

IGC-DPRC Small Cities Initiative: 'Listen and Learn' Phase

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Status Summary¹

Half the world's population now lives in urban centers, the majority of it in towns and secondary cities surrounding metropolitan centers. All of these together constitute the economic geography of a region. The health of the region depends on the interactions among its constituent elements.

It is matter of concern that the focus of policymakers in many developing countries remains cities as isolated entities rather than as parts of a network to be optimized. There are rarely any policy or vision statements that articulate the role that secondary cities might play in national development. This is a serious omission in countries where the urban transition is underway and the contours of the future are very much in flux. Many different trajectories are possible depending on the policy choices and interventions that are made at this time.

The objective of this initiative is to highlight the issue of economic geography and to make it a part of academic and public debate in Pakistan. Given the deficiency of information and the lack of familiarity with small cities, the project design has multiple stages. The first stage, the subject of this summary, is characterized as the "Listen and Learn" phase of the project.

In this stage, representatives from selected small cities (population up to 500,000) located around a major metropolitan center and provincial capital (Lahore) were invited to spend time with faculty and students of a leading academic institution (Lahore University of Management Sciences – LUMS) to familiarize the latter with the various aspects of life in small cities. The objective was to establish links with representatives of small cities, understand the nature of the connections among cities in the region, agree on a collaborative agenda for research, and find a vehicle for strengthening the voice of small cities in their interactions with provincial and national policymakers. The project is intended as an exploratory attempt to pilot a new, bottom-up process for the formulation of public policy in Pakistan.

Six secondary cities located around the metropolis of Lahore were included in the first phase of the project. Three are within a 30 mile radius and the others within 60 miles. The coordinates of the cities are as follows: (distance and orientation with reference to Lahore; urban population is a 2012 estimate rounded to the nearest ten-thousand):

Kasur (30 miles SE, 400,000); **Sheikhupura** (24 miles NE, 500,000); **Kamoke** (30 miles N 190,000); **Nankana Sahib** (38 miles SW, 80,000); **Daska** (55 miles NW, 160,000); **Pattoki** (46 miles SW, 150,000).

¹ This summary was prepared by Dr. Anjum Altaf, Dean, School of Humanities, Social Sciences and Law, Lahore University of Management Sciences. anjum.altaf@lums.edu.pk

Representatives from each of these cities visited LUMS in turn for extended discussions with faculty, students and interested outsiders. Officials of the Urban Unit of the Government of Punjab were specially invited to participate in the sessions. The 'Listen and Learn' phase concluded with a session in which all cities were represented for a roundtable discussion to agree on the agenda for the next stage.

Principal Observations

The principal observations from this phase could be summarized around the theme of connectedness of which the following dimensions were explored: physical, informational, economic, social and political. The broad conclusion was that while physical and informational connectedness between the cities and the metropolis was high, economic, social and political connectedness was low.

All the cities are connected to Lahore by high quality roads. The travel time to the municipal boundary of Lahore from the cities within a 30 mile radius is less than one hour while for the others it is of the order of two hours. However, the travel time to the center of Lahore is much higher because of traffic conditions in the metropolis. Easy access to motorized transport means that these cities are very close for those needing to make the occasional visits but not so for those considering a daily commute.

The rapid dissemination of mobile telephones has resulted in the real-time transfer of information between the metropolis and the small cities and indeed the villages in the rural hinterland of the latter. Informational connectedness is very high

An important observation related to the negligible extent of regional labor market integration. The choke points at the entry to Lahore make the home-to-work commute from surrounding cities too long to be a viable option. The weak labor market integration has obvious implications for urban productivity and is relevant to policy since the New Growth Framework recently adopted by the Government of Pakistan envisions a major role for cities as the engines of economic growth.

One outcome of weak labor market integration is lack of social integration between the metropolis and its neighboring small cities. Gains in physical and informational connectedness have reduced the physical distance between satellite cities and metropolitan centers but have also polarized the social structure in the former to their disadvantage. Many of the affluent citizens have shifted their primary residences to the metropolis while the rest travel there for their transactions. As a result there is not sufficient residual purchasing power in the local market to attract service-providers from the big city. The unidirectional flow has impoverished small towns which have been relegated to service centers for their rural hinterlands.

It is not surprising that most small cities reported a severe lack of adequate public services. The most pressing problems related to poor health due to lack of access to clean water exacerbated by the absence of reliable health care. An alarmingly high prevalence of Hepatitis-C (between a quarter and as third of residents) was reported in all the cities. A general disaffection was also expressed with regard to access to education.

Local politics continues to be dominated by old land-holding families and is dynastic in nature. This dominance is sustained by the manner in which electoral constituencies are delimited such that the urban population of small cities is outnumbered by the rural vote based on clan loyalties. In addition, in the absence of local bodies, national and provincial level representatives rarely live in the small cities themselves further eroding impetus for urban development.

City representatives pointed to an interesting relationship between economic and political stakeholders stemming from the dominance of landed interests in politics and the inability of urban/industrial representatives to mobilize enough votes to be elected. Industry protects itself by paying off incumbent political representatives the most secure arrangement being to pay off all parties so that electoral swings do not have adverse impacts. This has significant implications for the political culture of patronage that prevails in Pakistan.

As in the case of political representatives, owners of major industrial enterprises now rarely live in the small towns managing their units from the metropolis. This withdrawal of the industrial elites has a similar impoverishing impact on the culture of the small cities.

