Karachi: The Transport Crisis

By

Arif Hasan with the
Urban Resource Centre, Karachi and Mansoor Raza

(Draft; 08 January 2015)
Acknowledgements

This study was initiated, designed and overall supervised by Arif Hasan. It was financed by the IIED, UK. The interviews of government officials and transporters along with those of community members in the low income settlements were carried out by Zahid Farooq and Rizwan-ul-Haq (Social Organiser and Manager Documentation respectively of the URC, Karachi). These interviews were transcribed from Urdu into English by Dr. Qamar-uz-Zaman Yousefzai (Urdu Faculty member at the Benazir University, Karachi), Saima Shivejee and Ravina Anthony (students of Social Science Department, ZABIST University, Karachi) and by Rizwan-ul-Haq. The interviews of women commuters were carried out and transcribed by Anadil Iftekhar (a school teacher who had interned earlier with the URC). She also located and identified the respondents.

The questionnaire survey was supervised by Mansoor Raza and Humayoon Waqar (a freelance researcher). Those who participated in the survey are URC staff members, Zahid Farooq, Adnan Farooqui, Mukhtar Yousuf, Shakeel Gill, Rao Nasir Ali, Seema Liaquat, Muhammad Jamil and Shazia Perween. Others who assisted in the survey are Rana Sadiq and Shakeel (both community activists). The data feeding of the survey through SPSS was done by Rozina Imtiaz and the analysis was carried out by Engr. Mansoor Raza who also helped Arif Hasan in putting the document together. URC Director, Younus Baloch, monitored the URC part of the work.
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### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRT</td>
<td>Bus Rapid Transit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOT</td>
<td>Build-Operate and Transfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAA</td>
<td>Civil Aviation Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDGK</td>
<td>City District Government Karachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFMT</td>
<td>Citizens’ Forum on Mass Transit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIG</td>
<td>Deputy Inspector General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JICA</td>
<td>Japan International Corporation Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCR</td>
<td>Karachi Circular Railway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCR-AAC</td>
<td>KCR Affectees’ Action Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDA</td>
<td>Karachi Development Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>KMC</td>
<td>Karachi Metropolitan Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>KPK</td>
<td>Khyber Pukhtookhwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPT</td>
<td>Karachi Port Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPTS</td>
<td>Karachi Public Transport Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTC</td>
<td>Karachi Transport Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTIP</td>
<td>Karachi Transportation Improvement Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUGO</td>
<td>Master Plan Group of Offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM</td>
<td>Muttahida Qaumi Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O&amp;M</td>
<td>Operation and Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Pakistan Peoples’ Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTA</td>
<td>Regional Transport Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBCA</td>
<td>Sindh Building Control Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPA</td>
<td>Sindh Environmental Protection Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SITE</td>
<td>Sindh Industrial Trading Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRTC</td>
<td>Sindh Road Transport Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMP</td>
<td>Transport Master Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTS</td>
<td>Urban Transport Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEC</td>
<td>Vehicular Emission Control</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Local Terms

- **bhatta**: Illegal gratification
- **hijab**: Covering of the head by women in keeping with Islamic tradition
- **katchi abadis**: Informal settlements
- **tanga**: A six-seater carriage pulled by a horse
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(Draft: 08 January 2015)

1.  Background:

If the 2011 pre-census house count for Karachi is to be believed, then Karachi is the fastest growing mega city in the world both in percentage and figure terms. Its population has increased by more than 100 percent from 11 million (the 1998 census figure) to 22 million when the house count was conducted. As such, Karachi contains 10 percent of the population of Pakistan and 22 percent of its urban population.

In addition to population, there are other reasons for Karachi’s importance. It is Pakistan’s only port city. It contains 32 percent of the country’s industrial base, generates 15 percent of GDP, 25 percent of federal revenues and 62 percent of income tax. It contains powerful federal institutions in the form of the Karachi Port Trust (KPT), the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA), Railways, Customs and military cantonments. All these federal institutions own land, carry out developments on it (including residential and commercial real estate) and employ a large number of persons. In addition to the provincial government (who also owns land), they all have a say in Karachi’s development. The city government controls only 31 percent of Karachi’s land. The coordination between the different land owning agencies is almost non-existent.

Karachi is also the capital of Sindh province. It contains 62 percent of Sindh urban population and 30 percent of its total population. This figure is important since the second largest city of Pakistan, Lahore, contains only 7 percent of the population of the Punjab province whose capital it is. Karachi’s large scale industrial sector employs 71.6 percent of the total industrial labour force in Sindh; the city produces 74.8 percent of the province’s total industrial output and contains 78 percent of its formal private sector jobs.

Because of migration from India after 1947 and continuous migration from other parts of Pakistan, Karachi is a multi-ethnic city. It is the capital of Sindh but according to the 1998 census only 14 percent of the population spoke languages local to Sindh as their mother tongue while 48.25 percent spoke Urdu. The Urdu speakers are the post-1947 migrants to Karachi. As such, a predominantly Sindhi speaking province has an overwhelming majority of non-Sindhi speaking ethnic groups in its capital city.

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2.  Master Plan Group of Offices (MPGO); Karachi Strategic Development Plan-2020; CDGK, 2006
3.  Ibid
4.  Government of Pakistan; 1998 Census Reports;
5.  Master Plan Group of Offices (MPGO); Karachi Strategic Development Plan-2020; CDGK, 2006
6.  Government of Pakistan; 1998 Census Reports;
This ethnic composition plays into the politics of Karachi. The Pakistan Peoples’ Party (PPP), representing the Sindhi speaking population of the province, can only control Karachi’s enormous resources if there is a centralised province controlled system of governance for the city. The Urdu speaking population is represented by the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) which can only control Karachi’s assets if there is a highly decentralised form of local governance. Since the two parties cannot arrive at a consensus, local governance and its related institutions have been in a flux for over a decade. This conflict between the two parties is also responsible for a weakening of city planning institutions and delays in the implementation of development projects.

In spite of Karachi’s importance, its transport related problems have increased considerably. The number of public transport registered buses has declined from 22,313 in 2011 to 12,399 in 2014 of which 9,527 are operative. Different reasons for this decline are given by different interest groups which are discussed later in the text. Due to this decline, people are forced to travel on the roofs of buses which is strictly speaking illegal and wait at bus stops for long periods to get a ride. A large number of buses have converted from Diesel to CNG as a result of a court order. However, due to lack of supply, CNG sale is only permitted for four days a week and it is only on these days that CNG buses can function. This creates additional problems for the commuting public.

The seriousness of the problem can be judged by the fact that in 2011 only 0.85 percent vehicles in Karachi were buses and 4.04 percent were three-seater motor rickshaws (these are three wheeler vehicles), whereas cars constituted 38.21 percent and motorcycles constituted 49.59 percent (for details see, Figure-1). Statistics show that conditions have not improved since then, yet 60 percent of the 24.2 million trips generated in Karachi every day are realised through the existing public transport sector consisting of buses and motor rickshaw. To overcome this crisis, the informal private sector has inducted about 50,000 QINGQIs many of which are not registered and as such function illegally. As Karachi expands spatially the problem of commuting increases. At present, trip lengths for the working class are in the range of 20 to 40 kilometres.

The situation has been summarised by the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) as follows: i), internationally accepted ratio is of one 100 seater bus for a population of 1,500; ii), population of Karachi 20 million; iii), as such requirement of large buses 13,333; iv), existing equivalent of large size buses in the form of 35 seater minibuses: 4,657; and v), shortfall / immediate requirement for Karachi 8,676 large buses.

The state of affairs described above is in spite of the fact that governments since Independence have made large investments in the transport sector and have experimented with different models from owning and running (both federally and provincially managed), to supporting the private sector, to public-private partnership (both provincially and local government managed) and promotion of the build-operate-and transfer model. The government in its various attempts has also developed at considerable cost transport related infrastructure such as depots, terminals, workshops and office spaces required for their management and operation and

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7. A QINGQI is a 70 cc motorcycle which is converted to a vehicle carrying six persons. Recently, due to its popularity and demand, nine-seater QINGQIs have also been added to the transport sector in Karachi. Transport experts (Interview No. A-07) do not consider it to be reliable or durable

8. Transport and Communication Department, Karachi Metropolitan Corporation, February 2014


10. Transport and Communication Department, Karachi Metropolitan Corporation, February 2014
invested heavily in the purchase of transport vehicles. Figure-1 gives the modal distribution of vehicles and passengers and the number of vehicles registered in Karachi in 2013 is given Table-1 below.

**Table - 1**

Mechanised Road Transport Registered / on Road 31 December 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Type of Vehicles</th>
<th>Total Registered on Road up to 31.12.2013</th>
<th>Newly Registered During the Year 2013</th>
<th>Total Registered on Road 2013</th>
<th>Total Registered on Road 31 Dec. 2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01.</td>
<td>Mini Bus</td>
<td>16,087</td>
<td>68 230 109 407</td>
<td>16,494</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02.</td>
<td>Buses</td>
<td>6,352</td>
<td>15 36 51</td>
<td>6,403</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03.</td>
<td>Mini Truck</td>
<td>13,510</td>
<td>288 185 134 730</td>
<td>14,240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04.</td>
<td>Truck</td>
<td>16,146</td>
<td>264 162 155 683</td>
<td>16,829</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05.</td>
<td>Van/Pick-Up</td>
<td>109,243</td>
<td>2,111 6,860 1,109 178 10,258</td>
<td>119,501</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.</td>
<td>Taxi</td>
<td>47,049</td>
<td></td>
<td>47,049</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07.</td>
<td>Rickshaw</td>
<td>123,129</td>
<td>2,183 5,028 5,797 5,568 18,576</td>
<td>141,705</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.</td>
<td>Lifter</td>
<td>2,994</td>
<td>41 20 13 15 89</td>
<td>3,083</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09.</td>
<td>Tractor</td>
<td>3,624</td>
<td>18 12 59 47 136</td>
<td>3,760</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Tanker</td>
<td>2,999</td>
<td>6 22 21 3 52</td>
<td>3,051</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Pvt. Vehicle</td>
<td>1,047,933</td>
<td>20,048 11,467 14,185 9,012 54,712</td>
<td>1,102,645</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Motorcycle</td>
<td>1,452,526</td>
<td>61,466 46,682 49,859 39,410 197,417</td>
<td>1,649,943</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Ambulance</td>
<td>2,029</td>
<td>90 49 139 2,168</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Coffin Carrier</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Disable Person</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 1 2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Catholic Trust</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2                              109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>School Bus</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>4 4 11 19</td>
<td>257</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1                           49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2,844,186</strong></td>
<td><strong>86,433 70,616 71,660 54,568 283,277</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,127,463</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Transport and Communication Department, Karachi Municipal Corporation

Different plans for mass transit light rail and Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) systems have been prepared after detailed studies since 1972. A circular railway was also established in 1964 but was closed down in 1998. Various attempts at its revival have been made but have not been
successful. A list of important studies and proposals prepared since 1980 are given in Box-1:
List of Important Studies on Karachi's Transport Issues.

**Box-1: List of Important Studies on Karachi's Transport Issues**

*Report of the committee on Proposed Metropolitan Transport Authority* by the Transport Commission Working Group which was looking into the shortages of transport and making recommendations included improved bus designs, prevention of road accidents, public transport discipline, mass transit fares and acts, rules and regulations relevant to them; 1982


*Karachi City Transport Shortages, Causes, Accidents and Suggestions*; prepared by the Karachi Bus Owners' Association at the request of the Transport Minister, Government of Sindh; 1993

*Karachi Development Authority; Environmental Impact Assessment of Corridor-1*; Government of Sindh, 1994

*Railcop; Proposal for Upgradation of the Karachi Circular Railway*; Railway Constructions (Pakistan) Limited, Islamabad, 1996


*M. Sohail and the URC Karachi; Urban Public Transport and Sustainable Livelihood for the Poor: A Case Study of Karachi, Pakistan*; WEDC, Loughborough University, UK, 2000

*Person Trip Study of Karachi City*; prepared by Exponent Engineers / Japan International Corporation Agency (JICA) for the CDGK; December 2005


*Revival of Karachi Circular Railway*; prepared for the Karachi Urban Transport Corporation by Environmental Management Consultants; 2009

**Source:** Detailed study on a Private-Public Partnership based Environmental Friendly Public Transport System for Karachi; prepared by the Karachi Mass Transit Cell of the City Government for the Karachi Strategic Development Plan-2020, February 2006

The effect of traffic congestion on the city and its inhabitants has been listed in a number of research studies and publications.11

- Decreased mobility (typified by long commute times and reduced opportunity for work, education or social activities);
- High levels of toxic air as well as noise pollution;
- Environmental degradation and destruction of the urban landscape;
- Declining living standards;
- Increased direct and indirect costs being specifically;

• High economic costs (wasted time, cost of freight);
• High cost of health problems/accidents/mortality;
• Detrimental impact on bus transport as buses are stuck in traffic severely affecting fleet productivity.

