the waste does not get dumped in the officially designated dumping sites of Machar Colony.

Furthermore, there is no support by the local government or the KMC sanitation department for collection or disposal of garbage in Machar Colony. In addition, most of the residents do not pay service charges against the collection of the waste because first they cannot afford the charges, and second, they have created informal waste dumping points within their neighborhoods where they themselves dump the waste.

Figure 3: Consultative discussion of Development Studies Faculty of DAP NEDUET with community leaders in Machar Colony

DAP NEDUET developed a model for the community to adopt a self-help but financially sustainable model with seed money poured in by philanthropists of the city. The community was taken onboard via consultative meetings (Figure 3), however, the community leaders refused to take responsibility of the money collection and finance management. The second set-back came as the Afghan refugee waste collectors refused to work in the area even if on salary; the reason being due to the low-income community possibility of getting recyclable waste is minimum which actually forms the income basis for such workers. This was beyond the control and thus led to stalemate in the working of the proposed model.

Despite the fact that the project did not take off, but the locality was successfully documented in detail and an understanding was developed, which can be used in the future. Also, the community was sensitized and was apprised about the possible solutions, which they appreciated, and if they decide to address the issue, they can do so without any external support.

6. ANALYSIS

Based on the literature review and the findings as outlined in the last section, this part of the research paper analysis the data under three heads which are similar to the ones used for the literature review.

6.1 Urban charisma, community empowerment and development

It was the long-term vision and a proactive personality of the AC because of which the various networks in the form of connection with academic, grass root leaders and practices, community representatives and philanthropists were established. These connections proved fruitful at the local level and led to eventual development and an improvement in various forms within Machar Colony. The fact that the AC got connected to the local community, through the UC office and staff, became a trusted member of the society and was aware of the predicted and non-predicted performance patterns and the values of the community came in handy in the case of Machar colony. This is supported by the findings of the literature review (Hansen & Verkaaik, 2009; Purdue, 2001; Wekker, 2017) where people have an understanding of the local processes and charisma are said to stand out as leaders with long term impacts on development.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that through an ad-hoc decision, a trained officer of otherwise high position, got connected to the grass root level and got an opportunity to intervene. He was able to guide the UC staff at the grass root level who otherwise don't get to work under such officers. The community got access to the AC office equally, which had the power to address their issues beyond the UC level. This could be taken into consideration while the local government's set up. Although, experiences from other UC offices and AC are also needed to affirm the finding.

6.2 Role of informality and connection to formal process

In general, informal processes are difficult to decode and understand because they do not follow a set pattern. But in the case study under review here, these informal processes are an asset for the locality because they are what ensures the everyday working of the locality (Brown, McGranahan, & Dodman, 2014;

Dalby & Mackenzie, 1997; Dovey & King, 2011). The role of the AC was to identify, comprehend and connect these informal processes to larger formal procedures in order to attain long lasting development. In the process the community representatives were also involved (like the *Imaam* of the *Masjid*) which ensured a sense of responsibility, ownership and empowerment within the community leaders.

Another important aspect to consider is the role of middlemen in informal practices. Middlemen is usually connected with the both; i.e., the people or the grass root level and to the formal structures; and because of this position, the middlemen is able to know people's needs and demands and is able to bargain with actors in the formal organizations to get those required goods and services for the people, and is able to provided needed goods and services to people. The AC also, in this situation, was able to connect the people and the formal systems as well, and was able to provide the needed services. Learning from informality is not new, it can always pave a way to improve urban governance and provision of goods and services to the poor, which otherwise gets excluded.

6.3 Role of alternate practices
As put forward by Aguirre & Cadiz (2013) and Kant, Nimbrain, & Mahindr (2013) the potentials of local initiatives can be channeled and connected to larger formal policies through the involvement of key actors within the academia and the various philanthropists working within the city. In the case of Machar Colony, the setting up of water stations and the initiation of the community driven solid waste management programs are examples of this nexus. Although waste management program could not take off as it was envisaged by the academics involved, yet there are lessons to be learnt there. Firstly, access to the communities is essential to start the process of change and that is not possible without the support of the formal institutions. Secondly, the involvement of the academia ensured the development of grass root level data in the form of qualitative interviews and maps, which has become a vital source of documentation and information that can be used by consecutive government who might be interested in developing urban design proposals for the locality.

The connection established with the philanthropists working within the society can lead to a long-term change in the relationship between community development and eventual empowerment of the community, as also stated by Harrow & Jung (2016). This, and the other findings also, emphasize for an improvised local government system, that is able to connect the grass root levels with the formal decision making institutions and officers in a better way.

7. CONCLUSION
This paper focused on the role of a leader, a bureaucrat, having urban charisma and the advantage of a strategic position within the urban setting and role he played in creating connection between local formal/ informal initiatives and the larger formal practices. The vantage point of the bureaucrat, being located at the grass root level of an informal settlement, gave him access to understand and initiate local processes, whereas his connections with the academia and other philanthropist in the city gave him the opportunities to link the two together. The bureaucrat, having a long-term vision, cashed onto these opportunities and created the link between various processes taking place at various scales

which eventually led to development. The findings from this research build upon the theory behind the role of leaders with urban charisma in creating this nexus (Hansen & Verkaaik, 2009) and the necessity to realize the potentials of informal practices while creating the link with alternate practice and larger policy (Harrow & Jung, 2016; Kant, Nimbrain, & Mahindr, 2013; Wekker, 2017).

Using a case study methodology, and basing the research in the informal area of Machar Colony in Karachi, the paper is based on the personal experiences of the local leader with urban charisma, qualitative interviews of various stakeholders and personal observations. The research points towards the finding that not all initiatives aimed towards development via the creation of this nexus were successful, but even in this scenario the research data generated in the form of documentation and maps can prove vital as base data for future interventions. The research also points towards the initiation and realization of the possibility of this nexus and the positive results it can yield, if one person is willing to take on that role. Lastly, the findings point towards the need for this leader to have both a larger vision for the area, and be placed in a position where he/ she can understand the grassroot level practices and also the interventions proposed by him/ her are acceptable by the locals as he/ she is not seen as an outsider by other locals. This finding also links to the idea of community empowerment and development (Brown, McGranahan, & Dodman, 2014; Dalby & Mackenzie, 1997; Purdue, 2001) not just for one time intervention, but for interventions which can lead to the eventual development of the locality. Through involvement of the community the ownership of the interventions can be ascertained, as it was found that some of the services were able to sustain even after the transfer of the government servant, while the other service such as solid waste management could not even take off. The main reason behind the failure of this intervention was the lack of ownership by the community and unwillingness to be part of the entire process related to solid waste management. Major finding and recommendation also point towards the role of local formal governance systems and the need to develop these in a manner that an active connection between appropriately trained decision makers, who are powerful enough and charismatic to influence; the people and the administration, civil society and the academia is ensures, for larger sustainable development to take place.

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AUTHORS

First Author – Saeeduddin Ahmed, PhD, Professor, Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology, Karachi, Pakistan,

Second Author - Abrar Ahmed, Assistant Commissioner, District Kemari Karachi Division, Pakistan Administrative Service.

Third Author: Suneela Ahmed, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology, Karachi, Pakistan,

Correspondence Author – Suneela Ahmed, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology, Karachi, Pakistan,