A growing linkage between religion and politics was reported in all the cities. While religious influence has long existed in rural areas, the intertwining with politics is more recent. The withdrawal of traditional political and industrial elites from small cities seems to have created a vacuum that is being filled by brokers affiliated to religious organizations. This is contributing to an increasing conservatism and the growing influence of religious forces as mediators in issues related to life in small cities.

Concluding Session

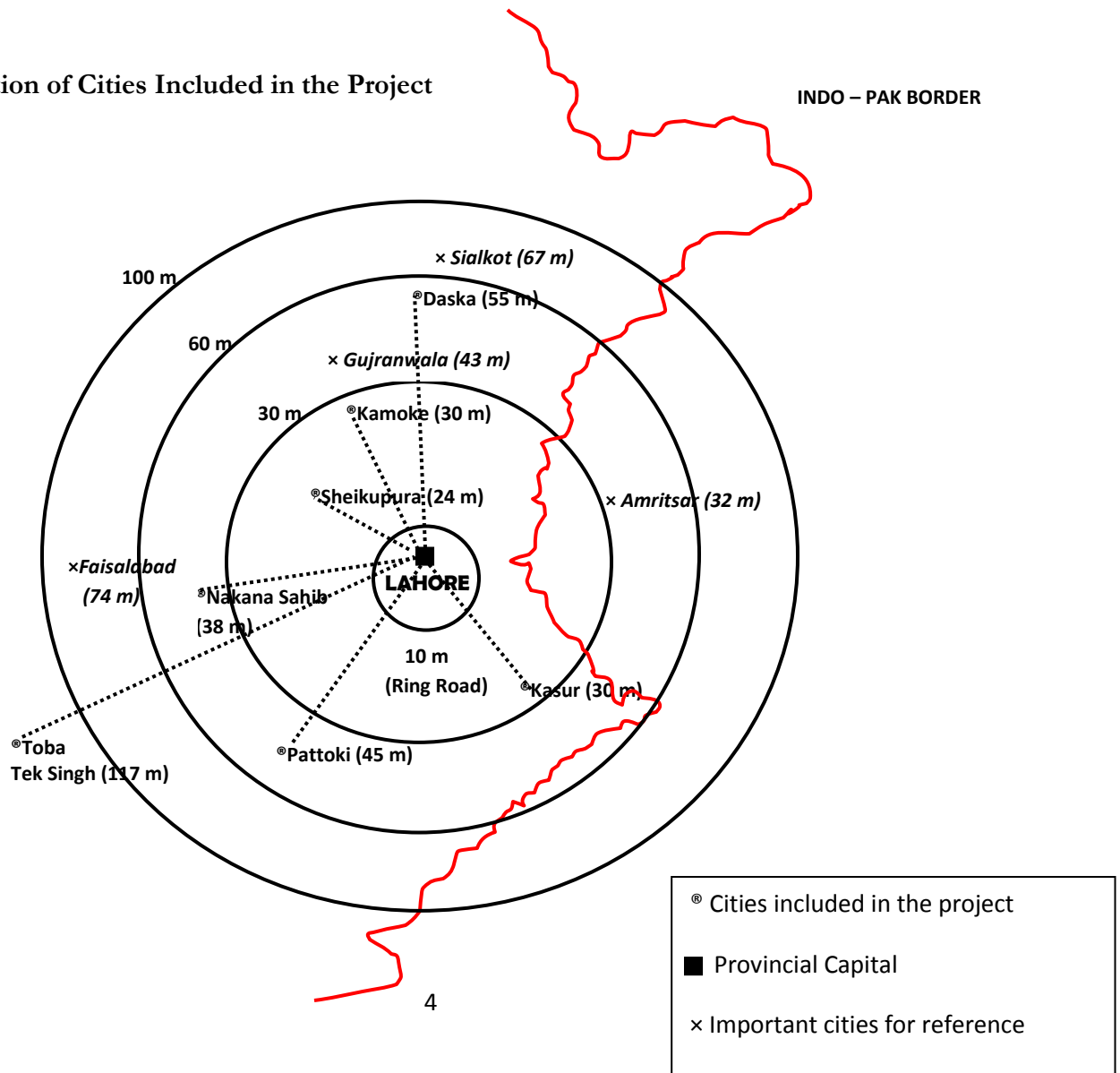
The concluding session of the first phase cross-checked the observations mentioned above with city representatives. LUMS students provided feedback on investigative visits to two cities facilitated by the representatives and this emerged as an attractive model for collaborative research. The session also included presentations by experts on issues of major concern to the cities, i.e., Hepatitis-C and water purification technologies. The response to the latter led to the realization that the proposed Association of Small Cities would serve as an efficient clearing house for ideas on best practices and the proposal received strong support.

Next Phase

The next phase of the project would focus on ideas central to increasing the size of the regional labor market and on increasing social and economic integration between the small cities and the metropolis. Small cities offer much lower land and labor costs that are not being leveraged to facilitate the outmigration of residences and mature industries from the metropolis which could turn the former into affluent and dynamic suburbs. Reform of electoral rules would be explored to increase the political weight of the urban vote.

A charter of the Association of Small Cities would be finalized for approval. LUMS would serve as the technical advisor to the association. The central objective of future work would be to empower residents of small cities by engaging them in collaborative research and by providing a vehicle for the articulation of their demands based on the findings through the Association of Small Cities.