This paper seeks to understand the reasons for the present transport related crisis in the city. In the process, it looks at; i) the history of the transport sector and the causes for its failures and successes; ii) its repercussions on transporters, the public at large, women and the CNG suppliers; and iii) the present plans of the government. The paper comes up with some conclusions and recommendations.

**Methodology of the Research:**

The methodology of the research has consisted of; i) literature review including press clipping compiled by the URC on transport over the last five years (for literature consulted, and press clippings selected, see Appendix-1); ii) open ended interviews of transporters, transport related government officials, women commuters and residents of low income settlements (for list of interviewees, see Appendix-2); and iii) questionnaires served to 150 men and women commuters at different locations in Karachi (for questionnaires and their analysis, see Appendix-3). A list of the different stakeholders in the transport sector in Karachi is given (with both their new and old names) in Appendix-4: Stakeholders in the Transport Sector in Karachi. Information available at some of the stakeholders was accessed during visits to them. It will be noticed in Appendix-4 that many institutions that previously carried the suffix “Karachi” before now carries the suffix “Sindh”. This is because of a move by the provincial government (which is controlled by the PPP) to directly take control of Karachi’s local level institutions. Transcript of the complete interviews is given in Appendix-5: Transcripts.

2. **Post-Independence History of the Transport Sector in Karachi:**

At the time of the Independence, there were 20 to 50 large buses operating in Karachi. They were owned by three private sector companies. However, most of the commuting public relied on the tramway. The tramway connected the Port to the various important locations in the city such as the wholesale markets and to the Cantonment Railway Station. It was also within easy walking distance to the City Railway Station as well which handled both passenger and port related intercity cargo. At any given place in the city one was never more than three kilometres from the tramway (for the location of the tramway, see Figure-2: Tramway Routes). The importance of the tramway can be gauged from the fact that the number of tram cars increased from 37 in 1918 to 64 in 1954 and to 157 in 1955. However, the tramway was closed down in 1974. The reason for its closure was that it was blocking traffic on the main corridors of the city and resulting in accidents. Another reason for its discontinuation is that the Karachi Master Plan 1975-85 had developed elaborate plans for a mass transit system, the main underground corridor of which was on the tramway right of way. A history of the tramway is given in Box-2: A History of the Karachi Tramway.

**Box-2: A History of the Karachi Tramway**

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12. 53 men and 27 women were interviewed at bus stops which serve low income areas. Rest of the 70 interviews were carried out in factories and with college students.

13. See Interview B-01 (Irshad Bukhari)

14. [www.siasat.pk](http://www.siasat.pk)
- 1879: John Brunton, Railway Engineer devised a special rail of 4 feet gauge which was later used for the tramways in Karachi.
- 1881: Plans for a tramway were made by Municipal Secretary and Engineer James Strachen.
- 1881: Edward Mathews of London submitted the tender for construction of the tramway tracks.
- 1883: Formalities for construction were finalised.
- 1884: Works started in October.
- 1885: Tramway inaugurated in April. The first track was from Napier Mole to Keamari. The trams were steam locomotives and also carried freight. Locomotives functioned at every 15 minutes.
- 1886: The locomotives were replaced by horses because the locomotives were noisy and let out smoke. They disturbed the animals which were used in carts and for travel purposes. The tramway was managed by the East India Tramway Company.
- 1905: Petrol trams were inaugurated in March and by 1918 there were 37 trams which increased to 64 in 1954.
- 1911: Frere Road was added to the network in September and Soldier Bazaar in 1916.
- 1928: Kerb Side loading for freight was introduced at Boulton Market.
- 1945: New Diesel operated cars were introduced.
- 1949: The East India Tramway Company was purchased by the Mohammad Ali Transport Company.
- 1955: Cars increased to 157.
- 1974: Tramway closes down.

(Source: [www.siasat.pk](http://www.siasat.pk))

At the time of Independence (1947), Karachi had a population of 450,000 and its spatial spread was only 25 square kilometres as compared to 680 square kilometres in 2001. As such, the buses and tramway were more than adequate for its needs. In addition, about 30 taxis were also available and so were horse-drawn carriages for the richer sections of the population. Most of the cargo handling between the Port and the rest of the country was by railways and intra-city cargo movement from the Port to the wholesale markets in the city and to the railway stations was by camel and donkey carts.

However, 600,000 refugees from India moved into the city in the last three months of 1947 and in the 1951 Census Karachi’s population had increased to 1.37 million. This is in spite of the fact that over a 100,000 Hindus and Sikhs were forced to leave the city. The migration from India resulted in the densification of the city and the creation of settlements on its then immediate fringe. As a result, the transport issue became an important one.

The demands for transport increased considerably as a result of the 1959 Karachi Resettlement Plan. Under this Plan, two satellite towns, New Karachi in the north and Landhi-Korangi in the south-east, were created about 20 kilometres from the then city centre. Industrial areas where an integral part of these plans, the concept being that the residents of these towns would work in the industrial areas and would not have to travel to the city. Health and education infrastructure were also provided. However, the industry did not materialise and as such the working population of the towns had to commute long distances on bad roads to the work areas in the city’s business district, Port and adjacent industrial areas. The 1959 Karachi Resettlement Plan converted a dense city to a sprawl. In addition, it segregated rich and poor areas and since

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15. Source: KSDP-2020; CDGK 2007

16. See Interview B-01 (Irshad Bukhari)

17. Government of Pakistan; *Census Reports 1941 and 1951*
the vast majority of the population that were shifted to the satellite towns consisted of Urdu speaking refugees, it also created ethnic based segregation.\textsuperscript{18}

The various initiatives of the government to tackle the transport issue between 1948 and 1977 are given in \textit{Box-3: Government Transport related Initiatives 1948 -1977}. It will be seen that the failure of these has been attributed to financial issues.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Box-3: Government Transport related Initiatives 1948 -1977} \\
\hline
\textbullet 1948: Government began to provide transport to and from new settlements created as a result of mass migration from India. This was a federal government initiative. Karachi at that time was the capital of Pakistan. \\
\textbullet 1950: This initiative was handed over to the Karachi Improvement Trust (KIT) which was created to plan for the expansion and management of the city. \\
\textbullet 1957: The KIT initiative proved to be very inadequate and so in December the Karachi Transport Syndicate (KTS) was created with a fleet of 280 buses. \\
\textbullet 1958: The KTS failed for financial reasons. It was disbanded in December. \\
\textbullet 1959: As a result of the Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan, transport requirements increased substantially. To meet these demands, the Karachi Road Transport Corporation (KRTC) was established in January as a joint venture of the central government and the public who were invited by shares. 324 buses including 24 double-deckers started operating. Adequate depots and workshops were provided for these buses. \\
\textbullet 1964: The KRTC was wound up in February for reasons that are unclear. The government share was bought by the Gujrat Transport in February 1964 and the operations were taken over by a consortium of Commerce Bank and Valika Group under the name of Khalid Riffat Transport Company. Due to financial reasons, the organisation collapsed in December 1967. \\
\textbullet 1968: The preparation for the Karachi Master Plan 1975-85 with UN involvement was undertaken by the Karachi Master Plan Department. \\
\textbullet 1968: The government initiated the Karachi Omnibus Service which was a subsidiary of the West Pakistan Road Transport Corporation (PRTC). Over 600 buses were inducted and a sub-depot was established for them. This was in addition to the depots and workshops which had been developed earlier for the KRTC. \\
\textbullet 1973: West Pakistan was subdivided into provinces and so the PRTC was subdivided province-wise and as a result the Sindh Road Transport Corporation (SRTC) was established and 2,000 buses were inducted into the system. A number of depots and workshops were commissioned for these additions. \\
\textbullet 1977: The SRTC losses continued to grow and finally in 1977 February the SRTC was divided into the Karachi Transport Corporation (KTC) for the city and SRTC for the rest of the province under the provincial government. \\
\hline
\textbf{Source:} Aquila Ismail; \textit{Transport (URC Karachi Series), City Press, 2002} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{figure}

A major initiative taken by the government was in 1977 with the creation of the Karachi Transport Corporation (KTC). The Corporation was owned by the federal and provincial governments and it inherited the Karachi based assets of the Sindh Road Transport Corporation (SRTC), an earlier provincial level government initiative. These assets consisted of six depots, central stores, transport training institution and buses and a staff of 5,223. Under the KTC, a number of initiatives were undertaken. Links with the recently nationalised automobile industry were created and they undertook to develop technology to build large buses. As a result, 550 large new buses were introduced. New premises for the transport institute, central workshop

\textsuperscript{18} Arif Hasan; \textit{Understanding Karachi}, City Press, Karachi, 2000
and stores were built along with a central bus terminal capable of handling 200,000 passengers daily. The head-offices of the KTC were also established at the Civic Centre where the Karachi Development Authority (KDA) was located. This added to the importance of the KTC and integrated it in the planning required for the implementation of the Karachi Master Plan 1975-85.

But the KTC ran into problems. By December 1996, it was running at a loss of Rs 10 million per month and of its 303 buses only 100 were operational. In the political violence of 1994-96 which gripped Karachi, 24 buses were destroyed and 184 were irreparably damaged. This damage was evaluated at Rs 55.5 million but the KTC received no compensation. As a result of the losses, the KTC’s performance was evaluated and it was agreed between the Sindh government and the World Bank to privatise the KTC after 20 years of operation. The remaining KTC buses were dumped in its depots and 3400 of its employees were given a golden handshake of Rs 1.1 billion while Rs 3.75 million were required to pay the benefits of those who had retired earlier.

Various reasons are given for the failure of the KTC. One view is that a leakage of fare revenue and the failure to maintain the buses properly was the real reason for the problems that the KTC faced. The maintenance issue is supposed to have been serious since the technical staff was not properly trained and the spare parts used were of low quality. As a result, a number of buses which could not be used increased sharply. The rising cost of diesel without the government agreeing to a proportional increase in fares or the providing of subsidies, also had a negative effect on the functioning of the KTC.

Today, the property of the KTC which is worth billions of rupees is lying unused. Some portions of it have been grabbed informally for commercial purposes. The government has also established police monitoring check-posts in some of the depots. Attempts by the government to sell off these properties was stopped by a judgement of the Sindh Court on a petition made by a NGO who argued that these properties were amenities and as such their land-use could not be changed. The most important repercussion of the failure of the KTC was the change that took place in the thinking of government and transport related professionals. They came to believe that only the private sector can manage transport. This thinking suited the neo-liberal lobby that was increasingly deciding development philosophy in Pakistan.

The Free Transport Policy and the Emergence of the Minibus:

In 1971, the government introduced what is known as “The Free Transport Policy”. This policy was introduced because there was an increasing demand for transport from the various katchi abadis developing on the then periphery of Karachi since government transport only functioned on the main corridor of the city. Under the Free Transport Policy, any individual who could purchase a bus could apply for a route permit. A route permit was for a particular route identified by Regional Transport Authority (RTA), government of Sindh. This process has created what is known in Karachi as the “minibus”.

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19. Ismail A; Transport (URC Karachi Series); City Press, Karachi, 2002
20. Ibid
21. See Interview A-07 (Shams-ud-Din Abro) / A-01 (Mohammad Athar)
22. See Interview A-07 (Shams-ud-Din Abro)
23. Ask Roland / Mansoor
24. See Interview A-01 (Mohammad Athar)
Individuals (sometimes more than one) acquire a bus. Since most of those who purchase a bus are not well-to-do, they go to a money-lender. The money-lender takes a down payment and then recovers the cost of the bus in monthly instalments. If the purchaser defaults, the bus is taken away from him and he loses his investment. The money-lender is officially the owner of the bus till such time that the purchaser has made full payment. Most of the money-lenders are from the Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa (KPK) Province so they prefer to lend to persons from their region or its adjoining areas. As such, the majority of minibus owners are Pathans or Hazarawalls. Motor rickshaws were also purchased through loans from money-lenders who were also from KPK and its adjoining areas. As such, most of the informally financed public transport vehicles are owned or operated by one ethnic group.

The cost of a 35-seater minibus in 2000 was Rs one million. However, the purchaser would have to pay twice this amount in a two to three years period. Minibuses have been purchased as opposed to large buses because the cost of a large 100 seater bus, at Rs 6 to 8 million, would be unaffordable to the purchaser and also the fare, as a result, would be unaffordable to the commuter. All the formal and informal players in the transport drama who have been interviewed for this study agree that large buses are the proper solution to Karachi's problems.

