

INTERVIEWED BY ZAIN MANKANI | PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY: ARCHITECT

Arif Hasan is a Pakistani architect and planner, activist, teacher, social researcher and writer. He studied architecture at the Oxford Polytechnic, worked in Europe in architect's offices, and on his return to Karachi in 1968, established an independent practice which slowly evolved into dealing with national and international urban planning and development issues. He has taught at Pakistani and European universities and lectured widely both in the North and the South. His current and previous involvements are listed below.

ARCHI TIMES (AT): What is the role of Architecture in society?
ARIF HASAN (AH): Without Architecture you really cannot have a society, because any society needs to have a built environment through which it can perform its various functions. And at the same time, perform them comfortably, in physical, social and environmental terms. So that is what architecture is. It has many forms and shapes that are derived from the culture of that community - from its history, from its geography and the material and technology available.

There is a further role, because we are no longer living in small villages and settlements, but in mega-cities (and this is going to increase over a period of time). And these cities have their own problems, which did not exist previously, especially cities in what is now called the 'global south', where development has come, and change has come at a much faster pace than what we were able to plan for.

So here there are very serious issues of inequity, unequal development, ghettoization - both of the rich and the poor. There is also, because of the influx of populations and very large figures of migration, there is also the problem of fighting over scarce land resources. And those sections of society that are richer, more powerful, create conditions that are very difficult for the weaker sections of society, because they are able to appropriate most land in locations which are suitable for low-income groups to settle - basically nearer to the center of the city or in the city.

And I think it is here that architects and planners' institutions have to play a role, they have to struggle - if they

are for an inclusive and just society - they have to fight for development models and ethics for architectural practice that promote, both environmentally and socially, a more just utilization of land.

Unfortunately, you have many architects, all over the world, who do projects that destroy the environment, that destroy the poor, that convert multi-class public space into exclusive domain for the rich through a process of gentrification. So I think the role of an architect has to be to support a more equitable distribution of land, finances for the development of the city.

AT: Do you think Pakistani architects are able to play this role?

AH: I know a lot of projects where the architect has helped convert public space into, through a process of gentrification, into the exclusive domain of the rich and middle classes. There are many such projects. Also, I can give you examples of projects which architects have planned, which have destroyed the ecology of the region in which Karachi is located. And which have also destroyed heritage sites, both the tangible heritage and the earth that was destroyed, so the intangible heritage.

I think this sensitivity is very much missing in the world of architecture today but at the same time I can say that there remain architects both in Karachi and in Lahore who have fought for protection of public space and who have fought for the protection of the flora and fauna of the city and the adjacent areas. So you have both these things. Unfortunately the lobby that has struggled for a more equitable society and that has fought for land use being determined based on social considera-



tions rather than on the basis of land value alone - that lobby is very small. And it is certainly not growing at the pace at which the destruction of ecology and the environment is taking place.

AT: Would you like to name any of the projects you have mentioned, either the positive or the negative, so we can learn from their example?

AH: There are two very negative projects which I can mention - one was this beach development that was supposed to take place (Emaar Developers), where we were privatizing 16 km of the Karachi coastline and after its privatization this beach would be lost for purposes of entertainment and recreation to the people of Karachi. In addition about 18 fisherman's villages would have been demolished. The shrine culture that is linked to the fisherman's settlements would have been inaccessible. There were architects involved in this. And there were those who opposed it. There was a sahil bachao (save the coastline) movement and I must say that members of the Sindh bureaucracy were also opposed to it (some of them, not all of them) although they had orders to implement it. And also some corporate sector heads were concerned about it, and other important citizens including a senior judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. So that's one project.

Then there is the Bahria Town - the land has been acquired through coercion and force from the rural

population. A lot of villagers have been evicted from their historic sites. Then you have stone-age archeological sites that have been bulldozed. There were Buddhist sites that were lost forever. Then there was Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai's thikana (as it was called) that was here. It was a pilgrimage site. That has also gone. These are of course historical sites. But also very serious is the drainage typology has been tampered with. And we already know that Karachi floods not because of heavy rains, it floods because its drainage systems, especially the outfalls to the sea, have been taken over by both the elite and katchiabadis (shanty towns). The Kalari Nallah, for instance, is essentially the expansion of the Machhar Colony into the sea through reclamation of land. That's a katchiabadi. The other outlet to the sea has been blocked by the KPT Colony on Mai Kolachi Bypass. So the water can't drain out fast enough as it used to be before. And in DHA Phase 7 the Mehmoodabad Nallah and the Gizri creek outlet has been restricted by the Phase 7 development. So these are things that architects and planners have been involved with.