Orientation of Cities Included in the Project



Final Report²

Introduction

This report is being submitted at the end of the first, information gathering, phase of what is envisaged to be an evolving multi-phase exercise. Thus, it is an interim product related to the funding cycle of a work in progress. The documentation is based on observations and hypotheses most of which are slated to be verified and tested in subsequent phases. For this reason, the report is impressionistic. No attempt is made at the kind of completeness expected of an academic paper. That task too remains for a later stage.

Project Rationale

Academics engaged in urban studies are well aware of three important aspects pertinent to the field: first, that half the world's population now lives in urban centers; second, that the majority of this urban population resides in towns and secondary cities rather than in metropolitan areas; and third, that while from a management perspective cities are the appropriate unit of analysis, from a development perspective the relevant analytical framework is that of economic geography, i.e., of connectivity among cities of different sizes located in an economic region.

The implication of the above is that non-metropolitan urban centers cannot (and should not) be ignored in the context of national development whether social, political or economic in dimension. This is even more important for countries where the urban transition is still underway and the contours of the future are very much in flux. Many different trajectories are possible depending on the policy choices and interventions that are made at this time.

In this context, it is noteworthy that there are no clearly articulated policy or vision statements pertaining to economic geography in many countries and the information data base related to non-metropolitan urban centers is also extremely deficient.

Pakistan is among the countries where consideration of the contribution of non-metropolitan urban centers to national life is lacking and awareness of what is happening there is also minimal. While a policy framework is overdue, given the deficiency of the data base and the lack of first-hand

² This report was prepared by Dr. Anjum Altaf, Principal Investigator, with the help of Hassan Shiraz, Research Assistant. Secretarial assistance was provided by Qurat ul Ayen Butt.

experience of small cities at the disposal of policymakers, it is not advisable to formulate policy prescriptions based on abstract theory or prevailing wisdom.

This project is intended to address the lack of familiarity and information to provide a foundation for debate and advocacy on possible visions pertaining to the role of non-metropolitan urban centers in Pakistan.

Project Design

The project design has a number of distinct features. First, it reflects the information and familiarity gaps mentioned above; the preliminary phase is intended to forge the personal links needed to overcome these gaps. This phase is characterized as the ‘Listen and Learn’ stage of the project and is the one that is the subject of this report. In this stage, representatives from selected small cities (population up to 500,000) located around a major metropolitan center and provincial capital (Lahore) were invited to spend time with faculty and students of a leading academic institution (Lahore University of Management Sciences – LUMS) to familiarize the latter with the various aspects of life in small cities. These aspects include issues of physical connectivity with Lahore, integration of labor markets, social, economic and political linkages, and the nature of the lived experience within the cities themselves. The latter includes a focus on the nature and delivery of essential services.

Second, the project design is sensitive to the reality in a country where there is little felt need expressed for policy advice at the level of either the government or the bureaucracy. Supply-side exercises culminating in reports funded primarily by external donors and submitted to officialdom yield very little by way of responses to public needs. This project is therefore designed as an exploratory attempt to pilot a new, bottom-up input into the formulation of public policy.

Third, the project design is based on the premise that reform in Pakistan will ultimately be driven by political and not informational imperatives. However, political demands need to rest on a base of credible information and knowledge. This realization has two implications for this project. First, while individual small cities by themselves do not have the political leverage to influence national or provincial policy-making processes, a collective voice might carry more weight. Second, the collective voice needs to be strengthened by professional advice that is cognizant of context, theory, and global experiences. For these reasons, it is an objective of the first phase of the project to conclude with an agreement on the formation of an Association of Small Cities which, with LUMS acting as its technical advisor, would be able to employ an informed collective voice to involve citizens, articulate public aspirations, suggest and advocate policy alternatives, and interact more effectively with provincial and national decision-making agencies.

Fourth, based on interactions with representatives of small cities and reciprocal field visits, members of the advisory body (faculty and students at LUMS) would identify a tentative research agenda to inform themselves. This agenda would be implemented in subsequent phases of the project in collaboration with representatives of the small cities.

Project Implementation

Representatives from seven small cities around Lahore visited LUMS for extended interactions during the 'Listen and Learn' stage of the project. These were civil society representatives not associated with mainstream political parties or the governmental bureaucracy. They were identified on the basis of their previous work in their cities and interviewed over the phone before being selected for the visits. In each case at least two representatives were invited to provide a diversity of perspectives. Three of the cities had a female delegate in the team.

The visits were scheduled in sequence with only one city presenting on a given day to LUMS faculty and students. In order to involve the wider public, the sessions were open to interested outsiders and the Urban Unit of the Government of Punjab was specially invited to participate. After four of the cities had made their presentations, a mid-project review was held in which the project team assessed the learning to date and refined the format for the remaining three sessions. Based on the review, LUMS students scheduled field visits to two of the cities in order to confirm some of the information presented and to scope ideas for research identified on the basis of what they had learnt. A third city was visited after the mid-term review. The end of the first phase was marked by a concluding session at which all the city representatives gathered together for a collective recap, a set of presentations, a roundtable discussion, and a brainstorming session to chart the next phase of the project.

Small Cities Included in the First Phase

Seven cities were included in the first phase of the project. It was a deliberate choice to select small cities around the provincial capital of Lahore in order to get a sense of their connectivity to the metropolis and to build a sense of the economic geography of the urban region.