The process of operating a minibus is as follow: i) Purchase of the minibus; ii) get it registered as a commercial vehicle by the Excise Department; iii) go to the police and acquire a fitness certificate; iv) get a route permit from the RTA; and v) operate the bus. In this process, over 20,000 minibuses have been registered in Karachi over the years. For plying a bus the bus owner or driver/conductor have to join one of the transporters organisations, the one that embraces all of them is the Transport Ittehad. This organisation protects the commercial interests of the transporters and through it they present their claims and guard their gains and negotiate the rate of informal payments they have to make to a corrupt police force. Because of continuous conflict with the state on fare related issues, and with the public on their “poor service and unreasonable attitude”, they are often referred to as the “transport mafia”.

The system has many different arrangements between the various actors in the drama. One is the individual who has a route licence from the RTA who makes an arrangement with the bus owner to operate a route. Very often the owner of the vehicle operates it himself. He carries a high risk since he has to pay the route owner, the money-lender, bhatta payments to the police and all the running, maintenance and repair costs. To meet these requirements he has to work long hours, maximise profits and cut costs. This results in overloading and poor levels of vehicle maintenance.

There are some cases where bus owners have both route permit and a number of buses. They acquire the services of a driver and conductor team to operate their buses. This is not formal employment as the driver conductor team are paid a percentage on the daily revenue they bring


26. Authors' observation

27. See Interview B-01 (Irshad Bukhari), A-01 (Muhammad Athar), A-07 (Shams-ud-Din Abro)

28. See Interview A-04 (Ghazanfar Ali Qadri)

in. In this arrangement the owner, to save costs, hires uneducated and often illiterate staff to operate his bus.\textsuperscript{30} This lowers the quality of service.

The above method of operation of transport is legal. However, there is also an illegal system which is permitted to operate by the government agencies. This illegal sector comprises of buses operating without a route permit. The origins of the illegal sector go back to 1985 when a speeding minibus crushed a university student to death under its wheels. The driver was a Pathan and the victim was an Urdu speaker. The accident resulted in ethnic riots between the two communities and a number of minibuses were burnt. As a result, the government decided not to register any more minibuses. However, the ban has to a large extent been overcome by slightly changing the design of the minibus and naming the new product as a “coach”. It is estimated by bus owners that the number of illegal operators is less than 200 buses. It is also important to mention here that although there are 329 minibus routes in existence, only 111 are being operated.\textsuperscript{31} The reason for the inoperative routes is that they are not considered lucrative by the transporters.

It is generally considered that the informally financed transport sector in Karachi is anarchic and disorganised. However, the drivers have a strict timetable and regulations for it to be implemented, fixed locations for parking their vehicles, and an organised regime which determines the relationship between the different actors in the transport drama and with the police.\textsuperscript{32}

**Karachi Circular Railway:**

The Karachi Circular Railway (KCR) was made operative in 1964, mainly for the transportation of goods. It was extended to a full circle of 44 kilometres in 1970 to connect the four important work areas of the city (the Port, the Sindh Industrial Trading Estate (SITE), the Central Business District (CBD) and the Landhi Industrial Area). As it also passed through a number of dense residential areas, it soon started to serve commuters as well. In the 80’s, it operated 24 trains per day for the full circle. The operation from the CBD to the Landhi Industrial Area consisted of 80 trips per day. Approximately 6 million passengers used this facility per year.\textsuperscript{33}

In the mid-80’s, the service started to decline because of a lack of maintenance and replacement of rolling stock and maintenance of tracks and stations. By 1998, the KCR was making only 12 trips a day and was loosing Rs 6 million annually. In December 1999, the operation was stopped. Attempts to restart it were made in March 2005. At present, one section from the CBD to the Landhi-Korangi Industrial Area still functions with two trips a day.

Apart from the reasons given above, there are other reasons for the failure of the KCR. One is that Karachi expanded well beyond the KCR (see, Figure-3: Karachi’s Expansion and the Karachi Circular Railway). As a result a new network of minibuses and motor rickshaws started serving the commuters which the persons living within reach of the KCR also started to use. There are also allegations that the transport “mafia” also informally pressurised the government not to upgrade the KCR. This was done by developing bus routes that were parallel

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid

\textsuperscript{31} Regional Transport Authority, Government of Sindh, February 2014


\textsuperscript{33} Environment Management Consultants; Revival of the Karachi Circular Railway: Karachi Urban Transport Corporation, CDGK, 2009
to the KCR corridor. Also, no attempt was made to integrate the KCR in a larger transport plan for Karachi.

Although officialdom abandoned the KCR, civil society has constantly fought for its revival. Because of pressure both from without and from within government circles, a plan for its rehabilitation, financing and implementation has been developed and will be discussed later.

**Karachi Public Transport Society:**

In 1997, the government invited the public sector to invest in transport. It promised the investors that it would provide depots and full support of the traffic police. This led to the creation of the Karachi Public Transport Society (KPTS), the chair of which was the Transport Secretary, Government of Sindh. The Society has 27 members, 18 from the government including the DIG Traffic Police. Nine members are from the public and are prominent citizens of the city.

An entrepreneur, Javed Chaudhry, who had purchased 200 buses, was invited by the Society on the following terms and conditions. i) Bus will ply on a route and will be available after every five minutes at the stop; ii) no one will stand in the bus; iii) conductor will be in uniform and there will be no shouting and inviting of passengers; iv) there will be no race with other buses. The Society negotiated security from the “transport mafia” for these buses with the police and Rangers and supervised their operation. The fare was higher (Rs 7) than the minibus (Rs 5). Daily, monthly and seasonal tickets were available at a discount. The facility was hugely successful.

Javed Chaudhry died and his wife, the sole in inheritor, sold out the business and the buses were taken to different cities and provinces. At present, some 150 buses are registered with the KPTS but only 100 are operative.34

**Attempts at Developing A Mass Transit System:**

The first serious attempt at developing a light rail mass transit system was made in the decade of the 70’s and in keeping with the proposals of the Karachi Master Plan 1975-85. It consisted of upgrading the Circular Railway and pushing it into the suburbs through a number of spurs. A partly underground (through the CBD and Old City), partly elevated and partly at-grade metro was to bisect the circle of the Circular Railway.35 By 1977, plans had been finalised, funds were available and rolling stock was being negotiated. It was a government project and was to be completed in stages in a five year period. However, the political conflict of 1977 led to the dismissal of the Bhutto government whose plan this was. The subsequent military government abandoned the scheme.36

The next attempt was made in 1990 after a detailed study by the Karachi Mass Transit Programme with the help of World Bank consultants, as part of the Karachi Development Plan-2000. The study concluded that both for economic and technical reasons a light rail system is not feasible for Karachi and that bus ways will perform best and have the necessary capacity to meet Karachi’s expanding needs. The study37 proposed six bus transit-ways (a total of 87.4

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34. See Interview No. A-07 (Shams-ud-Din Abro)

35. Arif Hasan; *Understanding Karachi*; City Press, Karachi, 2000

36. Author’s unpublished interview with Engineer Mohsin Rizvi who was in-charge of the Project

kilometres) and identified priority Corridor-1 which was mainly elevated and passed through the Old City and the main artery on which Karachi’s heritage buildings are located. The Project was to be built on a build-operate and transfer (BOT) basis.

Civil society and academic institutions, including trade unions, objected to the heritage related environmental damage that the elevated Expressway would cause. They created the Citizens’ Forum on Mass Transit (CFMT), a large network of civil society organisations. Adjustments were made to accommodate some of the concerns of the CFMT. However, the Project never took off because the politicians turned the bus-way option into a light rail project. It is said that because of this no investment was found and no contractor placed a bid for the project. It is important to note here that subsequent to the failure of the bidding process, a former Chief Engineer of the Railways and a Consultant to the Karachi Mass Transit Programme suggested the revitalisation of the KCR and related projects through rolling stock manufactured locally at the Pakistan Railways workshops in Mughalpura, Lahore. According to his conversations with the author, this would bring down costs to a level that the government of Pakistan could afford without taking a loan. Another ex-chief engineer of the Railways held similar views.

In 2005, the city government undertook a number of studies with the help of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). These studies led to further studies which became a part of the Karachi Transportation Improvement Project (KTIP) 2010-12 and resulted in the preparation of the Transport Master Plan (TMP) which has a 2030 vision. The studies have proposed six BRT corridors and revival of the KCR including a rail corridor bifurcating the circle of the KCR and extending it to the Super Highway, the main exit of Karachi to the rest of the country. The JICA proposal is given in the Figure-4. Detailed paper work for the revival of the KCR has been completed. It is supposed to cater to 0.7 million people per day. It is considered to be corner stone of the KTIP Plan. If the KCR is revived then it is estimated that the other corridors would be completed in 15 years. For the KCR Project JICA is to provide 93.5 percent of the cost through a loan with a 0.2 percent mark-up, payable in 40 years.

However, the KCR revival project has been delayed for a number of reasons, the most important ones being the lack of political will and the absence of ownership of the Project because of an absence of a proper local government system and lack of clarity due to ever changing institutional arrangements. In addition, there is also the failure to develop an acceptable resettlement policy for about 23,000 katchi abadi dwellers that are to be relocated from the KCR corridor. So far, they have been offered a relocation, considerable distance from the city centre and their work areas, children’s schools, health and recreational facilities, which are easy distance from their present homes. The KCR Affectees’ Action Committee (KCR-AAC) has offered two alternatives. One, they have identified government owned railway land for their relocation. This land is nearer to their places of work. Two, they are willing to move if they are

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38. Citizens Forum on Mass Transit; Karachi Mass Transit Programme: Citizens Concerns and Possible Alternatives; URC, 1994
40. S.M. H Rizvi; Revitalisation of the Karachi Circular Railway as part of the Karachi Mass Transit Programme; unpublished paper, 1995
41. Author’s unpublished interview with Engineer Mohsin Rizvi
42. Argued by Abul Kalam at a 2002 meeting at the NED University
paid the market price for the land they occupy and they will find their own alternative accommodation. The second alternative will raise the cost of the rehabilitation project from 1.6 percent of the total project cost of the KCR rehabilitation to 2.5 percent. The office bearers of the KCR-AAC also point out that a majority of the households have legally acquired water and electricity connections and a larger number also have gas connections. Many of the houses have reinforced concrete roofs.

As a result of the delays, the cost of the KCR Project has increased from Rs 147 billion in 2009 to Rs 246 billion in July 2012. In addition, without a subsidy, the service will not be affordable to the poorer sections of the commuting public. Meanwhile, the government has decided to go through with the BRT-2 Corridor, which is now in the process of being implemented.

The CNG Crisis:

The introduction of CNG as fuel for transport was initiated by government of Pakistan in 1990. There were two reasons for this. One, CNG was available in Pakistan and if used would considerably reduce the import of petrol and diesel. This would reduce foreign exchange spending. And two, the use of CNG would reduce pollution. Pakistan today is the country that uses CNG most in proportion to its population. The use of CNG received a big boost when in 2005 the Supreme Court ordered all those vehicles running on diesel to convert to CNG. The transport sector complied immediately. The added benefit of converting to CNG (per unit cost Rs 6-7) is that is much cheaper than diesel (per unit cost Rs 40) or electricity (per unit cost Rs 17). CNG is also used by domestic users; fertiliser and cement factories; and for power generation. In winters, the demand for gas increases by about 300 percent.

The crisis occurred when in 2008-2010 the price of oil rose substantially and it was in these years that power outages increased in Pakistan. In Karachi, they were at an average more than six to seven hours a day. As a result of this, people, especially the elite, installed gas generators and so did industrialists to run their industries. Since using gas generators was cheaper than getting electricity from the grid, a number of homes and industrial establishments have continued to use gas even though electricity is available. In December 2013, the Supreme Court passed a judgement in which it ordered that CNG used for the generation of electricity should be charged at the same unit price as electricity except for those industries who used boilers or need gas for their processes. This Supreme Court order has not been implemented because of weak government institutions and a refusal by CNG users to obey the Court orders.

Pakistan has substantial CNG reserves. However, it opted for importing CNG from Central Asia and then from Iran since it was cheaper than developing new CNG extraction sites. The Central Asian Project did not take off due to the Afghan War and the Iran pipeline option fizzled out because of the UN imposed sanctions on trade with Iran.

