



Islamabad – Living with the plan¹

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Looking at sheer numbers, Islamabad can be regarded as a successful model of urban development. Half a century after its inception and the implementation of the plan the city has grown to 1.2 million inhabitants, the 'urban sprawl' beyond the limits of the plan has occupied more space than assigned in the original plan. From 1972 until 2009 the residential areas have been expanded from less than one fifth of the agglomeration's space to an extent that has increased by half, mainly on the expense of mixed vegetated areas. Nevertheless, at the same time the space occupied by agricultural farm activities for the supply of the citizens with goods and products of daily necessities has remained bigger and is still covering approximately one third of Islamabad (Butt et al. 2012: 111). The distinction between rapid urban development and the need to supply its growing number of citizens with nutritional and dairy products could well be a founding principle for planning cities. Deficiencies and shortcomings are often embedded in a static perception of urban development that lacks vision and imagination when it comes to present and future demands of urban citizens and when unexpected growth occurs.

Living with the plan Islamabad is presented as a case in point for myopia in designing original plans, for necessary adjustments to daily needs of residents and for vested interests of different stakeholders that need to be negotiated in the framework of power and forceful interventions. At the same time Islamabad functions within Pakistan as an exceptional city which has got a planning authority that other municipalities still grossly lack to have or fail to apply (Niaz Ahmad & Anjum 2012). Planning and designing urban space is embedded in socio-historical contexts and provides an expression of contemporary thinking, fashions, power structures and influences from inside and outside. Participation of future inhabitants is a rare exception while planned cities often replicate the aspirations and affluence of decision-makers.



1. Planned cities – from absolutism to post-colonialism

Planned cities fascinate not only the ruling elites who commission them but also the urban researchers who analyse them. Prominent examples include the new cities founded by absolutist rulers in Europe and Asia, colonial planned cities in the Third World, Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement and similar concepts. In a somewhat different context we find the planning and implementation schemes of authoritarian regimes in their search for an appropriate and well-ordered microcosm in which everyone can or should be assigned to a proper place. At their respective scales, architects and urban planners strive to create new forms of building that realize their perceptions of existing urban structures and sometimes apparently express utopian visions. Zeitgeist and contemporary power structures, architectonic insights and technological progress create important settings for carrying out 'modern' experiments which thus become a place, a city. They all share a certainty born of hope: to create living conditions for a better world and a better society. In most cases such developments are discussed solely from the perspective of clients and architects. Big names are linked with big projects. The part played by local factors and actors is studiously ignored. Modifications in planning and construction are rarely the result of a participatory decision-making process.

The same applies particularly to the post-colonial creation of new capital cities. Brasilia was an early manifestation of such ideas, a symbiosis of the political power of the President Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira and a concomitant constructivism stimulated by the architectural daring and building non-conformity of Oscar Niemeyer (Stephenson 1970). Africa and Asia saw a trend towards building new capitals, relocating from coastal cities to geographically central locations in the newly independent nation states. For example: In 1979 the Tanzanian government under Julius Nyerere transferred its capital from Daressalam to Dodoma as a symbol of the Ujamaa village movement. Nigeria moved its capital from Lagos to Abuja (1982); the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange was commissioned to design the concept. In 1984 Côte d'Ivoire moved its capital from Abidjan to Yamoussoukro, the birthplace of the then president, Houphouët-Boigny. Closer to South Asia is the relocation of Kazakhstan's capital from Almaty (Alma Ata) to the newly built Astana, which is visible evidence of the new independence gained after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the changed relevance of geographical



relationships, and the strong position of the president Nursultan Nazarbayev. In a similar manner the military rulers of Myanmar shifted its capital from the coastal town of Yangon to Naypyitaw in 2007; the capital is planned for 2.5 million inhabitants.

South Asia has set the precedent for planned cities, ranging from India's temple towns with their geometric layouts to the "Anglo-Indian cantonment" (Pieper 1977), which influenced Edwin Lutyen's 1912 design for the colonial capital of New Delhi (Jain 1990). Great Britain held great hopes of her investments in New Delhi, New Delhi, meant to be the imperial city, which then ended its term sooner than expected. New Delhi immediately became the capital of an independent India. The colonial architectural heritage was reinterpreted in a nation state context and the Anglo-Indian buildings were put to a different use. The newly sovereign Indian Union required additional centres of administration. In 1956 legislation was passed dividing India into federal states, and the central government provided funds for new capitals to be built. Three of them also had an international impact: Chandigarh became famous through Le Corbusier's design of Punjab's new provincial capital.² The architect and urban planner Otto Königsberger, a refugee from Nazi Germany, was responsible for planning Bhubaneshwar, the new capital of Orissa, which replaced Cuttack, the earlier seat of power.³ Gandhinagar was planned as the new capital of Gujarat to relieve the strain on the city of Ahmedabad and is the third major urban construction project in response to the pioneering impact of Le Corbusier and Louis Khan in Dhaka. Both had already designed famous buildings in Ahmedabad, but Gandhinagar was the work of Balkrishna Doshi and H. K. Mewada (Kalia 2004). In their dimensions and aims, these projects can easily compete with Islamabad in neighbouring Pakistan. The spirit of modern urban planning spread to the Indian sub-continent from the West.