The coordinates of the cities are as follows: (distance and orientation with reference to Lahore; urban population is a 2012 estimate rounded to the nearest ten-thousand):

Kasur	30 miles SE	400,000
Sheikhupura	24 miles NE	500,000
Kamoke	30 miles N	190,000
Nankana Sahib	38 miles SW	80,000
Daska	55 miles NW	160,000
Pattoki	46 miles SW	150,000
Toba Tek Singh	117 miles SW	70,000

Three of the cities are within a 30 mile radius from Lahore; another three are within 60 miles distance. The only outlier is Toba Tek Singh at about 120 miles. The latter was a deliberate choice to see how a city within the orbit of a different metropolitan center (Faisalabad) interacted with Lahore. This yielded useful information that would be utilized in the next phase of the project. For the purpose of this report Toba Tek Singh is excluded from the analysis and the discussion. The schematic orientation of the cities is shown in Annex - 1. Summary statistics of the cities are provided in the Annex - 2.

Project Findings

These interactions between the city representatives and the faculty and students at LUMS were extremely rich with both sides yearning for more and feeling strongly that further discussions were needed to deepen the understanding of their very different worlds. Students were surprised and taken aback at how little they knew of places that are in some cases just suburbs of the city in which they have been raised.

The objective in this part of the report is to summarize the principal observations and hypotheses that were identified during the course of the discussions and to illustrate how these feed into the construction of a research agenda grounded in the real issues that are at the heart of the evolution of these cities and the role they could play in national development.

The issues identified cover the entire socio-economic-political spectrum. At this stage the most central of these are listed to signal the topics that would be the focus of attention during the subsequent phases of the project.

Urban Connectedness

Connectedness has many dimensions – physical, informational, economic, social and political. The principal finding of the first phase was that while physical and informational connectedness between the cities and the metropolis are high, economic, social and political connectedness are low. There are some interesting relationships whereby high connectivity along some dimensions contributes to low connectivity along others. Most of the other issues link back to aspects of connectedness in one way or another.

Physical Connectedness

As mentioned above all six of the cities are within a 60 mile radius of Lahore and three of them are within a distance of 30 miles. All these cities are connected to Lahore by high quality road networks. The travel time from the latter to Lahore (city limit to city limit) is less than one hour while for the others it is of the order of two hours.

However, the travel time from city center to city center is much higher in relative terms primarily because of traffic conditions in the metropolis. For example, while one may reach the limits of Lahore from Kasur in less than an hour, it could well take more than an hour during rush hour to cover the rest of the distance to the centre of Lahore. With easy access to motorized transport, Kasur has become very close for someone needing to make the occasional visit but not so for a person considering a daily commute.

There is also the dimension of the connectedness of the small cities themselves with their surrounding villages. This is more limited than one would have imagined despite fairly short distances. Here the reason is seemingly not the poor quality of village-to-city roads but infrequency of public transport because of low population densities and growing insecurity after dark.

Informational Connectedness

The rapid dissemination of mobile telephones has resulted in the real-time transfer of information between the metropolis and the small cities (and indeed the villages in the rural hinterland of the small cities). This development has interesting implications that are discussed later.

Labor Market Integration

The most surprising realization for students was the negligible extent of labor market integration of surrounding urban centers with the metropolis of Lahore. This was true even of cities like Kasur and Kamoke which lie a mere 30 miles away. This lack of integration is not due to the absence of good

roads or public transport; as mentioned above, the physical connectedness is very good. However, choke points in Lahore make the home to work commute too long to be a viable alternative.

This weak labor market integration has obvious implications for urban productivity. It is known that holding other things constant, a doubling of urban population can yield up to a 40 percent increase in labor productivity. This assumes even more importance since the New Growth Framework recently adopted by the Government of Pakistan envisions a major role for cities as the engines of economic growth.

In major metropolises of the developed world (e.g., Washington, DC, London, Tokyo, etc.) secondary urban centers up to 60 miles away are part of an integrated labor market by virtue of being linked via rapid transit service which keeps commuting times to less than one hour. The importance of such integration has spurred similar infrastructure investments in many developing countries as well. The most remarkable of these have been in numerous cities in China but now also in India. The remarkable increase between 1990 and 2007 in the populations residing within one and two hour driving distance from the centers of various cities in the Yangste River Delta is shown in Annex - 3.

In India, Mumbai has had for a long time a suburban railway, a 465 km network that carries 7 million passengers per day, the highest passenger density of any urban railway system in the world. By contrast, the Karachi Circular Railway has been dead since its inception. It is no surprise that despite similarly sized populations, the gross domestic product of Mumbai is three times that of Karachi.

Reflection on this topic during the course of the project led to the observation that the labor market of Lahore itself is not integrated and that the city might be better viewed as a number of non-overlapping labor markets abutting each other thus deriving few of the advantages of a large city while suffering from all the disadvantages of a large population.

Representatives from a number of cities drew attention to the interesting fact that the extent of labor market integration was actually greater in the past when a commuter train ran between Sialkot (less than 10 miles from Daska) to Lahore picking up white collar clerical workers and vendors along the way and bringing them into the metropolis for the day. This train (known in the vernacular as *baoo train*) has fallen into disuse because of poor service and increased fares.