44. Arif Hasan; The KCR Imperatives; Daily Dawn, Karachi, February 2014
46. Imtiaz Ali; Project Cost Rises by Rs 100 Billion in Three Years; The Daily News, Karachi, 06 July 2012
47. Arif Hasan; The KCR Imperatives; Daily Dawn, Karachi, February 2014
48. See Interview B-02 (Shabbir Sulemanjee)
49. Ibid
50. Newspaper reports
As a result of the government initiative and the Court order, 4.5 million private cars and public transportation converted to CNG and CNG use for power generation also commenced. The cost of conversion from diesel to CNG varies between Rs 40,000 for a small car up to Rs 200,000 for a bus. Once converted from diesel to CNG, the vehicle cannot be converted back to diesel. The only option is to change its engine. Many school vans and university buses transporting students also converted to CNG. Because of these issues, there is now an acute shortage of CNG in Pakistan. Karachi being the industrial hub with a larger commuting public than any other location in the country, has suffered most. The government response has been to permit CNG stations to function only four days a week in the city. Due to this, CNG buses, which account for 70 percent of the registered buses, stay off the roads during the non-CNG days causing immense problems for the commuting public and losses for the transporters and the CNG stations. It is now common to see long queues of vehicles at CNG stations waiting for the CNG station to start functioning. People can wait for over four to five hours to get their vehicles filled.

Banning the use of CNG, as has been often been suggested in the media, is not possible because it substitutes for 2.3 billion litres of petrol / diesel. If it is shut down, Pakistan will have to import 2 billion litres for which foreign exchange in the neighbourhood of US$ 1 billion per year will have to be spent. In addition, the CNG sector employs more than 400,000 persons in the city. They will become unemployed.

**The Evolving Traffic related Issues and Their Repercussions:**

Apart from the lack of comfortable transport, Karachi’s traffic is becoming unmanageable and its congestion and the air and noise pollution has become detrimental to the health of its commuting public. There are a number of reasons for this, the most important of which is the rapidly increasing number of vehicles. In 2013, Karachi registered 776 vehicles per day of which 71 percent were motorbikes. A lack of policemen is also given as a reason. There are a total of 3,200 policemen (half of them per shift) on traffic duty whereas there is a need for an additional 5,000 to regulate traffic. To help the police force control traffic, the elected city government (2001-2007) inducted 1,575 wardens. They were members and/or supporters of the MQM. Once the 2001 local body regime was dissolved, the provincial government sent these wardens home. Apart from this, it is alleged that driving licences are often issued on payment of a bribe without taking a proper test. Drivers are also known to drive without a licence and when confronted by a police constable they make an informal payment to him and get away. Government departments often react to these mal-practices by taking action against individuals but no reform (although many have been proposed) in the police force has been implemented.

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51. See Interview A-01 (Muhammad Athar)
52. See Interview B-02 (Shabbir Sulemanjee)
53. See Interview B-02 (Shabbir Sulemanjee)
54. Ibid
55. Source: Transport and Communication Department, KMC, February 2014
56. DIG Traffic, Khurram Gulzar in News Report; Express Tribune, Karachi, 01 November 2011
57. Qadeer Tanoli; 80% of rickshaw drivers not qualified to give you a ride; Daily Dawn, Karachi, 23 April 2012
“We do not have CNG, we do not have petrol, we do not have diesel but vehicles from all over the world are being inducted in the city and are being registered on CNG. You do not invite 20 guests when you have food only for five.” Mehmood Afridi, President Muslim Minibus and Coach Owner’s Association

In theory, no public transport vehicle can ply without a fitness certificate from the Vehicular Emission Control (VEC) Programme which is a programme of the Sindh Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA). The Sindh Chief Secretary issued a notification ordering the police department to help the VEC Programme in fulfilling its duties. This notification was issued in October 2009, only after the Sindh High Court took suo-moto notice of the environmental pollution caused by public vehicles. However, in the absence of any coordination between VECP, SEPA and the Sindh Police, this notification has yielded no results. Deputy Inspector General (Traffic) Police has responded by saying that if the order is implemented most of the public transport vehicles will be off the roads and the poor will suffer. So, buses without proper seats, deformed body, no window panes and emitting pollution, continue to ply in the city.58 Due to the noise and air pollution and due to travelling in stressful conditions, environmental related diseases have increased considerably. These diseases include asthma, angina, anxiety, emotional instability, sexual importance, hysteria and psychosis. All this results in social conflict and domestic violence.59

There are also infrastructure issues. There is an absence of proper terminals and depots for buses and for rickshaws and QINGQis. So, road space and roundabouts serve this function, increasing congestion. Many of the roads are in bad condition and slow down traffic movement increasing travel time for commuters and substantially increasing fuel costs for the transporters.60 In many locations such as transport terminals or from where transport picks-up large volumes of passengers, hawkers occupy road space. This is because of a close economic interdependence between the poor, commuters and hawkers. This link has not been recognised and hence has not been catered to by politicians, professionals and city planners whose only solution is to evict the hawkers. This has never been done successfully because of the negotiating power of the hawkers which is backed by payment of bhatta to the concerned authorities and representatives of political parties.61

Another cause of congestion is double parking on the roads in all the commercial areas of the city. The government has provided multi-storey parking plazas but they are used to less than 10 percent of their capacity. The double parking is managed by informal persons who charge a fee for identifying parking space for the vehicles and for shifting them around. In many locations, receipts in the form of slips is provided for the payments made. Many open spaces and pavements are also used in a similar manner for motorcycles. Local government and Cantonment Board also collect parking fees from vehicle owners but it is difficult to clearly identify whether it is local government or mafias backed by political parties who are collecting at any given location.62

58. Waqar Bhatti; Vehicular Emissions yet to be Controlled; Daily News, Karachi, 17 January 2010
59. See Interview D-07 (Dr. Qazi Mujahid Ali)
60. Private-Public Partnership based Environmental Friendly Public Transport System for Karachi; prepared by the Karachi Mass Transit Cell of the City Government for the Karachi Strategic Development Plan-2020, February 2006
62. News Report; Traffic Woes: Little being done to ease gridlock on Saddar Streets; The Express Tribune, 28 May 2013
Because of ethnic conflicts and since 9/11, the use of drones by the US Army against the militants in KPK (resulting in fairly large “co-lateral damage”), strikes and shut downs are common in Karachi. During such days, there is no public transport and people, especially day-wage labour, suffer considerable economic loss. There is also a serious threat to the lives of important government functionaries and politicians from the “Islamic” militants and criminal gangs and also of kidnappings for ransom. So, traffic is held-up so as to facilitate “VIP” movement. This causes large grid locks which are resented by the Karachiites. During the monsoon season (which in Karachi is seldom more than three to five days), the city also floods and traffic comes to a halt. The flooding is the result of encroachments by elite housing on the outfalls of the natural drainage system to the sea and by encroachment on the natural storm drains by formal and informal housing.

The government’s response to traffic congestion has been to build signal-free roads and flyovers wherever traffic congestion took place. Between 1993 and 1999, the government built only six flyovers. However, since decentralisation was instituted in 2001, the elected government and the present province control system have built 37 flyovers and six signal-free roads. At non-rush hours, they have reduced travel time but at rush hours their exit points are clogged. Many government officials feel that this was not a solution to Karachi’s traffic problems.

Karachi’s bus fares increased from Rs 6 to Rs 10 per trip in 2004 to Rs 15 to 20 per trip in 2014. Meanwhile, the cost of diesel increased from Rs 22.78 in January 2004 to Rs 64.79 in November 2009. Incomes of low and lower middle income groups have not increased in this proportion. In addition, travel time has also increased due to congestion. As a result, it is becoming cheaper and more comfortable for the poor to rent within the city’s low income settlements than to live on the periphery. In this way, the transport problems are shaping the form of the city as well.

Due to the situation described above, the number of fatal road accidents in Karachi are very high. They were 1,719 in 2009 but have slowly dropped to 1,352 in 2013. Motorbikes were involved in the majority of these accidents. Most of them could have been avoided if the riders had been wearing a helmet, which is compulsory under law. However, the law cannot be implemented because of the corruption of the police constable and the lack of interest of police officials and politicians in having the law implemented. It is interesting to note that animal drawn vehicle and push carts were involved only in 0.12 and 0.92 percent cases.

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63. Economic loss
64. OPP-RTI website www.oppinstitutions.org
66. See Interview A-01 (Muhammad Ahtar) and A-03 (Fazal Karim Khattri)
68. Ibid
69. Arif Hasan; Karachi’s Changing Demography and its Planning Related Repercussions; Daily Dawn, Karachi, February 2014 (the economic and social problems of living on the fringe are also voiced in Interviews D1, D2, D6 taken in areas where people have been relocated from nearer the city to the fringe.)
70. Website of Road Traffic Research and Prevention Centre
A number of decisions taken by the Sindh Government, which have now become law, will add to the traffic congestion in Karachi. One is the establishment of the Sindh High Density Board which can declare any area or even a single plot as high density and increase its FAR by whatever it thinks is appropriate. Another law “The Sindh Special Development Board Act-2014” gives the Board the right to bulldoze katchi abadis and turn them into multi-storey apartments.\(^71\) The decisions of both these boards are ad-hoc in nature since they are being taken without the carrying out of a larger urban design exercise in the absence of which thousands of vehicles will be added to the business and elite districts of the city.\(^72\)

**The Urban Transport Scheme:**

The Urban Transport Scheme (UTS) was initiated by the city government in 2001 and implemented in 2002. The government invited investors and offered facilities and subsidies which it did not ultimately provide. 364 large buses were inducted by 13 investors. The operation of 8 companies having 221 buses failed due to losses and they shifted the vehicles to other locations in the country where fare structures were better. The fate of the other 143 is unclear although 12 are plying on one major route in Karachi.\(^73\) The problems that led to the failure of the Scheme surfaced within three years of the launch and are detailed in **Box-4: Reasons for the Failure of the UTS.**

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**Box-4: Reasons for the Failure of the UTS**

The UTS failed for a number of reasons which have been documented in a stakeholder meeting report. These reasons are:

- An increase in price of diesel by 100 percent raising operational costs by 50 percent;
- The CDGK allowed increase in fares but this did not help the UTS operators as the minibuses did not increase their fare. So, the UTS operators could not compete with the minibuses;
- The CDGK had promised preferential routes but instead they overlapped with many minibus routes. Even other UTS operators were allowed to compete against other UTS operators (legally and illegally) and the CDGK took no action;
- The CDGK and provincial government committed to give all the routes of minibuses to UTS as the old minibuses started plying without route permits on the same routes;
- According to contractual commitments, the CDGK had promised to acquire depots from the provincial government for the operators but this did not happen;
- Partial compensation for the interest on the loans that the operator had taken from banks was promised as part of the agreement but never delivered;
- There was also police harassment; strikes and demonstrations; frequent VVIP movements; hampering traffic; and related insecurity for the vehicles and their operators;

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\(^71\) Mahim Maher; *Devastating new law empowers private association of developers*; Shehri Newsletter, July-September 2014

\(^72\) Arif Hasan; *Karachi’s Densification and Traffic Engineering Projects*; Dawn, April 2014

\(^73\) See Interview A-01 (Muhammad Athar)
There were other issues as well such as the buses used 58 percent more fuel than the manufactures had promised, lack of skilled persons to conduct the business and lack of maintenance because of the use of low quality lubricants and spare parts so as to save costs; and

For many of the operators this was a wrong business option – they thought it would result in massive profits.

Operators concur that in spite of the increase in fuel costs they would have survived if illegal competition with the minibuses had been curbed and if the government had paid the subsidy as per agreement.