Also Lyari Expressway. I mean you displaced over 200,000 people without offering them anything apart from 50,000 Rupees and a plot in the wilderness and in the process they became far poorer than they were before because they lost everything. And there at Lyari Expressway they had water, they had sewerage, which went into the

river. They had electricity; they had schools, community centers, mosques. So all that was wiped out.

The question was: was that project required? And the answer works both ways. There were those like me, who said that it was not required. The Northern Bypass could have been made functional and developed. What was required in the case of Lyari Expressway was removing those people who were in the bed of the river. Those who were removed were not only those who were in the bed of the river, but also those who were removed who were on the banks of the river, where they (some of them) had lived for centuries. So this respect for history, culture, people and more than anything a search for creating a society and city that is not segregated on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion, class - I think these are important issues that architects should take into consideration.

My first experience of this came when I was asked to do a socio-economic study to "justify" a project in Karachi. A redevelopment project (Lines Area Project). And I was really horrified. I didn't do that study, because the suffering that I saw of the people who were being removed was enormous. And the city was not going to benefit in any way from that project. So that was the first serious opposition that I put up. And that is when I wrote that I would never do a project of this sort. I feel that that role of an architect is very important. The second thing that is important

is energy and climate. I think that if you look around Karachi you will find huge glass facades. And after people start working in them, on the inside of the glass they stick Thermopore (insulation) panels. And this I feel is a complete failure of architecture - that you cannot develop an architecture that responds to the climate. And this is something that is very upsetting, because also some very famous architects do this. There is a need to develop an architecture that responds to the climate without having to put up Thermopore which was not initially there when you designed the building.

AT: Maybe the architects are forced to follow the dictates of the client?

AH: They can take a stand, but the problem is that commercial practices usually have very large staff, and their needs have to be fulfilled. So you have to run after projects. Someone like me doesn't have to run after projects, so I can take a stand, which I have. In my recent architecture I have responded to the climate and I had clients who also had visions of having corporate sector style buildings but we reasoned it out and worked it out.

AT: An architect of your stature is in a position to dictate his terms, but what about young architects?

AH: I don't dictate my terms, I negotiate.

AT: Should architects educate the client then?

AH: No, I don't think the young

architect can educate the client. I think the organizations that represent the architects have to take a stand over here. It is they, and academia, that have to work towards public negotiations and discussions - make these subjects that are important. Unfortunately, they do not do that - neither the academia does it enough nor do the organizations that represent the architects.

For instance, Enercon is an organization that has dealt with energy. There is also The Green Initiative. My question is: do they have any links with academia? It is not their job to have links with academia, it is the academia's job to develop links with them and make them a part of their education process.

So I think that is missing. And although there are a number of young people today whom I meet, who come over to discuss their work, where I feel this consciousness is growing. And hopefully in the next generation things will change. Because you know this older generation, which is my generation, which dominates the field of architecture, followed very strict Modernist principles (whether they followed them consciously or not is another matter, but they followed them). And that was like the Bible. Consequently innovation was very limited. But now you have a much bigger world, and you have greater freedoms. I feel that the schools of architecture could perhaps use these freedoms more constructively, towards developing an architecture that responds to the climate.





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AT: How do you see the work of (Late) Ar. Parween Rehman as contributing to society?
AH: Parween Rehman developed over a long period of time. I knew her for part of her student life, and then over 30 years at the Orangi Pilot Project, where she worked with me. There were three very important aspects of Parween. One, she had a consciousness of injustice and inequity in society.