Within the small cities themselves, the integration of their local labor markets is also affected by the problems, mentioned earlier, of connectedness between the cities and their surrounding villages.

Social Integration

One outcome of the weak labor market integration, yet another surprise for the students, was the lack of social integration between the metropolis and its neighboring small cities. It appears that the gains in physical and informational connectedness (due to fairly recent advances in transport and communications facilities) that have reduced the physical distance between satellite cities and metropolitan centers have also polarized the social structure in the former to their disadvantage. Many of the affluent have shifted their primary residences to the metropolis while the rest travel there for their transactions. As a result there is not sufficient residual purchasing power in the local market to attract service-providers from the big city. The unidirectional flow has impoverished small towns which have been relegated to service centers for their rural hinterlands. To some extent, though for very different reasons, this phenomenon may be seen as analogous to the escape in the US from inner cities to the suburbs with the same kind of impact on the social and economic life of the former.

Essential Services

Most small cities are reported to be suffering from a severe lack of adequate public services. This was not an unexpected finding though its extent was noteworthy. The most pressing problems pertain to poor health due to lack of access to clean water exacerbated by the absence of reliable health care. An alarmingly high prevalence of Hepatitis-C (between one-in-three to one-in-four residents) was reported in all the cities. A general disaffection was also expressed with regard to access to education.

Provision by the public sector was reported to be in a state of near breakdown. This ranged from a complete absence in villages to very poor quality in the cities themselves. Private provision is filling the gap but remains unregulated. It was mentioned in the discussions that enclave housing societies, on the pattern of those common in Lahore, is spreading in the smaller cities to protect the affluent from some of the service related problems described above.

The state of service provision seems to be a function of the social polarization mentioned earlier. However, there are variations between services. Health care presents the simplest case, with the affluent travelling to Lahore for consultation, treatment and procedures while the less affluent do not have the purchasing power to sustain the provision of quality care in the small cities themselves. For drinking water, the affluent have recourse to bottled supply while the others are at the mercy of public supply or ground water both of which are below acceptable standards of quality. All citizens are affected by inadequate sewerage systems where private alternatives are limited. For education, the commuting time to Lahore presents a barrier to access even for the affluent who can afford to have their children enroll in better institutions in the metropolis. The only alternative is to relocate

residence to Lahore itself. This alternative is open only to the very affluent because the differential in the price of residential land rules out relocation for the majority of small city households.

Politics

Across all the cities in the project it was reported that local politics continued to be dominated by old land-holding families and was dynastic in nature. This brought into sharp relief the tensions between the form and content of representative governance in Pakistan. The description of the unchanging power relations in rural areas, even those so close to Lahore, despite the increasing scope of the market economy, prompted one participant in the discussion to term it a 'new feudalism.' This provides a possible conceptual framework in which the political structure could be analyzed in greater detail in subsequent phases of the project.

This dominance of land owning families is sustained by the manner in which electoral constituencies are delimited. The national and provincial level constituencies are delineated such that urban population of small cities outnumbered by the rural vote that is based on clan loyalties. Local politics is thus dominated by rural interests while urban issues lack political backing. In addition, in the absence of local bodies, national and provincial level representatives rarely live in the small cities themselves further eroding impetus for urban development. They have become the equivalent of the absentee landlords who had earlier abandoned the villages for the small cities.

Economics

The largest variations amongst the cities studied thus far were noted in the area of economics. These were due partially to varying comparative advantages of the rural hinterlands, access to water for irrigation, location with reference to the principal transportation arteries, and to relative sizes of the respective cities. Thus, for example, the biggest of the project cities, Sheikhpura, being on a main transport axis, has a large number of industries operated by prominent MNCs. On the other hand, Kasur, which is the next largest in size, has virtually no comparable industry because of its proximity to the security sensitive Indian border where land is not easily available and even mobile telephone services are unreliable.

Almost all city representatives mentioned the existence of cottage industry segments in which production for sale in large cities was outsourced to household labor in small cities. Most representatives were of the opinion that the intermediaries involved enjoyed exorbitant margins at the expense of the producers.

Child labor was reported in almost all small cities, the extent varying with the linkage of production to export markets. Where production was almost entirely for the domestic market, as in Kasur, the extent was high. In Daska, which is close to Sialkot where there has been a lot of attention from

producers of global brands, the extent is lower. Compensation below minimum wage, withholding of employee benefits, and unsafe working conditions were also widely reported.

Interesting facts were learnt about trade emanating from small cities that completely bypasses the metropolis. In this connection there was the unexpected discovery of a number of such links between the small cities studied and Balochistan province, e.g., trade in bamboo products from Kasur. Also, trading networks were populated by groups (e.g., Pathans) that had links in the destination markets like Balochistan and Afghanistan and the profit margins were reportedly higher in trade than in production.

An interesting relation between economic and political stakeholders was described by the city representatives. Because of the dominance of landed interests in politics and the inability of urban/industrial representatives to mobilize enough votes to be elected, industry protects itself by paying off incumbent political representatives. The most secure arrangement is to pay off all parties so that electoral swings do not have adverse impacts. The politicians themselves have family members distributed across the different mainstream parties for similar strategic reasons. And the nature of loyalty-based politics is such that there are no consequences to political representatives switching party affiliations whenever it is to their advantage. These features have significant implications for the political culture of patronage that prevails in Pakistan.