2. Pakistan's new capital - symbolising a new beginning

Like the cases just quoted, Pakistan is a prime example for the relocation of a capital city. The centre of power shifted from the international port city of Karachi, hailed as the "gateway to the world" (Wilhelmy 1968), to the new planned city of Islamabad. At the same time Dhaka⁴ became the capital of East Pakistan, expressing Pakistan's desire to adapt to the new situation of a bi-territorial sovereign state and its interest in



the internal development of its remote provinces. Pakistan and hence Islamabad drew considerable initial attention owing to Pakistan's then status as a "model developing country" (Pfeffer 1967). The contract was awarded to Doxiadis Associates, one of the world's leading planning consultancies that had built its reputation on concepts such as ekistics (the science of human settlement) and dynapolis in the search for the "City of the Future" (Mahsud 2001, 2008). The idea of a replicable urban and housing model arose from Constantinos Doxiadis's vision that a universal city system – what we would now call a global system – would fuse to form an urban network, the ecumenopolis, and all parts of the earth would thus interrelate (Benevolo 1983: 1015; Doxiadis n.d.).

Hence, Islamabad originally embodied the principle of proliferation, of untrammelled growth. This 'capital in the making' interested many observers who studied the planning concepts and the early construction phase.⁵ The building of Islamabad was to express the optimism of the 1960s, the continuing confidence in the prospect of an accelerated post-colonial development, and the desire to create a liveable urban environment. Important reference material from this period has recently been used for comparative studies (Botka 1995; Frantziskakis 1995; Kreutzmann 1992, 1997; Mahsud 2001, 2007, 2008; Nayyar 2002; Scholz 1996). Many authors have drawn attention to the city's grid layout, the concept of separate sectors for housing, work, shopping, recreation and traffic (Fig. 1). This concept was implemented in the spirit of the Athens Charter and reflected modern, internationally debated approaches in architecture and urban planning. Hence early description and analysis largely focused on the planning concept, whereas more recent studies tend to concentrate on effect-oriented issues.

The majority of the authors involved take the original planning concept as their point of reference when analysing the 'new' capital. Yet almost two generations have passed since then; Islamabad has been accepted as the capital and is growing steadily (Fig. 2). The Capital Development Authority (CDA), the chief planning and administration body, is now developing new sectors in an expanding city, adapting the planning concept to contemporary social conditions, and having to renovate decaying buildings. Maintaining and developing housing and commercial complexes, keeping or breaking infrastructure promises made in the early phase, adapting the concept to modern requirements: all these tasks present as great a challenge as achieving acceptable levels of hygiene, adequate provision of drinking water, and reliable



waste disposal to stabilise the capital city's environment.

3. Squatter settlements and slums in the new capital?

The issues addressed here relate to one aspect of urban geography: the housing situation of the lower income-groups of society. Urban studies largely focus on two elements (cf. Bähr & Mertins 2000):

- (i) The development of 'squatter settlements' on vacant public and private land in or at the edge of cities, i.e. the appropriation of land for dwellings by marginalised sections of the population;
- (ii) Downgrading of existing housing districts owing to social mobility or devaluation, a process generally described as slum formation.

Both elements came into the focus of various issues of urban analysis. In the early phase physiognomic and functional aspects were highlighted. The discussion included the identification of redevelopment areas, the use of urban space, and the survival of households with jobs in the informal service sector. Recently the focus has turned to legal issues of possession and claim in 'illegal' squatter settlements. Further items on the current agenda of urban studies include the exclusion of certain population groups and access to vital resources (Berner 2003; Evers & Korff 2000; Kreibich 1998; Werlin 1999). Various authors have already shown how excluded and marginalised groups have seized urban land and defended it against the diverse interests of city authorities and self-appointed profiteers (Evers 1986; Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1989; Kreutzmann 1992; van der Linden 1986).

In the following, these issues will be addressed with reference to the 'new' capital, Islamabad. The question will not be whether they are evident in Islamabad, but how they are handled by various actors. To assess how far the claim formulated by the planners and their successor, the CDA, to guarantee adequate housing has been fulfilled, we shall take a close look at housing quality and the current housing situation in Islamabad. The focus will be on the sectors that Doxiadis planned as core residential areas in the first development phase, because this is where the chief planner himself implemented his concept of social mixing, where he was responsible for the construction work, and where building quality has a significant impact. The question will also be raised of how a fast growing city copes with supplying inexpensive housing for its lower-income groups. Both aspects are linked to fundamental questions



of housing provision, a topic of current discussion in the spectrum between housing as a human right and housing as a commodity (Berner 2003; Werlin 1999), a field of tension that subsumes both the actions of the housing seekers and the official reactions to them. In the case of Islamabad, the ultimate responsibility rests with its development authority, the CDA.