It was a very strongly felt thing. It is very rare. People arrive at this through logic and understanding sometimes like John Turner did, but in the case of Parween it was emotional - it was deeply ingrained in her. The second thing is that she was remarkably ethical. She was incapable of doing something that she thought was wrong or improper, which is also very rare. And the third was, Parween learned on the job. And her job linked her up with social activists, political activists, community activists in low income settlements on the one hand, and on the other hand it linked her up with those who were running projects in that developing low income settlement both in socio-political terms and physical terms.

And by the time Parween matured she had clearly understood what her role was. That was to provide technical advice and social guidance to low income communities for three purposes: One, for improving their settlements through whatever means they had. Second, linking them up with official planning so that they could make use of government plans for the physical improvement of their settlements, and in this process marking existing infrastructures, identifying what was missing was very much a part of her role. And third, which I think was extremely important, was bringing people together from different areas, so that they could operate as a larger entity. These were built into the philosophy of the Orangi Pilot Project from the very beginning, but I think that as Parween matured she took on this role more and more from Akhtar Hameed Khan and from myself. And over a period of time she became the person guiding the direction of the Orangi Pilot Project.

AT: How did her demise affect the OPP?
AH: There were periods of concern after she died, but now things have stabilized, and I think that the second-tier leadership that we had has taken over. It will take some time to carry out projects that had been identified earlier - after Parween's death things slowed down on that account - but I think it will be okay. But I think there is one thing that has to be understood: that since we began working in Orangi - I began working in 1981, and in low income settlements I began in 1974 - we are living in a very different world today. Communities have changed; governments have changed; NGOs have changed, and very important is the fact that aspirations have changed as well. Also Modernism and its various facets have now been replaced by Neo-Liberalism. I think the NGO world as a whole, in Pakistan, has not grasped the extent of this change - I think they are in the process of doing that, and once they do that I think there will be a change in the manner in which they deal with low-income settlements.

AT: Can you explain the effects of this change from Modernism to Neo-Liberalism?
AH: Well, let's take a bigger view to begin with. In the early 90s we started liberalizing - Neo-Liberalism started to take root. I don't think our policy makers - especially not those who work with cities or rural areas (maybe right on top yes, but on this level) - understood what this meant in philosophic terms. But they did pick up some vocabulary, which over time they used to justify the State's policies. Let's take a look at the terminology: we were told it is not the business of the state to do business, which means privatize. We were told cities are the engines of growth. Yes true, but we were not told that there are many cities which have declining GDP per capita, or declining resource per capita. We were told that the city has to be a world-class city, which means it should get direct foreign investment. This meant replacing planning by projects, so that they could get money from there. Also it meant that the city should be identified by some important event. Like FIFA; like Formula One in Istanbul. It



SISO COMPLEX, SUKkur

overcrowding especially for women and children because the street previously, when their houses were one or two floors, was public space / community space, which women and children could use. Today it is no longer communal space. Also, because the buildings are high and the lanes are narrow there are major problems of ventilation, light and the Karachi heat wave - this heat tiding effect - is very much there in these settlements, and caused a number of deaths. Also, there is a question of toilets. In these settlements today, through a process of densification, there are six to seven persons per room, and densities as high as 2000 to 4000 persons per hectare. So this is one very important aspect - densification. How are we going to deal with it? We do not know. There is no government policy on this very important issue. If I show you photographs and details, you will be horrified.

2. Densification of Middle Income Areas. This densification, a major part of it, is for purposes of speculation. This is not informal, this is formal. Take Sharfabad, Bahadurabad for instance. This is how you speculate. And under the previous by laws this was not allowed. But we now have something that is known as the Sindh High Density Board Act. The board consists of nine politicians and government servants, and under this act any area can be declared high density - even a plot can be declared as high density. And so certain corridors have been identified for high density construction, certain plots have been identified. So you have 20 story buildings, there is one 50 story building coming up soon. In the old city as well you have permissions for a very large number of buildings that have been given permission under this act. This is the other trend.