As in the case of political representatives, owners of major industrial enterprises now rarely live in the small towns managing their units from the metropolis. This withdrawal of the industrial elites has a similar impoverishing impact on the culture of the small cities.

Religion

A growing linkage between religion and politics was reported in all the cities. While religious influence has long existed in rural areas, the intertwining with politics is more recent. It appears that the withdrawal of traditional political and industrial elites from small cities has created a vacuum that is being filled by brokers affiliated to religious organizations. This is contributing to an increasing conservatism and the growing influence of religious forces as mediators in issues related to life in small cities. The reported growth of fundamentalist groups in small cities of Pakistan could be related to the fact that traditional elites have migrated out but the lack of integration of labor markets with the larger cities has kept new entrants to the labor market trapped in small cities. Unemployment has remained high because mature industries have not relocated to a significant from the metropolis to most of the smaller cities.

Concluding Session

The concluding session (agenda in Annex- 4) was anchored by a presentation from the LUMS team of what it had learnt from the 'Listen and Learn' phase of the project. This was primarily to provide an opportunity to the city representatives to correct misperceptions and to add any significant aspects that might have been overlooked. The underlying objective was to ensure a common knowledge base for the transition to the next stage of the project.

The session included a preliminary report on field visits by LUMS students to two of the project cities facilitated by city representatives. One interesting finding was that the claim that margins of middlemen in the outsourced production for cottage industry were inordinately high was not borne out. The margins were being competed away (as economic theory would suggest) but the way in which production was distributed among different sets of workers prevented the latter from doing away with the middlemen altogether. This illustrative exercise involved the city representatives in the process of academic research and yielded an appreciation of its relevance to their lives.

Based on the repeated mention of lack of clean water and the prevalence of Hepatitis-C in the earlier meetings with city representative, two informational presentations were included in the concluding session. In the first, the CEO of a pharmaceutical firm presented the latest data on the prevalence of Hepatitis-C while stressing the fact that it was not a water-borne disease. The CEO was accompanied by two members of a NGO in Okara (another small city not included in the project) where a Hepatitis-C intervention had been launched in collaboration. In the second, two for-profit firms described affordable alternatives for the provision of clean water that had been tested in other locations in the province.

A vigorous discussion followed these informational presentations with city representative eager to find out how to replicate some of the best practices in their own cities and suggesting areas of collaborative research. It became clear that one of the benefits of an Association of Small Cities would be to serve as an efficient clearing house for the dissemination of best practices. It was not surprising that the proposal for the formation of an association was endorsed. The draft of a charter for the association has already been submitted by a city representative from Kasur. This would be finalized for circulation in the next phase of the project.³

³ The list of city representatives is provided in Annex – 5. The list of individuals who attended one or more sessions is provided in Annex – 6.

Preliminary Ideas for Next Phase

Research

A central observation in this preliminary stage of the project was that the nature of the relationship between the metropolis and the neighboring small cities was decidedly uni-directional with very little reverse flow from the former to the latter. What small cities have to offer are much cheaper land and labor costs but these are not being leveraged to their advantage because of the lack of integration of labor markets and frictions in land markets. It was surmised that the disputatious nature of property rights in land in Pakistan may be a major barrier to the outmigration of residential areas and mature industries to lower cost satellite centers.

One strand of future research would focus on these aspects. Following the methodology employed in the Yangste River Delta, a dynamic indicator of the size of the labor market would be developed for labor markets in the Lahore metropolitan region. These would yield quantifiable measures to serve as reference points in policy discussions and also as baselines for setting time-bound planning targets. These, in turn, would guide optimal infrastructure investments. The tentative idea at this stage is that rapid transit links from the Lahore Ring Road to high density employment or service destinations within the metropolis would yield the most gains in productivity per Rupee of investment. At the same time, modalities for reviving old links (e.g., the commuter train that ends in the heart of Lahore city) would be explored. Barriers to the smooth functioning of land markets would be studied and a gradient of the price of land along major corridors would be constructed.

A second strand in the research would focus on the possible reform of electoral rules that would reduce the existing anti-urban bias against small cities. This would be part of a longer-term investigation of the nature of representative governance in Pakistan.

A third strand would look in more detail at the provision of public services and their regulation in the interest of consumers. This would also entail looking at the linkages between the small cities and their surrounding villages.

Teaching

In the course of conducting the project sessions and in fleshing out the theoretical issues in discussions with students, it was felt that the ideas and material could be structured as an academic course in urban issues which would have wider dissemination than has been achieved in this pilot project. Case material pertaining to the experience of small cities in other countries, relevant theory, and best practices that have proved their value could be incorporated in the design of the course. The fleshing out of such a course is now part of the agenda and could be an important outcome of

this project that would enrich academic work at the university and give it the contextual specificity that it lacks at present.

Advocacy

The primary objective of future work would be to empower residents of small cities by engaging them in collaborative research and by providing a vehicle for the articulation of their demands based on the findings through the Association of Small Cities. At the same time the association would serve as a medium for the dissemination of ideas and best practices. The structure of the association would be designed in a way that would generate incentives for other cities to join thus strengthening the collective voice over time.