3.1. Planned social structure or stagnation of a dynamic concept?

Constantinos Doxiadis envisaged an urban environment – a dynapolis – that would experience almost endless growth manifested by areal expansion and high urban density. He designed Islamabad as a series of square sectors set parallel to the city's backbone – the main axis, Jinnah Avenue (named after Pakistan's Father of the Nation), which begins at the Presidential Palace (Aiwan-i-Sadar) and the Parliament building – then running southwest-ward, flanked by the commercial centre. The first four sectors (G-6, G-7, F-6, F-7) are located at the eastern top of this broad-band backbone and form the nucleus of residential and functional development.⁶ Here are Islamabad's oldest buildings dating to the early 1960s. Mahsud (2001: 95) has drawn attention to a contradiction in the planning concept: The spatial dynamics of areal growth and predetermined expansion of the metropolitan area stands in contrast to stagnation within the individual sectors with regard to social mobility and changes in the social structure. A strictly delimited hierarchical concept regulates the distribution of available housing space. Extensive packages of building plots were reserved for government property developers, who built housing of different sizes and standards according to an index based on civil service income groups (Fig. 3). Government employees were to live in social segregation in the accommodation assigned to them.⁷

Basically, this procedure meant that promotion would involve moving house: social and spatial mobility were interlinked. Once established, social structures in the sector were cemented and permanently reflected income hierarchies. Soon, however, the allocation procedure and housing shortage in Islamabad put paid to the idea of regular removals. Before long, the government housing programme was no longer able to cope with rising demand. At present, there is not sufficient housing in Islamabad for at least half of its civil servants, which means that

especially the low-income groups are forced to make the long commuter journey to Islamabad from Rawalpindi every day. It is estimated that between one third and half of all Islamabad's workforce commute between the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi (Mahsud 2001; Nayyar 2002). Much of the existing housing is not occupied by the income groups for whom it was originally intended. A significant number of building sites in good locations were allocated to leading members of the armed forces, employees of the intelligence agency, bureaucrats and sportsmen for their 'services'.⁸ Building lots in the private housing sector are said to have been distributed at lotteries or auctions.

Doxiadis gained approval for his proposal that only higher-income groups should be considered (Mahsud 2001: 95). Whether rented or owner-occupied, all real estate in Islamabad is expensive and has significantly shot up in value since the early years. So contemporary reality and market forces have overruled the initial principle of a social mixture aimed at representing overall society. Today one only needs to be told an address in Islamabad to guess the district's desirability and the social status of its inhabitants. Social stratification has found its spatial expression: The E and F sectors are now reserved for members of the upper-middle and upper classes and for diplomatic personnel and members of international organisations and enterprises. Mainly worthy medium-rank civil servants reside in the G sectors, whereas the I sectors provide more basic housing close to factories and industrial plants. In the latter case the distance and lack of access to the central business districts reduces the desirability of the housing there. The H zone is almost entirely reserved for public – mainly educational – institutions.

In the early 1990s, after three decades of utilization, a government commission investigated the state of the first development phase in the G-6 sector. Since then, building quality standards, deteriorating public infrastructure, and rigid property structures have been at the forefront of public debate about adequate housing in what used to be the core of the city. The commission's report states that government housing occupies 59 per cent of available residential land, and private housing 41 per cent (GoP 1991: 2). However, in terms of units the latter (837 dwellings) accounts for only 19 per cent, whereas the smaller 3,610 government units are mainly occupied by civil servants employed by the central government; according to official statistics only 15 per cent of these are wrongfully occupied (GoP 1991: 6). At this time, government housing under Estate Office management was already so run-down



that an extensive redevelopment plan was approved. In contrast to the physiognomic criteria and strict functional separation practised up to then, further storeys were added, and a mixture of housing, trade and services was proposed. The civil servants' dwellings were to be replaced by new buildings up to eight storeys high, and the total number was to be more than doubled to 9,542 units, some of which were to be rented to civil servants and some sold.

Doxiadis' complex eleven-class system – of which the last six are found in G-6 – was reduced to three classes on a new five-fold scale.⁹ It was planned to seek investors, especially for the well-developed margins of the sectors, to build privately funded tower blocks (GoP 1991: 9). On the whole, the report (which only makes suggestions about hitherto public property) proposes making the units compact, improving the living quality and accessibility, and providing more recreation areas and neighbourhood shops. Little is said about evaluating the original intentions and the sustainability of the structures that have been created. No change was suggested to the basic pattern of subdividing sectors into communities with different hierarchies of function. The basic road system is strengthened by roads that mostly intersect at right-angles; wider roads and improved access to all residential areas will meet changing requirements. Planning concepts such as those proposed for the redevelopment of sector G-6 (but as yet only partially implemented) dominate the development of new sectors at the periphery of Islamabad. These are unlikely to meet the increasing demand for low-cost housing¹⁰ because travel distances between home and work continue to increase.