Source: Karachi Master Transit Cell; Public Private Based Environment Friendly Public Transport System for Karachi (Draft Final Report); CDGK, 2006

In 2007, federal government approved a project of 4,000 CNG buses for Karachi. Eventually, the number was reduced to 2,000. The terms were similar to those of the UTS. The banks were instructed to extend loans to the operators. They refused because of the past experience of UTS of non-payment of instalments on time. Then, a “Pilot Project” for induction of dedicated CNG buses was launched to demonstrate that such a model can work. Seventy-five CNG buses were put into operation in July 2009 by out sourcing contracts for two years to three operators. Contracts consisted of; i) operation, management and maintenance of buses; ii) supply of CNG fuel; and iii) e-ticketing. The deficit between revenue and expenditure was to be met by the City District Government Karachi (CDGK). After expiry of contract on 30 June 2011, all three contracts were merged into one and the operator was made responsible for all O&M expenses. E-ticketing system was discontinued to reduce operational costs so that the Project could be self-financed. The operator faced serious difficulties due to the CNG crisis, increase in CNG costs, and the Karachi law and order situation. The contract expired in April 2013 and no operator participated in the next bidding process as a result of which 75 large buses stopped operating. Seventy-three of them are now lying at the depot and because of vandalism, require extensive maintenance to become operable.\footnote{Source: Transport and Communication Department, KMC, February 2014}

The government is now considering to bring back these buses on the roads after carrying out essential repairs and replacing their tyres and batteries and other necessary parts. Given the CNG crisis, it is also considering the conversion of these 73 large buses to diesel. The total cost of repair and maintenance is Rs 39.583 million whereas the cost of conversion to diesel is Rs 265.388 million. This works out to Rs 304.971 million. The Project planners understand that the Project will need a subsidy to the tune of Rs 2.729 million per month (for each 25 bus package) to make it viable.\footnote{See Interview A-01 (Muhammad Athar)}

**CNG Rickshaws:**

In 2004, the President’s Rozgar (livelihood) Scheme was introduced by a fund from the federal government. At that time the MQM was in power in Karachi. As part of the scheme, loans for CNG rickshaws was introduced in keeping with the Supreme Court decision to convert all public transport to CNG. The majority of the rickshaws went to MQM supporters. As such, for the first time a sizeable number of Urdu speakers entered the transport business. The scheme still
continues but as the MQM is not in power, other ethnicities are also accessing loans. There are now approximately 60,000 CNG rickshaws operating in the city.76

In 2007, as a result of a Sindh High Court ruling that government must curb pollution, the Sindh government decided to phase out the older two-stroke rickshaws in three years by the owners either replacing them or converting them to four-stroke engine rickshaws.77 As a result of this, the price of the two-stroke rickshaws fell from Rs 150,000 to Rs 40,000.78 For this reason the decision was resented by the Karachi Rickshaw, Taxi, Yellow and Black Cab Owner’s Association which blocked Karachi streets in protest. Since most of the members were from KPK, the Awami National Party (ANP), representing the Pukhtoon population, supported the protest.79 The conversion to four-stroke engines has not yet taken place and as such the Sindh High Court decision has not been implemented.

3. Responses to the Transport Crisis:

There have been different responses from different stakeholders to the transport crisis in Karachi. These responses have come from the market, from commuters themselves, and from innovation by small workshops and also from medium size engineering establishments.

The Market Response:

“Previously in this city large Ford buses use to run, then Mazda minibuses were introduced and now it has come to rickshaws and QINGQIs”. Irshad Bukhari, President Karachi Transport Association.

A most important market response has been the introduction of the QINGQI. QINGQI is a Chinese motorcycle manufactured in Pakistan to which a six-seater carriage is attached. It originated in the Punjab and substituted for the targa (a six seater carriage pulled by a horse). It was introduced in Karachi in 2002. Today, there are 40,000 QINGQIs that are a part of the Karachi QINGQI Welfare Association. In addition, there are over 10,000 QINGQIs that are not registered with the Association.

The Association allocates the routes, determines the fares the QINGQI drivers receive, identifies the locations for their stands, and negotiates the informal payments that have to be made to the police and the political parties in whose areas the stands are located. The Association also keeps photographs and details of all the drivers and the owners.

A QINGQI owner has to apply to the Association for getting a route. The Association has a special committee which manages the routes and sees that there is no “overlapping”. The Association agrees that there are a number of QINGQIs operating without being members of the Association and they also agree that some of their members have hired underage kids who are now driving the QINGQIs. The Association also has a system, decentralised to the district level,

76. Zahid Farooq; unpublished research notes prepared for this paper; March 2014 (Zahid Farooq is the Coordinator of the URC Karachi)
77. News Report by Irfan Aligi; 2-stroke rickshaw owners regret changing engines; April 29, 2008
78. See Interview B-05 (Hafiz-ul-Haq Hassan Zai)
of registering complaints against its members and drivers and of taking action against them, and of dealing with accidents and the police on the members’ behalf.80

“We want to have proper regulations and laws for our system so that the revenue we generate can be put to proper use. The situation we are in is only due to the lack of proper laws and regulations in our city. Since we do not have anyone to look after this system (QINGQI related), the situation is going bad to worse.” Akbar Khan, Finance Secretary, All Karachi QINGQI Welfare Association.

According to the Association, the government has been provided with their proposals for regulating the QINGQI routes and developing rules and regulations for their operation. The Association has also suggested a separate lane on the main roads for their vehicles and stated that if any of their members violate the lane, their vehicle can be confiscated. These proposals were made in 2010 but no meaningful negotiations with government departments have taken place so far. It seems that the government is not interested.81

Transport related government officials agree that the QINGQIs have helped overcome the problems that some of the commuters face. However, they feel that the vehicles are unreliable and unsafe and should not be used on the main corridors of movements.82 The traffic police is against them since it is not the QINGQI that is registered with the Traffic Police but the motorcycle that pulls it. Also, the Police believe that they are one of the major causes for traffic jams in Karachi. Because of pressure from the Police and from the transport lobby (who are anti-QINGQI since they take away business from the buses), the government banned the plying of the QINGQIs in October 2013.83 However, the Sindh High Court removed the ban and granted a stay to the Association.84 The annual turn-over of QINGQI activity is Rs 8.64 billion85 and as such it adds substantially to Karachi economy. In addition, commuters find them more comfortable and more easily available than the minibuses and also affordable.86

**Technical Innovation:**

Sensing the demand for transport and reacting to court decisions, transporters and the workshops that manufacture rickshaws and QINGQIs, have made a lot of innovations. Four-seater CNG rickshaws and six-seater QINGQIs have been converted into nine-seater vehicles and are on the roads. This is in spite of the fact that this is not permissible under law. To overcome the non-availability of CNG on certain days, the capacity of rickshaws for storing CNG has been increased from two kilos to 7-8 kilos. A recent trend is to change the shape of the old two-stroke rickshaw to look like a CNG rickshaw while the two-stroke engine remains unconverted. This is to prevent police harassment which the old two-stroke design rickshaws have to face. The workshops that carry out these innovations are for the most part small.

80. See Interview B-04 (Akbar Khan)

81. Ibid

82. See Interview A-07 (Shamsuddin Abro)

83. News Report; *Off the roads: QINGQIs banned across the city*; Express Tribune, October 10, 2013

84. Khursheed Jamal; *QINGQI rickshaws with permits free to ply but not on the main roads*; News International, October 12, 2013

85. Ibid

86. Sidra Arshad; *QINGQI Rickshaws Better Transport Than Buses and Coaches in Karachi*; Awami Politics, October 12, 2013
establishments and function on the roads. The expertise that these workshops have can be judged from the fact that with the advice of the operators they were able to convert a two-stroke engine into a CNG rickshaw to show the government that it could be done.\textsuperscript{87}

**The Motorbike Option:**

In the absence of a reliable transport system, Karachiites have purchased motorbikes. The increased from 450,000 in 1990 to 500,000 in 2004. At the end of 2013, there were 1.65 million. The motorbike owners say that apart from the capital cost, the bikes are cheaper and faster than public transport, they are flexible and with an enlarged seat, a family of four can travel easily and cheaply to places of entertainment and recreation and for attending family gatherings. The problem is that women do not ride motorbikes in Karachi. 70 percent of males interviewed at Karachi bus stops said that they would like to buy a motorbike but they could not afford it. 53 percent women said that they would like to use a motorbike if permitted by their families and if women-friendly bikes could be introduced.\textsuperscript{88}

However, all motorbike users mentioned that they have to deal with high levels of air and noise pollution. They also complained of an absence of proper traffic control systems, bad road surfaces, police harassments and an absence of a physically segregated lane for motorbikes in addition to the absence of parking space.\textsuperscript{89} Meanwhile, the number of establishments dealing with providing motorbikes on higher purchase is increasing and the terms are becoming more attractive.\textsuperscript{90} In addition, the manufacture and import of cheaper models, and those that are women friendly, is also being studied by the suppliers and one such initiative has been launched.\textsuperscript{91}

**Arrangements Commuters Make:**

Although no figures are available, commuters and institutions in Karachi make arrangements to overcome transport problems. Many schools have transport vans that pick up and drop their students for a fee. Universities have what is known as a “point”. The point picks up and drops students at given points in the city. Corporate sector, and some government sector, organisations also pick and drop their employees, especially women. Vehicle owning households arrange to pick and drop school children in turns. Motorbike owners arrange to carry neighbourhood members at a pre-arranged fee.\textsuperscript{92} Women working as domestics in the elite areas of Karachi have to travel long distance daily which is unaffordable to them. They make arrangements with truckers to transport them in groups (see **Box-5: A Bus Route for Women Domestic Workers**).

**Box-5: A Bus Route for Women Domestic Workers**

In March 2012, the URC Social Organiser noticed that groups of women at bus stops or cross roads stop vehicles to get a lift as a group. The vehicles they usually stop are trucks and/or vans carrying cargo. He observed this for sometime then gave a group of six women a lift in the URC Suzuki van. Discussions

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\textsuperscript{87} Zahid Farooq; unpublished research notes prepared for this paper; March 2014

\textsuperscript{88} Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raza; *Motorbike Mass Transit*; unpublished report prepared for the IIED UK, June 2009

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid

\textsuperscript{90} Zahid Farooq; unpublished research notes prepared for this paper; March 2014


\textsuperscript{92} These arrangements are well-known to most Karachiites.
followed. After these initial discussions, further discussions with women at the cross roads were initiated. And a number of findings emerged.

The women were domestic workers and consisted of various ethnicities. However, members of a group belonged to the same ethnicity and came from the same area. The URC focussed on the group belonging to the Baloch community who live in Macha Goth, Yousof Goth and Saeedabad, all in North Karachi. Contacts in these settlements led to the discovery that between 1,500 to 2,000 women move every day from these low income settlements in the North of the city to the middle and elite areas of the city in the South, to work as domestics. On their way from their homes to work (a 25 kilometre journey) they take public transport which costs them Rs 35 to Rs 40. For the journey they have to change buses. If they did not have to change buses, the cost would be Rs 16 to Rs 20 one-way.

To save costs they try and get a lift on the way back. Thus, they save about 8 to 10 percent of their income. The journey from their home to their places of work can be anything between 90 to 120 minutes and they have to be punctual which is not required on their way back.

Discussions with the women showed that their transport costs would be halved if they did not have to change buses and travel time would also be reduced. Understanding this, the URC approached the General Secretary and Coordinator of the Sindh Pakistan Peoples’ Party (PPP) (which is the government in Sindh) in August 2013 and discussed as to what could be done to provide transport for these women. It was suggested that a new route should be developed from the settlements to the areas where these women worked. The URC identified such a route and made it pass through locations that would be lucrative for the operators.

With the PPP Coordinator a visit was made to the RTA Secretary’s office and the decision to issue a route permit for the URC identified route was agreed upon. On 10 February 2014, the route permit was issued in the name of the URC. Since then, URC has been trying to get the transporters to ply 10 buses (the minimum required under law) on this route. However, the transporters say that given the low fares, they are not willing to invest in this venture. The URC currently is looking for alternatives.

Source: Urban Resource Centre, Karachi

4. **Transporter’s Issues:**

Transporters are of the opinion that they know better how to run transport and manage its various aspects such as routes, timings, coordination with each other and operating economically viable solutions. Government reports endorse these statements. The main complaint of the transporters is that in spite of this knowledge they are not meaningfully consulted by the government and except in a few cases in the 1990s, they have not been made part of government plans and policies.