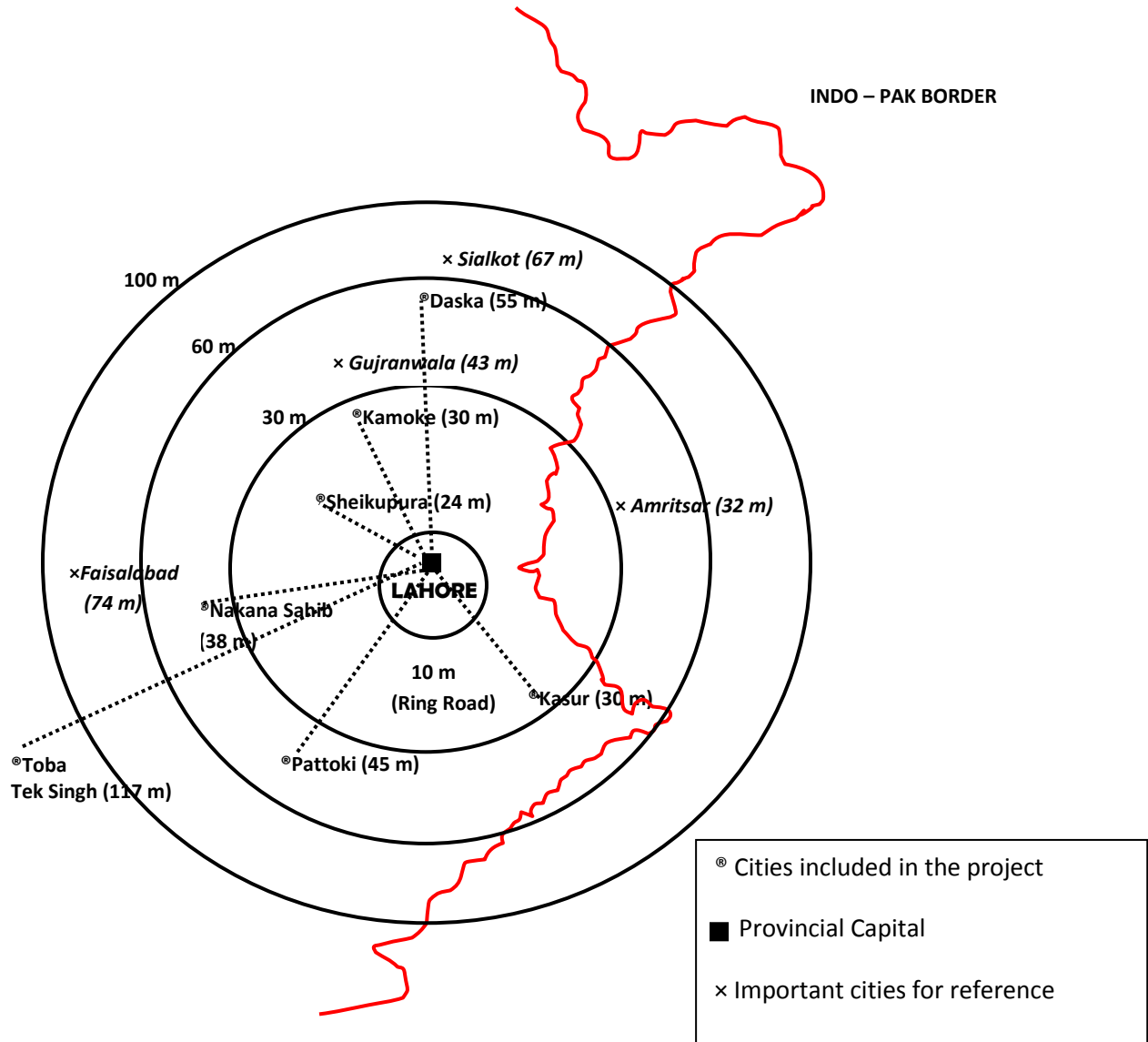


Figure 1: Orientation of Cities Included in the Project

Population – Cities in the Project

Municipality / District / Tehsil		Population ('000)			
		1998 Census		2012 Estimated	
		Urban	% Urban	Urban	% Urban
1	Toba Tek Singh	60	9.7	74	9.6
2	Nankana Sahib	69	10.1	82	10.0
3	Pattoki	115	18.1	150	18.0
4	Daska	123	21.8	159	21.7
5	Kamoke	152	37.4	190	35.2
6	Kasur	306	31.6	401	33.6
7	Sheikhupura	375	35.7	495	36.3
Reference Cities					
1	Sialkot	439	35.1	567	34.9
2	Gujranwala	1,721	50.5	2,323	50.9
3	Faisalabad	2,319	42.7	3,029	43.1
4	Lahore	5,209	82.4	7,397	82.1

Source: Punjab Development Statistics 2012 (<http://bos.gop.pk/?q=system/files/Development-Statistics-2012.pdf>)

**Changes in One and Two Hour Drive-times, Selected Cities in Yangtze Delta
Megalopolis 1990-2007**

(area in kilometer squared; population in millions)

Locations	1990				2007				Percentage change 1990-2007			
	1 hour drive-time		2 hour drive-time		1 hour drive-time		2 hour drive-time		1 hour drive-time		2 hour drive-time	
	area km ²	pop million	area km ²	pop million	area km ²	pop million	area km ²	pop million	area %	pop %	area %	pop %
Strategic Locations in Shanghai												
WGQ Waigaoqiao Port	630	4.13	2706	10.55	2422	12.31	11468	23.50	284	198	324	123
Strategic Locations in Jiangsu												
KS Kunshan	899	1.03	5590	13.72	2994	5.69	17503	31.67	233	452	213	131
SZ Suzhou	955	2.04	5226	7.50	2991	4.55	20973	34.79	213	123	301	364
Strategic Locations in Zhejiang												
HZ Hangzhou	935	3.44	5851	6.91	1735	3.73	13356	13.91	86	8	128	101
JX Jiaxing	1373	1.74	6421	6.50	2873	3.23	19430	32.23	109	86	203	396