3.2. Informal solutions to housing shortages: katchi abadi in Islamabad

When Islamabad was being built (starting in 1961) temporary squatter settlements grew up, occupied by construction workers and located close to the various building sites. Doxiadis's social segregation plans had included only occasional 'followers' colonies' (in G-6/2 and F-7/4, for example; cf. Fig. 5).¹¹ Most domestic workers were to live in the 'servants' quarters' of wealthy residents. The need for service personnel to look after parks, remove waste, and clean public facilities and private homes, and for domestic servants, launderers, cooks, drivers and security staff far exceeded expectations. There was a dire lack of housing

for low-income groups providing domestic and public services. Not much has changed for them and their families, about whom Mahsud (2001: 96) says: "They are engaged in providing a clean environment to the residents, but unfortunately they are living in the dirtiest environment". So it is very important to live near the workplace to save the high cost of travel, as there is no public transport system. In the early phase already, katchi abadi (basti, squatter settlements) grew up in the areas generally left out of development plans: strips along rivers and streams and in orographic depressions.

In the mid-1980s already, there were squatter settlements housing 13,000 people; now there are eleven katchi abadi with about 50,000 inhabitants (Fig. 4) (CDA 2000, 2001; Kreutzmann 1992; Mahsud 2001). According to the 1985 directive issued by the then Prime Minister M. Khan Junejo, the existing katchi abadi were to be regularised, i.e., the housing shortage provided the chance to legalise informal settlements, improve their infrastructure, and claim basic amenities.¹² However, further growth was to be prevented if possible, and the CDA did not want this legislation to apply to the new capital. Informal settlements are everyday reality for almost a tenth of Islamabad's residents. They can be divided into two groups:

First, the 'followers' colonies' with some 3,000 households of the service personnel mentioned in sectors F-6, F-7, G-7, G-8 (Fig. 4) and the 'Muslim colony' (Fig. 6) near the government departments in the parliament district near to the shrine of Bare Imam. Second, the 'Afghan colonies' in the industrial and wholesale trade zone in sectors I-9, I-10, I-11, housing workers from 2,000 households (CDA 2000, 2001). The Muslim and Afghan colonies were to be demolished and their inhabitants resettled in new accommodation a long distance away, in Alipur Farash near Lehtrar Road (Fig. 1). This site, known as the Model Urban Shelter Project (MUSP), is notorious because of an earlier action in 1992 when 1,200 households were moved there from a neighbouring katchi abadi in sector F-9 (City Park, now Fatima Jinnah Park, cf. CDA 2001 and Fig. 4). Hence the planned resettlement operation would involve moving more than 2,000 households, or an estimated 20,000 people, out of the city centre to the arterial road in Farash. The move and the greater distance away from their jobs in the city centre mean the inhabitants suffer further cuts in their household budgets. In addition, they are expected to pay the cost of the new 75m² plots themselves, in monthly instalments. Most of the households have incomes in the 2,000-3,000



rupee range, which puts them in the 'extremely poor'¹³ bracket.

The inhabitants of the katchi abadi due to be regularised have similar incomes (Fig. 7). They are afraid that infrastructure and development measures may force them to leave if they lack legal tenure. This fear seems realistic in view of plans to upgrade housing (Fig. 8). At the same time, residents of the nearby legally built 'pakka' domiciles (Fig. 4) are protesting against the regularisation of informal settlements because they assume that their own property will then be worth less. Negotiations about implementing the modified development plans are far from completion. In Pakistan an All Pakistan Katchi Abadi Alliance has formed in the meantime, also including representatives of the informal settlements in Islamabad. On and off, there have been a number of demonstrations in which the inhabitants of katchi abadi tried to draw attention to their promised rights (Qaiser 2004). The processes of regularisation and resettlement in Alipur Farash have repeatedly come to a standstill. At the end of 2004 more than half of the households due for resettlement were still living in the Muslim colony, refusing to be intimidated by the CDA's regular threats to demolish their houses.¹⁴

4. Conclusions

Islamabad's squatter settlements and weekly markets developed as a result of the lack of basic facilities and represent an independent, planner-free adaptation of urban functions to the needs of an increasingly differentiated urban population. These socially heterogeneous residents refused to submit to crude planning schemes like the Doxiadis concept and the subsequent, modified master plans. Meanwhile the process of adapting to changed contexts and greater expectations is continuing apace. As an urban structure, Islamabad is booming in spite of varying economic crises, a military government, and international confrontation and isolation in the wake of 9/11. The urban fabric is becoming denser in the core and is expanding spatially at the same time.