Transporters also put up a strong case about the transport sector no longer being economically viable for them given the low fares. They feel that if they are to invest in transport then the fares will have to be doubled. An important issue is the torching of buses during strikes and political conflicts around turf. Government compensation for torched buses which cost between Rs 1.5 to Rs 1.8 million is only Rs 200,000 and that too is given after long efforts and hesitation on the part of the government. No insurance company is willing to insure a private sector public transport vehicle, nor is any bank willing to provide a loan for the purchase of vehicles. As a

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93. See Interview B-01 (Irshad Bukhari)

94. Karachi Master Transit Cell; Public Private Based Environment Friendly Public Transport System for Karachi (Draft Final Report); CDGK, 2006

95. See Interview B-01 (Irshad Bukhari)
result, only small buses can be purchased which are not a solution to Karachi’s transport problems and for better profits for the transporters. They claim that if loans from banks were available they would purchase large buses instead of paying Rs 2 million for a small bus whose actual price is less than Rs 1 million.96

Transporters also point out that fares in Karachi are low as compared to fares in the Punjab (Rs 28 per 20 kilometres as opposed to Rs 14 in Karachi) and KPK. This is because the government “is afraid of the people of Karachi” who are anti-transporters. Not only fuel has increased but the cost of spare parts and tyres have also increased. The old bus manufacturing companies have wound up and the product of the new companies costs much more. Apart from the main corridors, the roads are in terrible condition and reduce the life of the vehicle. To reduce operation costs, the bus owners’ organisations had to do away with the ticketing system as a result of which it has become difficult for them to have a just calculation for their profit and losses.97

Ethnic issues also take a toll on the functioning of the system. Most of the minibus drivers are from the KPK and are reluctant to go into those areas which are strong holds of the MQM. Two years ago, a large number of KPK origin drivers were killed. The drivers do not care about following the law since they pay bhatta to the police of around Rs 2,000 to Rs 3,000 per month. In addition, they have the support of their organisations which provide them with protection.98

The emergence of MQM supporters becoming owners of rickshaws and QINGQIs is resented by the people of KPK origin.99 Then there are other issues also. The city police are corrupt and Transporter Ittehad feels that this is because they are paid a low salary of between Rs 15,000 to Rs 20,000. They point out that the Motorway Police is not corrupt because it is paid Rs 40,000 to Rs 50,000. Also, because of low profits, good drivers can no longer be afforded by the transporters because of which the quality of service has declined.100

Because of the issues mentioned above, a lot of transport vehicles have shifted from Karachi to Hyderabad and a number of them have converted to cargo carrying trucks and intercity buses. Many of the bus owners have sold their businesses and moved to operate from Dubai, Saudi Arabia and South Africa.101

The main issue that concerns the transporters today is that they converted the majority of their buses to CNG at considerable expense. Converting them again to diesel means even more expense which they will not be able to cover because of low fares, high costs of maintenance, city violence and an absence of credit from banks at normal rates.

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96. See Interview B-01 (Irshad Bukhari) and B-03 (Muhammad Afridi)

97. Ibid

98. Ibid

99. Zahid Farooq; unpublished research notes prepared for this paper; March 2014 (Zahid Farooq is the Coordinator of the URC Karachi)

100. See Interview B-01 (Irashad Bukhari)

101. Ibid
5. **Commuter’s Point of View:**

As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire served to 150 commuters is given in Appendix-3 along with an analysis and tables showing the different ways in which men and women view the transport issue in Karachi.

The combination of preference and availability of transport varies with normal and days that are perceived as unusual by the respondents. Unusual days are those when the city closes down because of strike calls or the blocking of roads because of demonstrations, by various political, religious and ethnic parties and groups. Days when there is CNG closure, are also considered as unusual days. On normal days a combination of bus and rickshaw is used while 48.7 percent commuters do not go to work on unusual days. In addition, the majority (86.7 percent) find it difficult to get a bus on non-CNG days. On such days the dependence on rickshaws and QINGQIs increases. More than half the respondents consider a motorcycle as a cheaper, more flexible and faster means of commuting. In addition, the majority (60 percent) consider the emergence of the QINGQi favourably since it is cheap, it can stop anywhere and does not have to limited itself to specific stops, and it offers zero waiting time. A majority of respondents claim that they cannot find transport at night easily which limits their after dark movements. The majority (82.7 percent) also feel that it is not safe for women to travel at night.

The difficulties mentioned by the respondents range from excessive time spent in travelling and waiting for buses, travelling standing or on bus roof tops, suffering injuries, being forced to leave the bus before reaching the destination for one reason or the other, harassment of women commuters, damage to attire, non-standardisation of bus fares, and the fear of the gas cylinder (which is placed within the bus) exploding.

The largest number of commuters (35.3 percent) spend between 41 to 60 minutes one way on the road each day while commuting and 13.3 percent spend 81 to 90 minutes commuting one way. Waiting time at bus stops is reasonable and various from 5 to 20 minutes. It is often longer at non-rush hours when drivers wait for a long time so that their buses can be filled up. Overcrowding is an issue as only 13.3 percent of the respondents get a seat in buses while commuting. Six percent claimed that they have travelled on bus roof tops. A small majority (54 percent) said that there are often disputes on fares. The buses also sometimes fail to reach their destination or they change their routes because of finishing of CNG, mechanical faults in the bus, or because of the “law and order” situation.

Getting on and off buses also causes injury, according to 47.3 percent of the respondents, 60 percent of whom blame this on the foot rest through which one enters the bus and/or the damaged body of the minibus. The most serious issue identified by the questionnaire analysis is that persons are often robbed while travelling in a bus. 60 percent claimed that they had been robbed once or more than once. CNG cylinders are placed within the bus, often adjacent to the women’s compartment. 79.3 percent of respondents consider this to be a safety hazard. In addition, 46 percent of respondents are of the opinion that women face harassment while travelling. And finally, 82 percent believe that a better transport system would increase their options for job opportunities.

The respondents also made a number of recommendations. 86 percent are of the opinion that there is a need to increase seating arrangements for women in the buses. 76.7 percent are of the opinion that there should also be buses exclusively for women although there was also an understanding that this would make it difficult for families to travel together. An overwhelming majority (92 percent) think that senior citizens should be given a discount in fares.
From the questionnaire analysis, one can conclude that with an average monthly income of Rs 13,482 the respondents, on an average spend Rs 1,500 per month (Rs 18,000 per annum) and approximately 2 hours daily, round trip (624 hours per annum) while commuting, which is much higher than world average commuting hours. The time spent in commuting by the respondents in a year is equivalent to 78 working days (assuming 8 working hours in a day). According to a study, world average commuting time is 80 minutes, in a day. Thailand is considered to have the longest commuting in the world while Malawi has shortest commuting time. A 2007 Gallup Survey (in USA), indicated that in a typical day, workers’ average round trip commute takes 46 minutes. Similarly, according to UK Office of National Statistics (2011), 75 percent of the workers take around 1 hour for a round trip from home to work\textsuperscript{102}.

There is also a difference in the responses between men and women to certain questions. These differences are highlighted in the attached Gender Analysis Table in Appendix-3. Women have more complaints against the system than men. Their complaints against the conditions of buses, non-availability of seats in the absence of which they are forced to stand while commuting; their objection to speeding; the failure of buses to stop at a bus stop; the absence of consideration to the elderly, women and children which disembarking; their disapproval of government plans for transport; their disapproval of the traffic police; are all much higher in percentage terms than those of men.

There is a difference on other issues as well. Less women (7.02 percent) than men (37.86 percent) have been robbed more than once while commuting. Also, 89.36 percent women as opposed to 78.64 percent men believe that a good transport system facilitates securing a better job. A larger percentage of women (68.09 percent) as opposed to 57.28 percent men believe that a motorbike is a better form of commuting. Although the margin is very small, a larger number of women than men are against the banning of music which is played by all drivers while commuting.

Despite all the difficulties of travelling, a majority of commuters travel by minibus, though they consider motorcycles and QINGQIs as a better mode of conveyance. Besides all perceived misgivings on transport governance, respondents’ recommendations about scaling up of transport system reflect their pinned hopes on a viable mass transit system and/or on an increase in the number of buses.

**Women Specific Issues:**

In-depth open-ended interviews of 15 women were arranged by the Urban Resource Centre, Karachi for this paper. The interviewees were from various walks of life and all used public transport for commuting. They consist of domestic help workers; maids, cleaners and caretakers at schools and offices; white-collar workers at banks and other corporate sector entities; school teachers; students at high school and universities; and professionals. Their views on the transport system and how it affects their lives is given in the paragraphs below.\textsuperscript{103}

The most important common thread in all the interviews is that the interviewees get tired (exhausted) and mentally stressed due to the pollution, discomfort and long hours at travelling.

\textsuperscript{102} http://www.paycheck.in/main/labour-law-india/travel-reimbursement/commuting-time-and-payment

\textsuperscript{103} The interviewer, Anadil Iftekhar, is a school teacher. She carried out these interviews while she was interning at the URC. She also transcribed these Urdu interviews into English
Some also say that it is a physical and mental torture travelling by bus and on returning home they are in a bad mood and not capable of doing any other work.\(^{104}\) During pregnancy (by implication, any not normal situation) it is almost impossible to use the public transport buses.\(^{105}\)

A number of women also claim that they walk long distances to save on bus fare. To save money some prefer to take one crowded and uncomfortable bus trip rather than spend more money taking two buses which are not so crowded and re of shorter routes. For comfort they also get together to share a QINGQI. This makes the QINGQI as affordable as a bus. However, it is difficult to make such an arrangement since destinations and timings vary even though one may live in the same neighbourhood.\(^{106}\) The highest earning interviewee claims her income is Rs 25,000 and she spends Rs 4,000 on commuting.\(^{107}\) Due to the unreliability of transport, especially when there are demonstrations in the city and on non-CNG days, it is common to arrive late at work. In such cases, the interviewees get scolded by their bosses and in some cases there are heavy deductions from their salaries.\(^{108}\)

Transport issues also impact on where one works. Usually, one looks for a job in the neighbourhood even if it is relatively poorly paid. One of the interviewees also changed her profession because of transport related discomfort and another turned down a good job offer.\(^{109}\) However, many interviewees feel that rickshaws and QINGQIs have made life easier and more comfortable provided you can afford them or share them with a group.\(^{110}\) But, there are other problems also. Karachi’s fast signal-free roads developed recently means that you cannot cross a road except by a pedestrian bridge but these bridges are not enough in number and are not appropriately located. As a result, where it used to take five minutes to cross a road now locating and using a pedestrian bridge can take over 15 minutes. People have made alternative arrangements like cutting the barrier in the middle of the road so as to squeeze through or to jump over. Women find this difficult to do.\(^{111}\)

Many of the interviewees feel insecure while travelling and face some form of sexual harassment. As such, they prefer to take a QINGQI which is open and visible rather than a taxi which has locked doors or a crowded and uncomfortable bus. However, when they travel in groups then the feeling of insecurity disappears.\(^{112}\) Most interviewees also claim to have experienced some form of sex related harassment. Men in cars and on motorbikes stop and offer them lifts while they are waiting at bus stops. Sometimes this turns into pestering. Men enter into the women’s compartment of the bus and refuse to leave when asked to do so. Rickshaw drivers constantly stare at the women passengers while driving. This is made possible because of huge rear view mirrors in the rickshaw which focus more on the passenger than the oncoming traffic at the back. Here again, travelling in groups lowers the level of harassment considerably. It has also been noticed that if university men students are in a bus then the level

\(^{104}\) See Interview C-05 (Sanjeeda), C-07 (Sughra), C-08 (Tina), and C-11 (TR)

\(^{105}\) See Interview C-04 (Shahnaz Anjum)

\(^{106}\) See Interview C-02 (Bushra), C-07 (Sughra), C-13 (Zaib-un-Nisa), and C-14 (Fatima)

\(^{107}\) See Interview C-11 (TR)

\(^{108}\) See Interview C-01 (Saima Ismail Shah) and C-07 (Sughra)

\(^{109}\) See Interview C-06 (Christine), C-08 (Tina), C-09 (M.S.), and C-13 (Zaib-un-Nisa)

\(^{110}\) See Interview C-02 (Bushra), C-06 (Christine), and C-11 (TR)

\(^{111}\) See Interview C-01 (Saima Ismail Shah) and C-11 (TR)

\(^{112}\) See Interview C-04 (Shahnaz Anjum), C-10 (M.J.), C-12 (Xara), and C-13 (Zaib-un-Nisa)
of harassment disappears. In one case, a woman took to veiling herself while travelling so as to feel more secure. It is common for women to wear the hijab or cover their heads while travelling and to remove them once they are in their work place. But then, there are women who claim that they have never been subjected to any harassment.

Another common complaint is that the conductor of the bus often does not return the change of a Rs 20 note when the fare is Rs 17. In one case, the interviewee has sleepless night thinking of the haggling she will have to do with the bus conductor the next morning so as to retrieve the extra money. There are other issues also that surface in these interviews. One is the presence of pick-pockets who very skilfully rob passengers of their belongings. The other relates to the gas cylinder which is normally placed near the driver behind which is the women’s compartment. Women consider it to be a live bomb, waiting to explode. The government agencies are aware of this issue. They have taken note and issued orders to where and how the cylinders have to be placed and that the bus route of those who do not place the cylinders as per the government’s directions will be taken away and in addition a heavy fine will be imposed on them. However, the cylinders stay put where they are. Women also have issues related to over-speeding and un-called for stops.