I'm not bothered about water and sanitation and electricity. These can come with reasonable planning. If not today, they can come let's say seven, eight, ten years. The question is: what do you do with the cars? I think that is the major issue in this form of development. And we are going to become like Bangkok, Bombay or Delhi. We are already almost there -

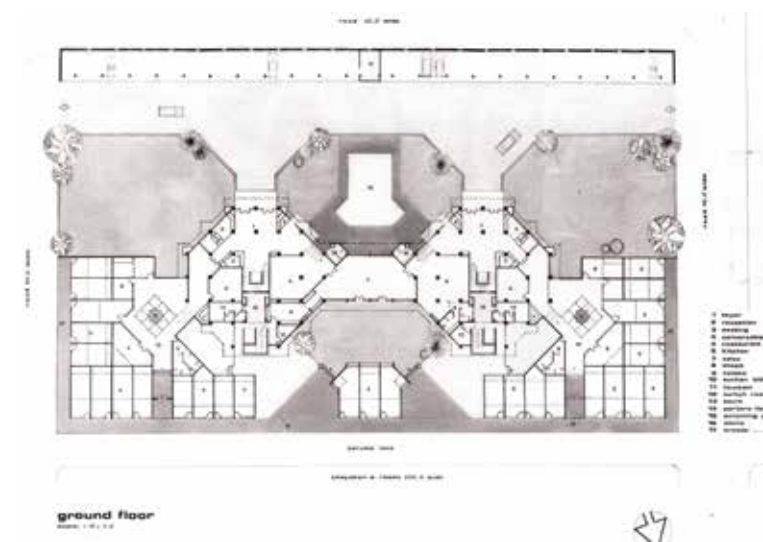
where there are so many cars that we do not know how to manage them. They registered last year in Delhi 1400 vehicles per day. In Karachi they registered 900 plus vehicles per day. So this is going to be an issue and no mass transit can solve this issue, because this is all about a very powerful nexus between the oil, automobile and banking lobbies, which are able to produce this number of cars. Even in the west they have not been able to prevent the manufacturing of cars, but through other means they have been able to restrict circulation of cars. I don't think we are in that position as yet.

3. The Building of the Bus Rapid Transits (BRTs). Geen Line, Blue Line, Red Line, Orange Line etc. These, when they are complete, will serve about 8% of the total trips generated in Karachi - if they are built. So what happens about the rest? How will people come from their homes to these BRTs? That remains a question mark. For that we have not so far moved towards designing a comprehensive program. I think that will be very necessary, otherwise these BRTs will not really fulfill the needs of the city. One way of doing it is you can regularize your Qing Qis all over again. By removing them we removed 360,000 seats per day from the transport sector in Karachi.

4. The Changing Society and its Demands. The most important age group in a census is the age group between 15 and 24, because that is both your Present and it is your Future. In this age group in the 1961 census 63% women were married and 28% men were married. If I extrapolate that to 1998 and from 1998 census to 2006, then today only 17% women in that age group are married, and only 8% men. As any sociologist will tell you, this is enough to change gender relations, which is enough to change family structures, and that has happened. And it has happened very fast. Secondly, today 90+ percent men and women in this age group are literate, if I extrapolate the 1998 census (as opposed to around 60% in the 1960s). So naturally, you have different aspirations. And that is obvious



SOS Children village, Karachi



should be an event city and it should be built for being an event city. Beijing Olympics, Commonwealth Games, etc. All these events were not meant for the poor people. This was completely unaffordable to them. Not only that, there were massive dislocations of populations to create these events and to create this branding, like Formula One. In Istanbul many people were displaced from their homes for Formula One. In Delhi, more than 50,000 people were removed from the city and left on the outskirts - far away from places of education, health, entertainment, recreation, work. Also the thinking that emerged out of this terminology was to gentrify whatever you could gentrify, and the need for gentrification actually arose because globalization and Neo-Liberalism created a very big middle-class, which is one of its positive features, that it created a big middle-class and an affluent middle-class. But at the same time it created insecurity as well for that middle-class and that led to creation of gated communities, and segregation according to ethnicity and class. So I feel that we were not able to absorb the positive features of Neo-Liberalism. We were not able to use them to create better cities, rather we used them to create exclusive cities, and divided cities.