In tune with the city's name, many new mosques have been built as Islamic endowments (auqaf) on vacant neighbourhood land, thus increasing their visibility as daily meeting points within the urban environment. Original plans to limit commerce to the ground floors of buildings have been overruled, starting with the Blue Area business district. In the past few years the local markets have expanded into



previously vacant spaces, and upper storeys are being used by shops, restaurants and services. The functional centres in the sectors (Abpara, Melody Market, Super Market, Jinnah Super, Ayub Market; Fig. 4) are developing into attractive locations for specialised trade and industry.

An increasingly dense structure is also visible in the housing sector: plots of land are being divided and buildings are higher and narrower, reinforcing the trend towards urbanism as reflected in density. Almost unknown in the early development phase, blocks of owner-occupied flats are increasing in number. Islamabad's growth – purely areal as envisaged by Doxiadis – is continuing both upwards and outwards. High-rise buildings tower over the Blue Area, new sectors continue to be developed, expansion is proceeding southeast-ward (Fig. 1), and property prices are still rising. So is social segregation.

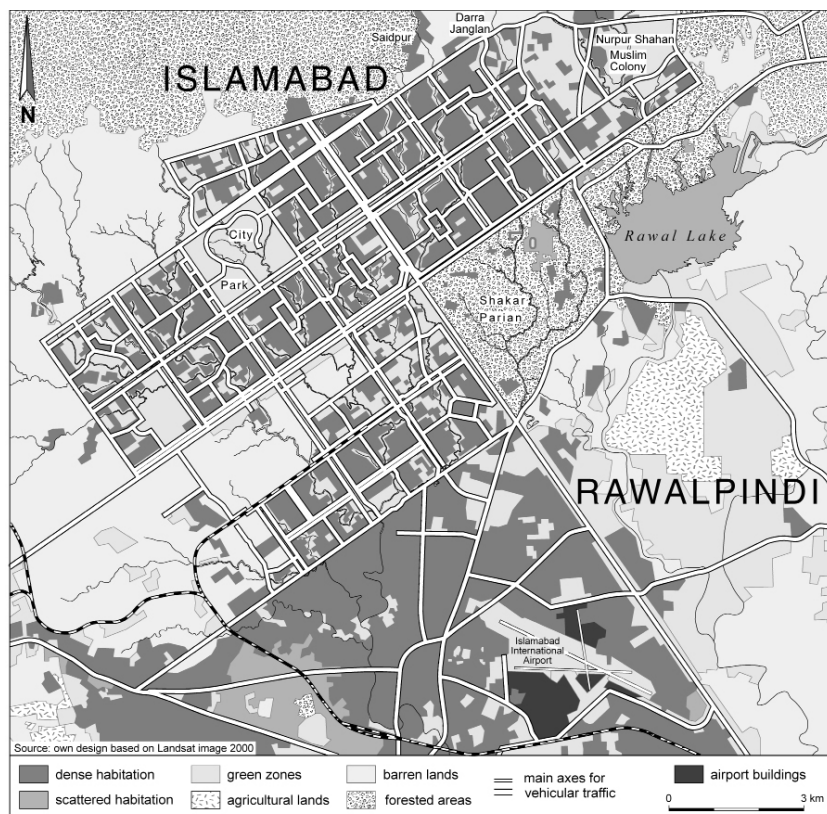


Fig. 1. Islamabad-Rawalpindi: landscape utilization through built-environment. Source: H. Kreutzmann, based on Landsat image 2000

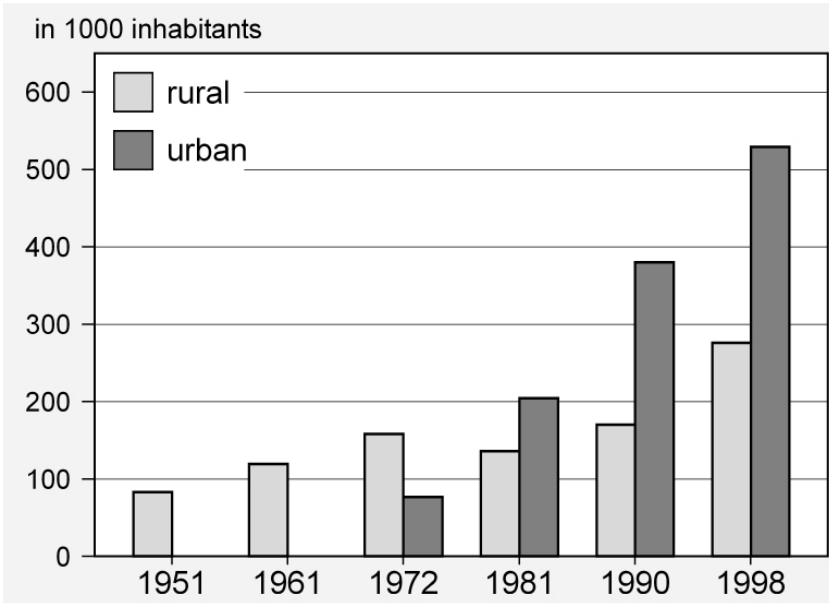


Fig. 2. Population Development in Islamabad.
Source: H. Kreutzmann 1992, Government of Pakistan 1999