6. Government Officials’ Comments and Proposals

All government officials interviewed have either clearly stated or implied that Karachi’s transport problems cannot be solved without the induction of large buses and some sort of a rail-based mass transit system. They have also indicated that one of the major reasons for the non-induction of large buses is the absence of bank loans and subsidies, not only to the private sector but also the non-payment of subsidies agreed upon to the public transport sector as well. It is also agreed that if public sector or public-private-partnership sector fare cost is related to the price of diesel then the public will not be able to afford the service. It is pointed out that the UTS service was stopped because the contractors were not making enough money to pay the bank loans back so they abandoned their vehicles. It is for these reasons that public transport has diminished and where it has continued, the quality of service has deteriorated. For example, to save costs the UTS contractors removed the e-ticketing system, in

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113. See Interview C-01 (Saima Ismail Shah), C-02 (Bushra), C-04 (Shahnaz Anjum), C-08 (Tina), and C-14 (Fatima)
114. See Interview C-11 (TR)
115. Author’s observation
116. See Interview C-02 (Bushra) and C-07 (Sughra)
117. See Interview C-06 (Christine), C-07 (Sughra) and C-13 (Zaib-un-Nisa)
118. See Interview C-04 (Shahnaz Anjum)
119. See Interview A-04 (Ghazanfar Ali Qadri)
120. See Interview A-01 (Muhammad Athar)
121. See Interview A-01 (Muhammad Athar) and A-04 (Ghazanfar Ali Qadri)
122. See Interview A-06 (Iftekhar Hussain)
123. See Interview A-07 (Shams-ud-Din Abro)
the absence of which they were overloading and experienced difficulty in controlling the entry point of the buses.\textsuperscript{124}

There were other reasons given for the failure of the various private and public-private-partnership initiatives. It was stated that strikes, protests and demonstrations (both religious and political) not only disrupt traffic but force transporters to take alternative routes to the ones assigned to them, disturbing the entire system.\textsuperscript{125} It is also felt that government does not consider transport as a "service" like it does education and health which it subsidises heavily. It is also pointed out that the Karachiites have become very individualistic and have lost all civic sense. They burn buses if a bus is involved in a fatal accident instead of letting the Police handle it.\textsuperscript{126} It is also felt that without the involvement of the CDGK, there cannot be an appropriate transport system. It is also pointed out that as long as the elected mayor was there, subsidies were paid for the UTS Scheme. Subsequently, the mayor had to appear in court, because in spite of everything being done transparently, the authorities believed that there had been an element of corruption. Rivalries between political parties have disrupted continuity in policies and have resulted in allegations and counter-allegations.\textsuperscript{127}

The KCR is considered to an important element in developing a mass transit system. However, it is pointed out that it will require a system for the repayment of the loan required to build it. How this will be done is unclear. In addition, all projects where a loan is involved require sovereign guarantees to the contractors and/or the governments from where the loan is coming. The government of Pakistan is not in a position to give such guarantees because of the enormous cost of the project.\textsuperscript{128}

Government officials have also commented on the flyovers and signal-free roads, the emergence of the QINGQIs, the energy crisis and the conversion of Karachi buses into trucks and carriers. It is felt that flyovers and signal-free roads are not a solution and they have not solved the problems of traffic or transport.\textsuperscript{129} On the question of QINGQIs opinions are divided. The Traffic Police is of the opinion that QINGQIs should be banned on the main roads. They should also be stopped from using roundabouts as terminals. Unless these actions are carried out, the problem of traffic (and hence of road transport) will not be solved. The problem is that court has granted a stay because of which action against the QINGQI cannot be taken.\textsuperscript{130} Other officials feel that though there is no solution at present but there can be if the existing systems are all integrated into a larger plan.\textsuperscript{131} For this there is a need to talk to the existing private sector operators and develop a plan of which they are a part.\textsuperscript{132} Regarding energy issues, there is a proposal that for public transport CNG should be provided all seven days a week while non-

\textsuperscript{124} See Interview A-01 (Muhammad Athar)
\textsuperscript{125} See Interview A-04 (Ghazanfar Ali Qadri)
\textsuperscript{126} See Interview A-04 (Ghazanfar Ali Qadri)
\textsuperscript{127} See Interview A-06 (Iftekhar Hussain) and A-07 (Shams-ud-Din Abro)
\textsuperscript{128} See Interview A-03 (Fazal Karim Khattri)
\textsuperscript{129} See Interview A-01 and C-03 (Fazal Karim Khattri)
\textsuperscript{130} See Interview A-02 (Arif Hanif)
\textsuperscript{131} See Interview A-01 (Muhammad Athar)
\textsuperscript{132} See Interview A-03 (Fazal Karim Khattri)
CNG days can apply for all other transport modes. Meanwhile, the Commissioner Karachi has placed a ban on the conversion of buses into carriers and trucks.133

Institutional arrangements have also been discussed in the interviews. By describing the changes that constantly happen, it has been implied that the absence of continuity is an issue.134 The problem of coordination between different agencies has also been raised. This is in spite of the fact that the Transport and Communication Department, KMC Director, Secretary RTA and Traffic Police along with their other staff, all sit in the same building. It is felt that there could be better coordination if all these were put together under “a higher authority”.135 Corruption has been considered as the “worst enemy” which played an important part in the failure of the KTC, the SRTC, the KPTS and the UTS.136 There is also a feeling that traffic jams will increase if the present system is permitted to continue.137

The officials place their hope on the JICA Karachi Transportation Improvement Project and are of the opinion that the BRTs now being implemented will ease the situation. It is also felt that the federal, provincial and city governments will arrange for the required subsidies.

An ex-official of the CDGK, not wishing to be named, says that Karachi’s transport plans are not executed because of an absence of political will and interference; an absence of a promoter for the Karachi plans at the federal level in Islamabad; conflicts between different ethnic groups in power in government; and a weakening of local and provincial government institutions due to constant changes in them and due to non-merit political appointments in the relevant agencies and departments. He also feels that the government’s flyovers and signal-free roads will be a hindrance to the building of a light rail and/or a BRT.

7. **Conclusions and Recommendations:**

The most important conclusion that surfaces from the discussions in this paper is that there is a link between the nature of city governance, technology used for transport and affordability, housing, land-use, access to livelihoods (especially for women), health and family well-being, on the one hand, and quality transport on the other. In short, transport has to be seen as a part of a larger city planning exercise.

Institutional arrangements for government transport programmes for Karachi have been related to the governance structure at the time at which the programme was proposed and implemented. Since governance structures have changed from time to time, transport programmes have suffered due to a lack of continuity. The transporters, government officials and the public all agree that Karachi needs large buses which alone can provide comfortable means of commuting. However, purchase and operation of these buses is costly and the service cannot be made affordable to the public without the provision of a subsidy.

Government programmes have failed in their objectives for a number of reasons. Without a subsidy government programmes operated at a loss and were unsustainable. Even where

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133. See Interview A-04 (Ghazanfar Ali Qadri)
134. See Interview A-03 (Fazal Karim Khattri)
135. See Interview A-04 (Ghazanfar Ali Qadri)
136. See Interview A-07 (Shams-ud-Din Abro)
137. See Interview A-05 (Tahir Ahmad Khan)
government promised such subsidies, they were not provided. There were also maintenance issues such as the use of substandard spare parts replacement which adversely affected the performance of the vehicle. There were also pilferage of funds and a loss of vehicles due to riots and political violence. The government did not permit the private sector to raise its fares in proportion to the rising cost of fuel so as to keep them affordable to the public. As a result, the formal and informally financed private sector was unwilling to invest in conventional transport modes such as minibuses. The result has been a decline in the number of buses.

The courts have added to the transport crisis by ordering all public transport vehicles to convert to CNG. This order was issued without a proper understanding of the availability of CNG or of government plans regarding energy related issues. The various governments in Pakistan (after the order was issued) did not challenge the courts’ decision.

There are institutional issues also. The various government departments dealing with transport in the city have no coordination between them. As is evident from the interviews, they also have serious differences of opinion. In addition, police corruption is rampant because of which public transport vehicles operate without fitness tests and certificates; unregistered (and as such illegal) public transport vehicles operate on the roads and all vehicles who pay a monthly bribe to the police can violate traffic rules and regulations causing traffic jams and inconvenience to commuters.

The free transport policy of the government was a step in the right direction given the problems the city fact at that time. The fact that the individuals or groups wishing to operate a vehicle, had to purchase it on hire purchase at high rates of interest led to the creation of a group of money-lenders controlling the informally financed transport system. The fact that these financers belong to a particular ethnic group and lent to their own ethnic group members, resulted in the introduction of ethnic politics in the transport sector in the city. If the government had financed these vehicles through bank loans, the situation would have been very different and what Karachiites refer to as the transport “mafia” would have been very different in nature.

Government programmes have not been able to compete with the informally financed private sector for a number of reasons and have suffered as a result. The service provided by the informally financed sector is through considerably cheaper minibuses, low paid and over-worked drivers and conductors, and almost no administrative overheads or paper work. However, this sector has an understanding of the city and its commuters, knowledge of identifying lucrative routes, promoting their interests in dealing with the police, and through the power of their associations negotiating effectively with government agencies. They have managed to provide cheap (though uncomfortable) transport which the government has not.

This immense knowledge of the informally financed sector has not been made use of effectively in government plans. The sector is confident that it can operate large buses successfully if it is provided loans from banks for the purchase of buses and at normal rates of interest; its vehicles are provided protection by insurance companies; and if police corruption could be contained. One of the reasons for police corruption, given by the transporters, is the low salaries that policemen receive.

The railway option, which has consisted of expanding the KCR and more recently of rehabilitating it, has not been successful. This is because the proposals have been far too expensive and for which the federal government has been unwilling to provide sovereign guarantees to the bidders or to loan providing governments and agencies. There has also been an unresolved disagreement between the various state actors in whether to develop and expand the railway network or opt for a BRT system. It seems that with the recent JICA Plan this has been resolved. Proposals by the Pakistan Railways and its ex-chief engineer for developing a comparatively far cheaper system built and operated by the Railways, has never been
seriously pursued by the various governments between 1989 and to the present times. The reasons for this is the desire of politicians for grand projects that are considered “modern”.

Karachi’s traffic problems are increasing due to the large number of vehicles that are added to its roads every year. Congestion is also increasing due to the conversion of various roads from residential to high density commercial land-use and encroachments by hawkers and informal businesses on corridors on which public transport plies. These encroachments serve the needs of the lower and lower-middle income commuting public. There is also poor traffic management because of the limited number of policemen on traffic related duty. The wardens introduced by the city government to help the police in traffic management was a good and effective idea. As explained in the text earlier, they were removed as a result of Karachi’s ethnicity based politics and its turf related conflicts.

The market response to the shrinking of buses has been extremely innovative. The emergence of the QINGQI; the cost-effectiveness of its design; the manner in which it operates complete with informally created terminals, stands, routes, time-keeping; and continuous modifications to its operations and design (on the basis of the changing context in the city), is a tribute to its entrepreneurship and the understanding of the politics of the transport sector. The emergence of motorbikes and their rapidly increasing numbers is also a market response that has brought about immense relief to Karachi families who own them. However, both modes are considered unsafe and reasons for congestion and for poor traffic management in the city.

The impact of the transport crisis on people’s lives is enormous. Travelling in environmentally degraded conditions for long hours results in physical and mental health problems. This effects family and social life and limits peoples’ choice of livelihoods (especially for women) since they wish to work in areas that they can easily access through the existing transport system. Increasingly, transport availability and quality is also determining where they would like to live. The market has responded to this issue by informally densifying those katchi abadis that are nearer the city or its main work areas.

The fundamental issue in dealing with the transport crisis in Karachi is related to governance. It has been noticed that an elected local government (2001-2007) was more effective in accessing funds from the federal and provincial governments for development purposes than the earlier bureaucratic system which has now been reintroduced. Decentralisation, as was practiced between 2001 and 2007, has problems because of Sindh’s relationship to its capital city where the city is predominantly Urdu speaking and the province as a whole is predominantly Sindhi speaking. A system is required that empowers the city and at the same time protects the interests of the Sindhi speakers in accessing and controlling Karachi’s enormous assets. Such an arrangement would also help the province deal more effectively with the federal government in Islamabad.

**Recommendations:**

1. The current vision for the city on which basis planning is being carried out is that Karachi will be a “World Class City”. It is recommended that the vision should be changed to Karachi becoming a “pedestrian and commuter friendly city”. This would help in promoting the interests of the majority (who are public transport uses) in Karachi.