AT: Our Architecture schools focus a lot on Western celebrity architects, like ZahaHadid, Frank Gehry, DanielLiabskind etc. What (if any) is the contribution of these architects to the field of architecture?
AH: Architecture, in my opinion, is a social art, which serves society. I'm a firm believer in minimalism. There is a contradiction here: there are students I have talked to that glorify vernacular architecture, which is all minimalism really, with surface decoration. And it is continued. You copy it, century after century with minor modifications, taking into consideration cultural changes. And yet what the students are taught is to be original. And the modesty, the humility, the environment and the ethos of humanity is killed when you emphasize originality. I'm not saying don't be original, but at the same time there is wisdom in producing an architecture that responds more to the environment and to human needs than to some grand concept, idea or icon. Zaha Hadid and Frank Gehry are okay. I have no problems with them. They didn't work for the masses, or for creating better cities, or for social aspects. They worked to create iconic buildings. But if they are to be the role models for

students, then I think it is a great tragedy. Because the architecture that they produced, it had an arrogance about it. Again, it is something I have no objection to, because it was not destroying the city. So it had an arrogance, it was very individualistic. As a piece of architecture there is no problem with it. But it is not something that you can possibly use - or extract something from it for the city as a whole, or for society as a whole. I don't think their architecture contributes in any way to a better social, political or physical environment, although the buildings in themselves are pieces of great architecture.

And then to be original, you have to have talent, and you have to have intuition also at the same time. Most architects don't have this. They can't have it. It is a rare thing. As an architect you have to follow some rules and regulations somewhere. But if you are a great genius like Frank Gehry, then it's alright, you don't need to follow rules, you set your own rules and regulations.

AT: What are your thoughts on the current trends in the development of Karachi?
AH: We have a number of development trends in Karachi, and this is what my recent publications are all about. I would identify five trends:

1. Densification of Low Income Settlements. And this is because the population of Karachi has increased from about 11 million in 1998 to over 20 million in 2006. Where do you house this population? The low income groups are in a special problem: the old katchiabadis were near their places of work because at that time the city was small. So the fringe of the city was near places of work, places of health, education, recreation. When the city, in physical terms, in this period has expanded more than twice of what it was in 1992, consequently the only land available to the poor today is on the fringes of an expanded city, far from places of work, recreation, health, education. So it has become cheaper to live in the city, rent in the city rather than live on the fringe. So today the informal sector has responded by densifying the katchiabadis which are nearer to the city. So where there were single or double story houses, now you have high rises of six, seven or eight floors, with terrible consequences of

by the fact that we now have so many NGOs, so many Citizen's Groups, all trying to do something - you have an explosion of art, of painting walls, you have drama clubs that have come up, you have films being made on all sorts of social issues.

So the aspirations are different. How do you design for this changing environment? How do you mitigate its negative physical and social aspects and how do you promote this? Also in our elite now there is an interest in the city - apart from their own areas - there are more and more young people, they are interested in the city. The number of films that are made on Karachi is incredible. Previously no one cared, now there is interest.

5. The Changing Nature of Migration. We are going to have much more migration than we have ever had before to Karachi. But it's going to be a different type of migration. Previously, who migrated? Anyone who wanted a better life for his or her children, they migrated; anyone who wanted to send money home... and that migration was to a welcoming city, because you could go and get a place in a katchiabadi and live there, by paying the middle-man and by paying the police. So the migration was of enterprising people. What has happened in the rural areas of Sindh and southern Punjab is that the old subsistence feudal economy has broken down because of the introduction of cash as a means of exchange rather than barter, which is what existed before. And also the relationship of caste and profession has broken down. Now the son of a Raj is not a Raj; the son of a sonaar (goldsmith) is not a sonaar. And in this process, the old caste and barter economy has been replaced by a cash economy. So the village is no longer self-sufficient, as it used to be. It depends entirely on urban manufactured goods, which it cannot afford. So this migration is not because you want to migrate, but because you have no option but to migrate. Because you cannot live there anymore.

So the people who are coming now are mainly people who have a low level of skills. They have a low level of entrepreneurship. And they have come to a city where it is difficult for them to get a piece of land to live on, so they squat, or they live on the street, or they live under the bridges.

This did not used to happen in Karachi before, but now it is increasing at a fast pace. So this is a very different sort of migration, and much of it is seasonal, which wasn't so before. When harvest time comes they return to their villages; when it is time to plough the fields they return to their villages. So the period between sowing and harvesting is when a lot of people come into Karachi.