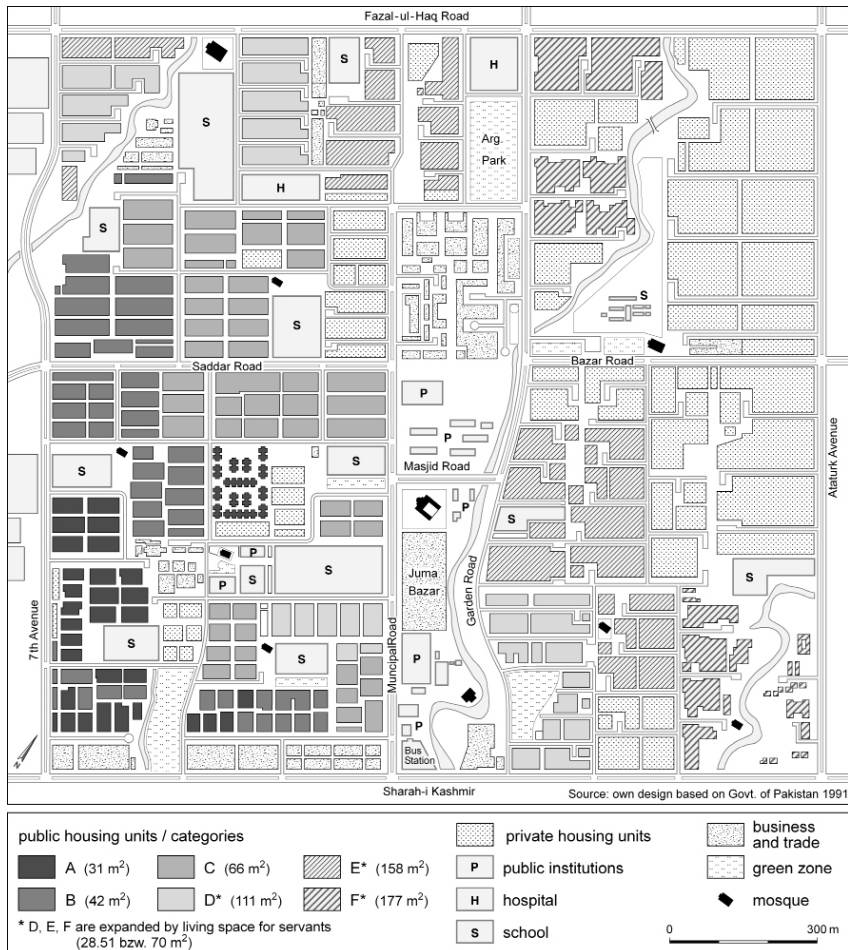


Fig. 3. Social hierarchy in sector G-6.
Source: H. Kreutzmann, based on Government of Pakistan 1991

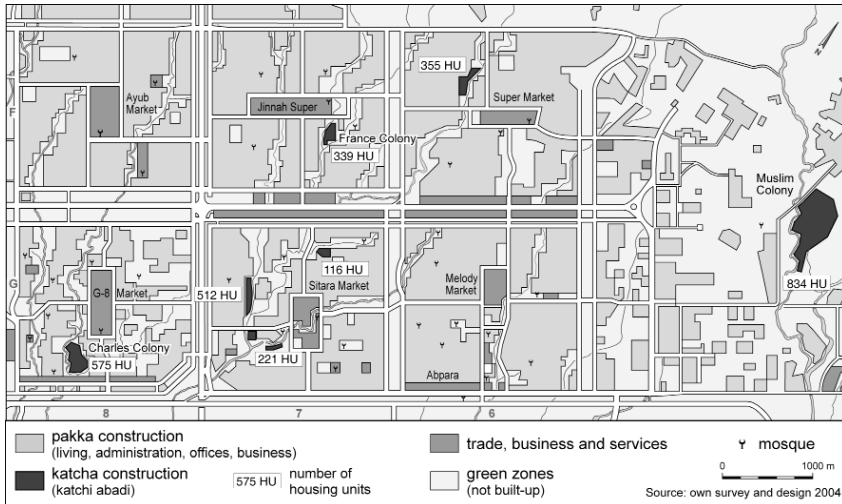


Fig. 4. Source: Localities of katchi abadi in Islamabad.
Source: H. Kreutzmann 2004