2. The CDGK role in the designing, implementing and managing the development of transport should be enhanced. Some form of an elected system should be reintroduced that satisfies the needs of the city and at the same time satisfies both the PPP and the MQM. This will establish the city’s ownership of the transport sector and give the CDGK additional powers to negotiate at the federal level.
3. At present there is a lack of coordination between the different traffic and transport related agencies because of which some of their programmes are ineffective and because of which court orders cannot be effectively implemented. A higher level organisation that brings these agencies together needs to be created along with a police reform that has often been suggest, sometimes planned but never implemented.

4. The ad-hoc densification of the city is resulting in congestion and environmental degradation making the development of an effective and comfortable transport system difficult. It is suggested that the Master Plan Group of Offices (MPGO) be revived and strengthened so as to prepare a densification plan that takes transport (among other things) into consideration. For such an exercise to become possible the Sindh Building Control Authority (SBCA) will have to be made subservient to the MPGO.

5. The JICA Plan should be implemented incrementally as proposed. However, the following aspects will have to be taken into consideration.

   • The government will have to provide the required subsidies to bridge the gap between revenue generated and actual costs. These subsidies can be derived from a small transport tax on petroleum products, increase in road tax on private vehicles of over 1300 cc, a sliding vehicle insurance surcharge (putting the burden on luxury vehicles).

   Land at the intersections of the KCR and the major arteries of the city should be developed as low income housing. This will help in reducing travel time and costs and at the same time make the KCR and the proposed BRTs economically more feasible. In addition, it can also subsidise KCR development and operation and maintenance costs.

   • Maintenance processes should see to it that mistakes made in the past should not be repeated. It should be guaranteed that budgets for maintenance are available and that there is no compromise on the quality of spare parts that are used for the rehabilitation of vehicles.

   • Part of the JIC Plan consists of BRTs on the major corridors of movements in Karachi. However, majority of the city will remain un-served by the Plan. The private sector (existing at present and planned for in the future) should be supported by developing routes that the JICA Plan will not serve or those routes that link un-served areas to the BRT corridors. To make this possible, a comprehensive transport plan for the city is required which will need to be periodically modified / upgraded.

   To support the private sector, bank loans for purchase and/or rehabilitation of buses should be provided and insurance companies should be encouraged to insure their vehicles. Proper locations for their depots and terminals should be a part of the above-mentioned larger plan.

6. QINGQIs should be regularised and with their associations routes should be developed for them in a manner in which they can link un-served areas to the main corridors of the city. The possibility of improving their design should be studied by academic institutions and should be made available to the QINGQI manufacturers.

7. A decision should be taken as to whether we wish to promote or restrict the purchase of motorbikes. If they are to be promoted then duties and taxes on them should be reduced or removed. If we wish to curtail them, taxes should be increased. However, it would be
unfair to make them more expensive when Karachi has a badly functioning transport system. Motorbikes already need infrastructure such as dedicated lanes, proper car parking facilities and safety measures that have been proposed but never implemented.

Similarly, a reduction in the increase in the number of cars is necessary. It is recommended that the import of second-hand Japanese cars should be banned and extra tax on cars should be imposed as a deterrent to the purchase of cars. This would be difficult because of the political power of the automobile and banking (they give loans for purchase of cars) sectors who will oppose such a move. However, this move should be initiated.

8. Hawkers and informal businesses are an integral part of the commuting scene. At all bus stops, inter and intra-city terminals and railway stations, space for them should be provided. The locations where they are encroaching at present need to be replanned to accommodate them in a manner in which they do not adversely affect the existing and proposed transport systems. A number of studies of certain locations have been made with a view of accommodating the hawkers.

9. Through the media a campaign for promoting culture of respect for traffic rules and regulations, especially related to the issue of double car parking, should be carried out. This should also be made a part of primary and secondary school curriculum. But, this can only be successful if space for car parking is guaranteed. Here again, the role of a revived and powerful MPGO is required.

The above recommendations cannot be implemented in one go. Over a 15 year period, this transformation can take place and the process and time line for it can only be successfully managed if the existing private sector consisting of minibuses, rickshaws and QINGQIs is made an integral part of the planning and implementation process.
4.5% composition of Public Transport Vehicles carry 42% of Total Passengers

Private Cars are 36.5% of Total Vehicular Traffic carries only 21% Passengers.

Figure – 1
Figure – 2: Tramway Routes
Figure – 3: Karachi’s Expansion and the Circular Railway
Figure – 4
Appendix-1

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   (The Express Tribune-14, 28/05/2013)
## List of Interviewees and Selected Press Clippings

### A. Government Officials’ Interviews:

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<tr>
<td>A-01.</td>
<td>29.01.2014</td>
<td>Muhammad Athar</td>
<td>Director, Transport &amp; Communication, KMC</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
<td>Office, 8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Floor, Civic Centre</td>
<td>021-9923 0655</td>
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<td>A-02.</td>
<td>31.01.2014</td>
<td>Arif Hanif</td>
<td>DIG Traffic Police, Garden Road</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
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<td>A-03.</td>
<td>04.02.2014</td>
<td>Fazal Karim Khatri</td>
<td>DG Mass Transit</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
<td>Office, 6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; floor Civic Centre</td>
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<td>A-04.</td>
<td>12.02.2014</td>
<td>Ghazanfar Ali Qadri</td>
<td>Secretary Regional Transport Authority (RTA)</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
<td>Office, 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Floor Civic Centre</td>
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<td>A-05.</td>
<td>17.02.2014</td>
<td>Tahir Ahmed Khan</td>
<td>Secretary Transport</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
<td>Office, 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Floor Tughlaq House, Sindh Secretariat</td>
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<td>A-06.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Syed Iftekhar Hussain</td>
<td>Addl. District Officer Transport &amp; Communication, KMC</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
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<td>17.10.2014</td>
<td>Shamsuddin Abro</td>
<td>Director, Karachi Public Transport Society</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
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### B. Transporters’ Interviews:

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<td>B-02.</td>
<td>15.01.2014</td>
<td>Shabbir H. Sulemanjee</td>
<td>Chairman, All Pakistan CNG Association</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
<td>Office, 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Floor, Business Centre, Shahrah-e-Faisal</td>
<td>0321-92883 50</td>
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<td>B-03.</td>
<td>20.01.2014</td>
<td>Mehmood Afridi &amp; Tawab Khan</td>
<td>President, Muslim Minibus &amp; Vice President</td>
<td>Rizwan &amp; Zahid</td>
<td></td>
<td>021-327378 22 &amp; 0333-22321 90</td>
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*Appendix – 2*
### C. Women’s Interviews

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### D. Public’s Interviews

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<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Designation &amp; Organization / Department</th>
<th>Interviewer</th>
<th>Place of Interview</th>
<th>Contact No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>D-01</td>
<td>07.03.2014</td>
<td>Khursheed Bibi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rizwan-ul-Haq</td>
<td>Lyari Resettlement</td>
<td>0321-89927 82 &amp; 0300-26249 37</td>
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<td>D-02</td>
<td>April 2014</td>
<td>Amjad Ali</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rizwan-ul-Haq</td>
<td>Khuda-ki-Basti</td>
<td>0300-24166 76 &amp; 0321-9 209637</td>
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<td>D-03</td>
<td>April 2014</td>
<td>Jawed Sultan</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Nadeem Bakhsh</td>
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<td>Muhammad Yaseen</td>
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<td>D-07</td>
<td>26.03.2014</td>
<td>Dr. Qazi Mujahid Ali</td>
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<td>Rizwan-ul-Haq</td>
<td>Surjani Town</td>
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### E. Selected Important Press Clippings (Year 2007 – 2013)

**48. Transporters reject ban on rickshaws**  
(By Pakistan Press International; AAJ News Archives, 17/09/2007)
49. 2-stroke rickshaw owners regret changing engines
   (By Irfan Aligi; Daily Dawn, 29/04/2008)

50. Delays push KCR project cost up to $1.58 bn
   (By Asadullah, The News-13, 02/07/2009)

51. CDGK to construct six more flyovers on Sharea Faisal
   (The News-20, 02/07/2009)

52. Opposition leaders slam carbon surcharge
   (Dawn-15, 03/07/2009)

53. ‘85,000 road mishaps in city in 2.5 years’
   (DailyTimes-B1, 08/07/2009)

54. Cop arrested for selling fake licences
   (By Gibran Ashraf, The News-14, 12/07/2009)

55. Hapless commuters suffer torrid time
   (By Fawad Ali Shah, DailyTimes-B1, 15/07/2009)

56. Naval officers making Sharea Faisal prone to accidents
   (By Shahid Husain, The News-13, 21/07/2009)

57. The beginning of a transport revolution?
   (The News-13, 28/07/2009)

58. Oil import bill shrinks by 17 pc
   (By Mubarak Zeb Khan, Dawn-1, 26/07/2009)

59. Man dies after falling off bus roof
   (The News-14, 29/07/2009)

60. 1,600 CNG buses on Karachi roads soon
   (The News-13, 11/08/2009)
61. Transport fares register steep rise in 18 months  
   (By Bhagwandas, Dawn-13, 09/11/2009)

62. VVIP movement, Boulton Market reconstruction lead to massive gridlocks  
   (The News-13, 05/01/2010)

63. Vehicular emissions yet to be controlled  
   (By M. Waqar Bhatti, The News-20, 17/01/2010)

64. Non-operative bus routes cause hardship for public  
   (By Gibran Ashraf, The News-20, 31/01/2010)

65. Notices issued in petition against CDGK flyovers  
   (By Tahir Siddiqui, Dawn-13, 17/03/2010)

66. The Karachi tramway of yesteryear  
   (By Owais Mughal, The News-39 Kolachi, 04/04/2010)

67. CDGK given one week to submit SFC-IV EIA report  
   (By M. Waqar Bhatti, The News-13, 09/04/2010)

68. The W-11 legend  
   (By Naimat Haider, The News-39 Kolachi, 20/06/2010)

69. New tax incentive for CNG bus operators proposed  
   (Dawn-15, 30/06/2010)

70. Traffic nightmare on city roads  
   (Dawn-15, 07/09/2011)

71. JICA expert gives presentation on Bus Rapid Transit System  
   (The News-13, 12/10/2011)

72. Karachi Circular Railway victims still awaiting legal cover  
   (By Imtiaz Ali, The News-13, 10/11/2011)

73. Pak Suzuki posts 73% growth, sales up by 17% in 9MCY11  
74. ‘Plight of women in public buses’
   (By Riaz Ahmed, Karachi, Dawn-6 6/4/2012)

75. 80pc of CNG rickshaw drivers not qualified to give you a ride
    (By Qadeer Tanoli, The news-13, 223/04/2012)

76. Auto-rickshaw fare meters: a thing of the past
    (By Qadeer Tanoli, The News-13, 26/04/2012)

77. Bus mechanics struggling to make ends meet
    (By Qadeer Tanoli The news 16, 11/06/2012)

78. CNG crisis
    (The news 07, 12/06/2012)

79. KCR project to be ready by 2017
    (The News-15, 09/04/2012)

80. Less people died on Karachi’s roads last year, annual report shows
    (The Express Tribune13, May 11th, 2012.)

81. MQM opposes assessment of flyovers, bridges
    (The News-13, 27/04/2012)

82. Registration, licences for truck stands
    (Dawn-17, 26/2/2012)

83. Transport safety: CNG cylinders killed more people than US drones: Report
    (By Aroosa Shaukat, Tribune-3 10/4/2012)

84. With new projects in mind, transport dept seeks Rs4.3b
    (The Express Tribune,15, June 4th, 2012.)

85. Project cost rises by Rs100bn in three years
    (By Imtiaz Ali,The News-20,06/07/2012)

86. Circular railway: ‘Japanese govt will cover 93% cost of KCR’
    (By Saad Hasan,The Express Tribune-14,12/07/2012)
87. **SHC moved against ban on import of CNG kits**  
(By Jamal Khurshid, The News-14, 29/08/2012)

88. **‘A better public transport sector can boost city’s economy’**  
(The News-14, 10/09/2012)

89. **Traffic nightmares may come true**  
(The News-20, 16/10/2012)

90. **Roads of Karachi to be cleaned up by checking 3,000 vehicles every month**  
(The Express Tribune-13, 02/11/2012)

91. **Rationalisation of bus fares in the city overdue**  
(The News-14, 04/11/2012)

92. **In an explosive city, a different kind of bomb roams the streets**  
(By Sohail Khatak, The Express Tribune-15, 14/12/2012)

93. **Transporters to go on strike against new ‘sky-high’ traffic fines**  
(The Express Tribune-13, 29/03/2013)

94. **Traffic woes: Little being done to ease gridlock on Saddar streets**  
(The Express Tribune-14, 28/05/2013)