LUMS URBAN INITIATIVE

SMALL CITIES PROJECT: ‘LISTEN AND LEARN’ PHASE

CONCLUDING SESSION

Date: Saturday, 1st December, 2012 **Time:** 02:00pm - 06:00pm **Venue:** Faculty Lounge, LUMS

PROGRAMME

Time	Activity	Speaker(s)
02:00 pm - 02:45 pm	<p><i>Ta’asurat</i> (Perceptions)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What we expected; ▪ What we found; ▪ How do we feel about the experience? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ City Representatives ▪ Zahra Lodhi (LUMS)
02:45 pm - 03:00 pm	<p><i>Khulasa</i> (Project Summary)</p> <p>What we have learnt so far</p>	<p>Dr. Anjum Altaf Principal Investigator (Dean - SHSSL,LUMS)</p>
03:00 pm - 03:15 pm	<p>Presentation on the role of middlemen in cottage industry</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Brekhna Ajmal, ▪ Shiraz Hassan, ▪ Zahra Lodhi (LUMS)
03:15 pm - 03:30 pm	<p>Presentation on Hepatitis</p>	<p>Osman Waheed President, (Ferozsons Laboratories Limited)</p>
03:30 pm - 03:45 pm	<p>Presentation on Water</p>	<p>iDesk (LUMS)</p>
03:45 pm - 04:15 pm	<p>Round Table Interaction</p>	
04:15 pm - 04:45 pm	<p>Recommendations for further research and policy analysis</p>	
04:45 pm - 05:15 pm	<p>Discussion on Association of Small Cities</p>	
05:15 pm - 05:30 pm	<p><i>Ikhtitamiya</i> (Concluding Remarks)</p> <p>Where do we go from here?</p>	<p>Dr. Anjum Altaf (LUMS)</p>

City Representatives

	Name	City	Designation	Contact
1	Advocate Waqas	Kasur	Chief Executive, Good Thinkers Organization	0322-6812700
2	Chaudhary Imtiaz	Kasur	Ex. Secretary Bar Association	0300-6594622
3	Safdar Hussain Sindhu	Sheikhupura	Former President Feroz Wala Bar Association	0333-4283596
4	Shahid Hussain	Kamoke	Landlord & Social Worker	0300-4448442
5	Anjum Rabbani	Kamoke	Principal, Government Worker's Welfare School	0333-8137477
6	Sajid Majeed	Toba Tek Singh	District Representative Geo TV & Jang	0300-6561740
7	Tariq Mehmood	Toba Tek Singh	Gen. Secretary Labor Party	0344-9557182
8	Safia Haq	Toba Tek Singh	President, Punjab Teachers Union	0300-6564807
9	Miss Gulnaz	Nankana Sahib	Senior Vice President, Pehchaan Welfare Society	0323-7090240

10	Khalid Mehmood	Nankana Sahib	Chief Executive, Royal Institute of Computer Sciences	0301-4237344
11	Abdul Majeed	Daska	Social Mobilizer Pakistan Worker Federation	0347-6141653
12	Nabiha Kausar	Daska	Vice Principal Angels School	0306-6150355
13	Shahzad Bhatti	Pattoki	Head of Physics Dept, Superior College	0300-4549835
14	Zia- ul- Haq	Pattoki	Businessman	0322-7576624

Occasional Participants in Project Sessions

	Name	Affiliation/Organization
1	Salman Naveed	Association for Development of Pakistan
2	Dr. Imdad Hussain	Center for Governance and Public Policy, FC College
3	Muhammad Rashid	City Nazim, Pattoki
4	Khurram Rasheed	USAID
5	Dr. Pervez Tahir	Ex-Chief Economist, Planning Commission
6	Dr. Nadia Tahir	University of Lahore
7	Osman Waheed	President, Ferozsons Laboratories
8	Hussain Qazi	Frontier Works Organization
9	Munir Ghazanfar	Lahore School of Economics
9	Huma Naeem	Lahore School of Economics
10	Rabia Nadir	Lahore School of Economics
11	Qaiser Bakshi	Patient Welfare Organization, Okara
12	Abdul Ghaffar	Patient Welfare Organization, Okara
13	Abid Ali Abid	Pehchan Welfare Society, Nankana Sahib
14	Bilal H. Khan	Pharmagen Healthcare Ltd.
15	Jay Jaboneta	Pharmagen Healthcare Ltd.
16	Mudasra Waheed	Urban Unit, Government of Punjab
17	Sanie Zahra	Urban Unit, Government of Punjab
18	Amna Arshad	Urban Unit, Government of Punjab

19	Muhammad Jaffar	Urban Unit, Government of Punjab
20	Ahmad Rafay Alam	Urban Unit, Government of Punjab
21	Dr. Ijaz Nabi	Director, International Growth Center, Pakistan
22	Dr. Adil Najam	Vice Chancellor, LUMS