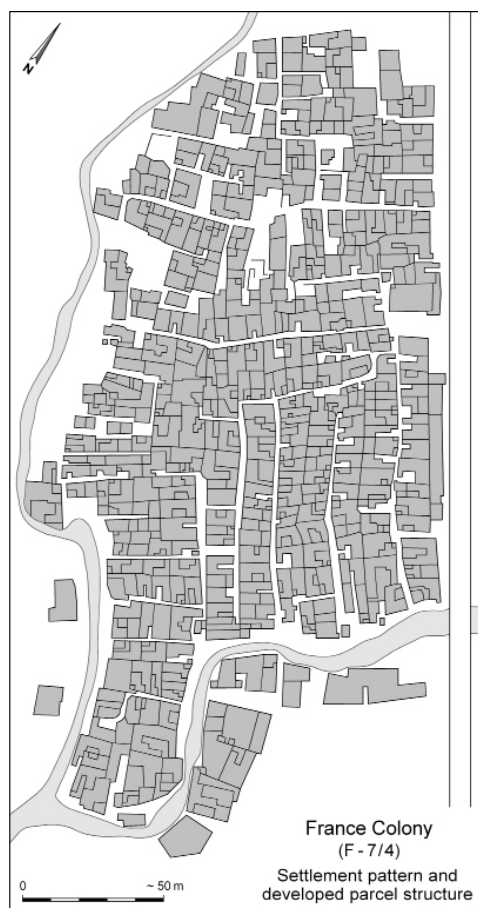


Fig. 5. France Colony (F-7/4).
Source: H. Kreutzmann, based on
CDA 2000, p. 124



Fig. 6. Muslim Colony.
Source: H. Kreutzmann,
based on CDA 2001, p. 25

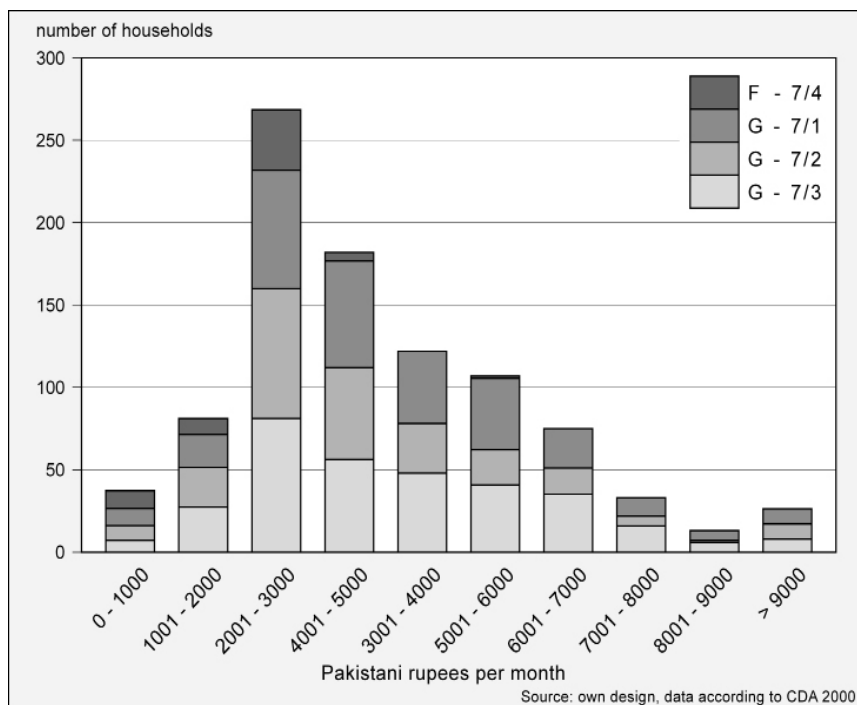


Fig. 7. Income structure of households in selected katchi abadi in Islamabad 2000.
Source: H. Kreutzmann

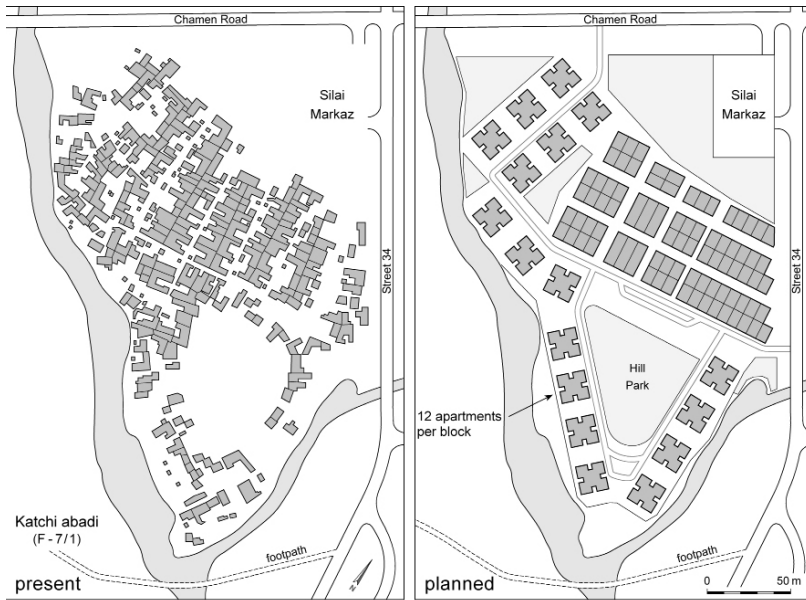


Fig. 8. Comparison between informal settlements and planned structures in the katchi abadi of sector G-7/1.

