THE WORLD CLASS CITY CONCEPT
AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS ON
URBAN PLANNING
FOR CITIES IN THE SOUTH

By
Arif Hasan
(December 2009)
Email: arifhasan@cyber.net.pk
PREAMBLE

My presentation consists of four parts

i) Introduction
ii) The World Class City concept and its repercussions
iii) The struggle against the negative aspects of the World Class City Concept.
iv) Alternatives to the World Class City vision
INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the welfare state model was born out of an uneasy reconciliation between capitalism and its national and international opponents.

• The modernist paradigm and its political acceptance

• The demise of the welfare state model as a result of the domination of the market economy, structural adjustment and the role of decentralisation and devolution.

• The total control of three undemocratic institutions in determining global politics and development processes.

• These three global institutions are the United Nations, WTO and the IMF/World Bank.

• Market economy development concepts have been promoted through new processes and vocabulary such as:
  
  - It is not the business of the state to do business (privatisation / public-private partnership)
  - Cities are the engines of grown
  - Direct foreign investment (DFI)
- The build-operate-transfer and the build-operate-own concepts of investment
- Measuring economic well-being with GDP growth alone
- The concept of corporate farming and industrial zones (in India by 2015 400 million people would willingly or unwillingly be forced to move from rural to urban areas. This is more than twice the population of UK, France and Germany. Many conflicts in the offing.)

• These have had a major impact on national policies of governments in the Asia Pacific Region.

• Impact on property markets:
  - The old contraband smuggling organisations become inoperative due to liberalisation. (many studies)
  - They turn to real estate business leading to massive speculation.
  - The state has responded to these market pressures and made land available for development through landuse conversions, new development schemes and the bulldozing of low income settlements. (many studies)
  - Activists opposing these changing are often killed

• The media issue.

• The presence of laws but the absence of effective rules, regulations, procedures and institutions to implement them.
- Poor friendly cities have become poor unfriendly cities. (Karachi: 1991 per sq.m cost of land in katchi abadi 1.7 times daily wage: today 40 times daily wage. Rent per month 1991 3.5 times daily wage: today 10 times daily wage. Construction cost per sq.m 1991 6.6 times daily wage: today 20 times.)
- Most serious aspect of this is the divide promoted by the privatisation of education and food inflation.
- Safety nets rely heavily on NGO involvement with big funds available to them. This is adversely affecting NGO culture and relationship to social movements.
- The processes involved are capital intensive, leading to borrowing from IFIs and in most cases the bulk of the funds go back to the North as technical assistance/overheads. (Cambodia 67%, Afghanistan 82%, Pakistan 38%)

- The shape that our cities are taking are the result of:
  - A powerful nexus of developers and investors (many of dubious origins).
  - Compromised government institutions and bureaucrats.
  - Politicians seeking global capital for shaping their cities in the image of the World Class City.
THE WORLD CLASS CITY CONCEPT AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

According to the World Class City agenda, the World Class City.

- Should have ironic architecture by which it should be recognised (such as highest building of fountain in the world).

- It should be branded for a particular cultural, industrial or other produce or happening.

- It should be an international event city.

- It should have high-rise apartments as opposed to upgraded settlements and neighbourhoods.

- It should cater to tourism (which is often at the expense of the local commerce).

- It should build flyovers, underpasses and expressways rather than restrict the production and purchase of automobile and manage traffic better.

- Doing all this is an expensive exercise and for it the city has to seek DFI from IFIs and for that purpose it has to build “investment friendly infrastructure”.
REPERCUSSIONS

• Poverty is pushed out of the city to the periphery through massive bulldozing of settlements with disastrous results (increase in poverty, social and political fragmentation, violence and the creation of a new under-class). Numerous studies. (500,000 evicted in Delhi due to the Asian Olympics)

• For establishing the new image already unfriendly byelaws and zoning regulations (which are anti-street, anti-pedestrian, anti-mixed landuse and anti-dissolved space) are made even more unfriendly by permitting environmentally and socially unfriendly landuse conversions (numerous studies).