The problem is that if the architect is not even aware of these five trends which I have told you, how is he/she going to design for it?

AT: But in our context the architect is least concerned with these issues.
AH: But he should be concerned with these issues. For instance, this Labor Square, which was made on the other side of Gulshan-e-Mimar, I don't know how many thousands of units they made. This will never work. They were made in the (Zulfikar Ali) Bhutto era and at that time their density was at 5 persons per room. Now their densities are more than 12 persons per room. This will never work. And this is what we argued with them that they should have built cored individual houses and left this matter to the people themselves - whether they want to build another story or not. But it should be such that they can build on top of it if they want to - the foundations should be such. They would have achieved the same densities. Then there would not have been issues with maintenance. Who is going to maintain them? Go and have a look at the square. If they were individual houses, they would have been maintained. Even middle-class estates are not maintained collectively so how will these be?

One thing is for certain - according to the Neo-Liberal World Class City concept which has been adopted in our city, at least in theory if not in practice, there will be only projects, no planning. And these projects are not even aware of each other! For instance, recently the CM identified roads which he said would be repaired - an architect, Samar Ali Khan, was also involved in that - and one of these roads is University Road, although there is a BRT project to be built on University Road. So what is the use of repairing it now when it will be dug up again? So there is no coordination between these projects.



Four principles which I argued for when they were making this Strategic Development Plan. I said we will make projects, because that will bring in money for the city, but we will stick to these 4 principles:

1. The project will not damage the ecology of the region in which Karachi is located.
2. The project will determine land use on sociological and environmental considerations and not on the basis of land value alone. Land value is important - we do not say it is not important - but a matrix should be developed to see if it works out.
3. The project, as a priority, will serve the interest of the majority, which are low and lower-middle income groups.
4. The project will not damage the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the communities that live in the city. So these were the four things that I suggested to be implemented. In reply to this a consultant of the Asian Development Bank said to me, "Arif, with these four criteria, you will never have any projects".

AT: If these trends continue, what kind of future do you foresee for the city of Karachi?

AH: It is difficult to answer this question, because it all depends on the institutional arrangements that are developed for the city. The biggest problem of this city is that it is a non-Sindhi speaking city of a Sindhi-speaking province. This is the crux of Karachi's problems. On top of that, it is a rich city - revenue rich, job rich. It is said that 78% of all formal sector jobs in Sindh are in Karachi. The best medical, educational facilities are in Karachi. Media is in Karachi. Majority of the revenue of Sindh is also generated in Karachi. And to make matters worse, it is also has 35% of the urban population of Sindh - that is what is said, by Sindhis as well as Mohajirs. This enormous wealth of Karachi can only be controlled by the Sindhi speaking political



parties through a highly centralized system of governance. Otherwise they cannot control it. And the MQM which is not in a majority anywhere in Sindh - not even in Karachi, Urdu-speakers are not in a majority - they cannot control it through a highly decentralized system of governance. This is a big contradiction. And it is because of this that we have changed local body systems since Musharrarf left.

Now a lot depends on the shape the institutions take. At present the institutional arrangements are not working. The KMC is not getting money. The KDA is almost non-existent. Karachi Water and Sewerage Board has serious problems - one hears that it is going to be turned into a company. The Solid Waste Management system now has been given over to a company - The Sindh Solid Waste Management Company. Much of KDA's functions have been given to another company - The Karachi Infrastructure Development Company. So slowly we are handing over the city to these companies, for two reasons: I think one main reason is that the Sindh Government, wishes to control Karachi's enormous wealth and jobs; and second reason that the Sindh Government

has decided that it is incompetent and it cannot run these institutions - maybe there is an element of both of them, I don't know.

Examples from other countries where privatization of this sort has taken place, and also in the case of Karachi Electric here, suggests that they can easily serve the interests of the elite and middle-class areas, but they are unable to serve the interests of the poorer sections of the population - same with KE now, they don't give them electricity - they shut it down for many days at a stretch, and they have taken a lot of money from them. So it depends on the institutional arrangements. Centralization is not the best way of governing a city, but since the People's Party is in the majority in the Sindh Assembly, I think we will be going in for more and more centralization. So what becomes of the efficiency of these institutions?