Source: H. Kreutzmann, based on CDA 2000, pp. 115, 118

**Endnotes**

- 1 Reproduced here with permission of Hermann Kreutzmann (author) and Oxford University Press. This essay originally appeared as: Kreutzmann, Hermann. 2013. Planning and living in Islamabad: Master Plan changes and people's actions are transforming Pakistan's capital. In: Khalid W. Bajwa, ed. *Urban Pakistan: Frames for Imagining and Reading Urbanism*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, pp. 127-142. Copyright (c) Oxford University Press.
- 2 Le Corbusier made his plans with no knowledge of the locality, as his later critics were pleased to note. Most recent discussions question whether specific individuals were solely responsible, considering the 'Corbusier Plan' to be a product of reciprocal influences and discourses involving many actors (cf. Kalia, 1988, Perera 2004).
- 3 The 1933 Schinkel Medal and State Prize in Architecture winner enjoyed a world-wide reputation as an eminent urban planner. Otto Königsberger (1908-1999) began his planning career in India when he worked for the Rajah of Mysore as chief architect and planner. Later on he advised Pandit Nehru on building 'low cost-housing' for refugees from Pakistan after partition, and was the chief architect of the planning concept for Bhubaneshwar, before he took the post of UN consultant, advising governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America. See for background on Bhubaneshwar Kalia 1994.
- 4 Louis Khan was commissioned to design the parliament building in Dhaka, which still stands out strangely from the rest of the city. See Begum 2007 for recent studies on urban development and planning in Dhaka.
- 5 Aurada 1961, Dettmann 1974, Gardezi 1980, Hardoy 1964, Jamoud 1968, Krenn 1968, Kureishy 1959, Lovejoy 1966, 1967, N.N. 1967, Nafis Ahmad 1973, Nilsson 1973, Pott 1964, Prentice 1966, Rashid Husain 1965, Scholz 1972, Yakas 2001.
- 6 In the meantime more than 20 sectors are involved in the development process. At present it is the turn of the sectors D-12 and E-12, which had been the subject of a land rights dispute lasting from 1988 to May 2004, when the cabinet of the central government finally came to a decision. The CDA was instructed

- to begin development immediately (Raza 2004).
- 7 Cf. Kreutzmann (1992: 32-33 and Table 2) on the classification into 11 categories, ranging from A (31m² flat for low earners) to L (official residence for ministers: 325 m² with another 86 m² for servants). Rent increases affected the lower categories more than the higher ones, tending to reinforce the displacement of lower income groups.
- 8 A recent question in the Senate disclosed that Pakistani prime ministers had awarded 549 building plots to selected members of the armed forces and politicians between 1971 and 1999; in 1990 the total was 206 (cf. Dawn 28.10.2004).
- 9 The smallest housing category (Class V = 77 m²) was to consist of 4,208 units, Class IV (111 m²) of 3,684, Class III (149 m²) of 1,650 units. These sizes are in the middle range of the previous categories. Only the smallest units (31-66 m²) for the three lowest income groups (A-C), comprising 1,789 dwellings in G-6/1 alone and hence 95 per cent of all public housing, were abolished by this classification and replaced by the new lowest category (Class V). Class V units correspond to the earlier category F housing. Hence, this plan primarily upgrades housing for the lower income groups (Government of Pakistan 1991).
- 10 The call for low-cost housing for all levels of public-sector employees in Islamabad is again spotlighted as a central target in the revised master plan (CDA 1991).
- 11 The 'followers' colony' in F-7/4 is known locally as 'France Colony' (Fig. 5), because it is near the former site of the French embassy. Owing to its prominent location in the wealthy district it has repeatedly been the topic of discussions about the disparity between rich and poor in the capital, and about regularisation and infrastructural improvements in informal settlements, also see Zaidi & Lehner (1991).
- 12 The cut-off date was 23 March 1985, after which all katchi abadi had the chance of regularisation if they had at least 40 housing units. The procedure as formulated in the 1985 Ghulam Haider Wyne-Report was incorporated into the 2001 'National Katchi Abadi Policy' on which all further procedure is based; cf. Dawn, 19.5.2001; Qaiser (2004).
- 13 The *National Human Development Report* for Pakistan (Akmal Hussain 2003: 53-61) put the monthly minimum consumption



levels for poor households at 2,310 rupees, excluding durable goods. People with incomes below this level were classified as 'extremely poor.'

- 14 Ahmed Zaib Khan Masud, personal communication, December 2004.

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