• Planning related repercussions:

  - Global capital increasingly determines the physical and social form of the city.
  - In the process projects have replaced planning.
  - Landuse is determined on the basis of land value alone and not on the basis of social and environmental considerations for land has unashamedly become a commodity.
• Politicians and government planners justify the high-rise redevelopment approach by:

- The image they have of a “modern” city.
- High densities cannot be achieved by upgrading and densifying existing settlements or planning of new low-rise neighbourhoods.

• Image is a debateable issue. However, numerous studies on the density issue point to a negation of the assertion of the high-rise lobby (studies carried out by Arif Hasan in collaboration with the URDC, NED University)
TAN HOA-LO GOM PROJECT
RESETTLEMENT AND UPGRADING IN
HOCHIMINH CITY
TAN HOA-LO GOM PROJECT

- Upgrading Cost: US $ 325 per household
  (No one in debt)

- Apartment Cost: US $ 5,400 per household
  (70% in debt after shifting. Previously none in debt)

- Reason for debt: Monthly Earning= US $ 75
  Utility= US $ 08
  Installments= US & 21

- No economic activity permissible in apartments.
comparing cities
THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA
EDITED BY KAMRAN ASDAR ALI • MARTINA RIEKER
POSTSCRIPT: PARTRA CHATTERJEE
OXFORD
ISTANBUL
THE ISSUE OF HAWKERS

- The World Class image of the city has no place in it for informal businesses and hawkers (numerous studies).

- There have been large scale evictions of hawkers in the Asia Pacific Region (numerous studies: the Calcutta and Jakarta cases).

- These evictions have impoverished millions of families.

- Even where hawkers rehabilitation has been planned, the link of these hawkers with businesses and with low income people (for whom they make life affordable) and the commuters is not recognised.
BEACH PARK DEVELOPMENT IN KARACHI AND SUGARLAND CITY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Rate at Clifton Beach</th>
<th>Rate at Sea View</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Local cold drink</td>
<td>Rs 2</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Branded cold drink</td>
<td>Rs 12</td>
<td>Rs 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>Normal Rs 6</td>
<td>Rs 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Doodh patti Rs 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Juice</td>
<td>Rs 10</td>
<td>Rs 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Biryani</td>
<td>Small plate Rs 5</td>
<td>Not available (NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Large plate Rs 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Polka/Walls Ice Cream</td>
<td>Kulfa Rs 5</td>
<td>Chock bar Rs 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cup Rs 10</td>
<td>Feast Rs 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coretto Rs 20</td>
<td>Cornetto Rs 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Papper</td>
<td>Rs 5</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kite</td>
<td>Small size Rs 10</td>
<td>Rs 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Large size Rs 15</td>
<td>Rs 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Burger</td>
<td>Round Rs 10</td>
<td>Chicken Burger Rs 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Large Rs 15</td>
<td>Beef Burger Rs 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sandwich</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Rs 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Rs 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Roll</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Chicken Rs 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beef Rs 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Showarma</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Rs 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Broast quarter</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Half Rs 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Full Rs 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Head massage</td>
<td>Rs 10</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Samossa</td>
<td>Rs 2.50</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Doorbeen (binoculars)</td>
<td>Rs 5</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5-10 minutes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Chaat</td>
<td>Small Rs 10</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Large Rs 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Urban Resource Centre Survey.
THREE MAIN PLAYERS

1. THE THREE MAIN PLAYERS AND THEIR PRESENT LINKS

- POLITICIANS
  - Links with powerful local, national, and international interest groups
- PLANNERS
  - Support from academic institutions, international agencies, and donors
- PEOPLE
  - Small formal and informal interest groups and communities

2. DEVELOPMENT DELIVERY: THE PRESENT SITUATION

- POLITICIANS
  - Links with powerful national and international interest groups
- PLANNERS
- PEOPLE

3. AS IT SHOULD BE

- POLITICIANS
  - The creation, nurturing, and institutionalizing of this space (function of URCs)
- PLANNERS
- PEOPLE
  - Support from academic institutions, international agencies, and donors

'a' is directly proportional to 'b'
ISSUE OF AUTOMOBILES

• The free market economy led in the last decade to considerable liquidity in banks and leasing companies. This has been utilised for providing loans for the purchase of vehicles.