What is necessary are three things, apart from education and health: Housing, Transport and Jobs.

Housing - there is no plan for it at all, except to access the market, and the poor cannot



access the market - it is too expensive for them. They cannot get a loan for buying a piece of land, so how will they build a house? Because they can only get a loan after they get a piece of land. They are not loan-worthy because they don't have formal sector jobs and they don't have assets that can be used as collateral. And finally, even if we do solve this problem with loans, the loan portfolio with the House Building Finance Corporation and the other banks is so small that it will be a drop in the ocean. This is the problem with housing.

Transport - if they build the BRTs I think it will be a great achievement, but they will have to supplement it some form of para-transit.

Jobs - you will have to develop industry, and increase the services sector - in both cases you need peace, you need freedom of investment without bribes and corruption, and more than anything else you need a roadmap for the future - growth management and promotion, which we don't have.

AT: This housing problem has persisted for very long. In some Far-eastern countries, like Malaysia, they have a program for providing free housing to the poor. Is it possible to implement such schemes here?

AH: First of all, I don't think we need to provide free housing. Among the poor there are categories. You have the "rich poor"; you have the "potentially rich poor" and you have

the "marginalized poor". You can provide housing through loans for the first two categories of poor people - it is possible, as NGOs have demonstrated that it can be done. And the poor are extremely good borrowers - they pay back. The rich don't, but they do, because they are afraid of losing their homes, so they pay. So for these two there is possibility. The problem is land.

In this city you have, in my understanding of things, about 4000 hectares of state land available. It belongs to Railways, Port Trusts, Central Board of Revenue and Cantonment Boards. This can be brought into the market, if these agencies want, for low income housing. It can be done but for that you need political will. And also, you need to control speculation on land. At present it is estimated, so I have been told, that there are 300,000 empty developed plots in Karachi, and there are 68,000 apartments that are empty. If you want this land to be built on, or if you want future land to be used for building purposes for the poor then you will have to impose a heavy non-utilization fee on land and property. You impose a fine of 10 percent and you will see all these lands come into the market.

These lands can come into the market but they won't because all these agencies use them for the benefit of their employees and ex-employees. We have land. I have even identified in my books where these lands are available.

AT: In Europe and America, they have well-developed small towns, which have all the



facilities needed for people to live there. Why don't we have this trend here, so that small towns are developed in interior Sindh where people can be settled to reduce the burden on Karachi?

AH: This problem does not exist in Punjab. In Punjab, small towns have indeed developed, especially in central and northern Punjab. Lahore's population is 7% of the total population of Punjab. And it is 12% of the urban population of Punjab. Karachi is more than 50% of the urban population and about 35% of the total population of Sindh.

If you do not give special concessions to investors, they will not invest. Or else the government should invest. In Ayub's era Kotri was developed as an industrial estate. People went and settled there and they are still settled there. A lot of industries were established in Sukkur - especially biscuit manufacturers. The industries that were taken over by the private sector continued to function, whereas those that remained with the government phased out eventually and today they are ghost factories. The investor wants to invest in Karachi. That is his priority. Firstly he is settled in

Karachi, and then he finds the banking systems to be better here, as well as the infrastructure. The second reason is that we have lived since 1982-83 through a period of planning anarchy. It was an insurgency in Sindh and the institutions could not sustain themselves after that. And I think they did not even try to do it - because they were so busy in looting the wealth that they did not bother. Otherwise Larkana, Sukkur, Khairpur are 3 cities, and you can add Dadu to the list also, that have a lot of potential. After the floods of 2010 they took me there to Khairpur-Nathan-Shah.

I also made a proposal for the PCO - I don't know if he read it or not, although he himself had asked for it but he never got back to me after that - in that proposal I had stated that this city has been destroyed and now it should be resurrected in such a way that we generate at least 20,000 jobs, which can multiply in the future. So this should happen, and it can happen - it is happening in Punjab - Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, Faisalabad, Multan, Lodhran are examples of cities that are booming with investment, with industry.