• Evidence suggests that these loans were provided as a result of an understanding between the automobile industry and global banking and financial sectors.

• Many billion dollars of loans have increased the population of vehicles in Asian mega cities by 80 to 100 per cent.

• Traffic has become a major problem.

• In the financial year 2006-07, 506 vehicles per day were registered in Karachi, about 1,300 in Delhi and over 1,700 in Bangkok.

• In Karachi alone in the financial year 2006-07, banks and leasing companies provided loans of an equivalent of US$ 1.8 billion for the purchase of vehicles.

• The paper also deals with the affordability issues related to mass transit systems and the destruction of informal and cheaper means of transport for cargo and commuters.
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THE WORLD CLASS CITY

• No city in the Asia Pacific Region has challenged the World Class City concept as a paradigm or developed an alternative vision for the city.

• However, projects promoted by the paradigm have been successfully challenged in countries who have a populist political culture and strong civil society organisations and networks.

• Global capital has desperately been looking for a home:
  - Real estate development for the new rich and for tourism offers the best opportunities.
  - Tourist resorts and condominiums along the beaches are prime locations for this development.
  - For commercial plazas the inner city informal settlements, if evicted, promise lucrative returns.

• National and newly empowered city government have clandestinely sold or arranged to sell these assets to national and/or international companies, without developing any procedures for resettlement for the evicted population (Cambodia, Vietnam, India, Egypt, Turkey, attempts in Pakistan)
THE CASE OF DHARAVI, BOMBAY
DHARAVI, BOMBAY

- The Maharasstra state government, of which Bombay is the capital, put out an advertisement for an “expression of interest” for the redevelopment of Dharavi, an inner city informal settlement.

- The developer was to survey the settlement, carry out the urban design exercise and relocate and/or provide housing for the displaced population.

- Dharavi’s population is over half a million and its informal businesses and industry serve the formal ones and generate the rupee equivalent of well over US$ 500 million a year. In spite of this, the advertisement called Dharavi a pocket and asked the investor whether the prospect “turns you on”.

- The people and businesses in Dharavi were not consulted regarding this advertisement and had no knowledge of it. Also, for such a huge undertaking an EIA was required under Indian Law which was not carried out.
• What made the issue even more serious was that the developer was being asked to carry out the survey. Already there were major differences between government and NGOs surveys of Dharavi. Government listed 55,000 houses but no businesses whereas NGO surveys listed 81,000 structures and 120,000 businesses and households.

• A network consisting of the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) (a national level organisation of 500,000 households), NGOs working with low income groups such as SPARC, concerned citizens and organisations formed specially for opposing the government plan, was formed.

• International academics, artists, researchers and NGOs also expressed their concern.

• Meanwhile, the President of the NSDF offered a partnership to the state government for the development of Dharavi and also threatened agitation if the government plan went through.

• As a result of this movement, negotiations took place and an NGO, Mashal, has won the bid for carrying out a survey of Dharavi with the support of NSDF and Society Promotion for Area Resource Centres (SPARC)
CHAMBDA BAZAAR

- Chambda Bazaar is reputed to be the densest area in the world.
- AREA = 85,291 sq.m.
  8.52 hectares
- POPULATION = 28,682
- POPULATION DENSITY = 3,585.25 people/ sq. km
  3585.25 people / hectare
- NO. OF TENEMENTS =
  4602 residential
  600 industrial
  900 commercial
  6000 Total
- TENEMENT DENSITY = 705.88 per hectare
- TOTAL BUILT UP AREA = 170,500 sq.m.
FORMAL HOUSING: SRA
INFORMAL: RESIDENTIAL + INDUSTRIAL
CREATING A NEW MASTERPLAN FOR DHARAVI

DHARAVI STUDIO 2006/07

KAMLA RAHEJA VIDYANIDHI INSTITUTE FOR ARCHITECTURE
BAAN MANKONG NATION WIDE SLUM UPGRAдинG PROJECT OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (CODI) OF THE THAI GOVERNMENT
• Under the project communities (organised through a process of savings and credit) identify and acquire land for their housing and house building or upgrading through a government system of subsidies and loans through revolving funds.

• They organize to manage and construct their settlement with support from CODI architects and academia.

• To prevent speculation the strategy of collective rather than individual ownership has been adopted.

• A search is also on to find ways to develop new social systems on the basis of the relationship established in the process of the savings process and that of land acquisition.

• Local governments, professionals, universities and NGOs are involved with poor communities in the CODI process.

• Between January 2003 and March 2008, over 1,100 communities (53,976 households) in 226 Thai cities had benefited from the programme.
LAND SHARING

BEFORE

AFTER
COMMONALITIES IN MOVEMENTS AGAINST INSENSITIVE PROJECTS

- The existence of a large network or organisation of poor communities.

- The existence of organisations that support these communities with information and managerial and technical guidance but do not control or direct them.

- Research on social, technical and planning issues that question the project in an informed manner and present alternatives.

- Support from concerned and prominent citizens, professional bodies, academia and media.

- No one group owns the network and its successes as theirs.

- Unfortunately what has emerged from a number of case studies is that violence or threat of it is the only form of dissent that is acknowledged and accommodated by officialdom.
AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE WORLD CLASS CITY CONCEPT?

• Is an alternative vision required?

• Can the alternative be an inclusive city based on the principles of justice and equity? If yes, then what are these principles?

• Can the alternative be a pedestrian and commuter friendly city? Will that vision alone produce a better city?

• A city of friendly neighbourhoods rather than high-rise apartment complexes for low income groups? There will always be people wishing to live in high-rise complexes.

• A number of sub-issues:
  - If you have a vision, how do you promote it?
  - Will the vision be born out of the processes that challenge (successfully or unsuccessfully) the projects promoted by the neo-liberal urban development paradigm or through some other process?
THE KARACHI CASE

• In the case of Karachi I see projects replacing planning for the foreseeable future.

• The promotion of some principles on which to judge projects would be easier, in the short run, than promoting a new vision.

• On this basis I have tried to promote some principles for judging projects. These principles are:

  - Projects should not damage the ecology of the region in which the city is located.

  - Projects should as a priority seek to serve the interests of the majority who in the case of our cities are lower and lower middle income groups

  - Projects should decide landuse on the basis of social and environmental considerations and not on the basis of land values alone.
- Projects should protect the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the communities that live in them

- This would in my opinion produce better projects. But you cannot effectively follow these principles if you do not have affection and respect for the natural environment and for the people who form the majority in your cities.
THE KEY TO CHANGE

• Given the power of mayors, the world class city vision, availability of international expertise and capital, citizens and groups opposing the paradigm can safely be ignored unless backed by research and a network of community groups.

• They need the support of professionals and academia and for that support teaching, research and professional practice has to be based on a set of ethics.

• Graduating professionals should take an oath similar to those of doctors and if they do not follow the terms of the oath their name should be removed from the list of practising professionals.

• In 1983, after evaluating environmental damage that some of my work had done, I promised in an article “I will not do projects that will irreparably damage the ecology and environment of the area in which they are located; I will not do projects that increase poverty, dislocate people and destroy the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of communities that live in the city; I will not do projects that destroy multi-class public space and violate building byelaws and zoning regulations; and I will always object to insensitive projects that do all this, provided I can offer viable alternatives.” I have tried to keep that promise and I think I have succeeded.