

**ENABLING AND INHIBITING URBAN DEVELOPMENT:
A CASE STUDY OF LAHORE IMPROVEMENT TRUST
AS A LATE COLONIAL INSTITUTION**

by
Hala Bashir Malik

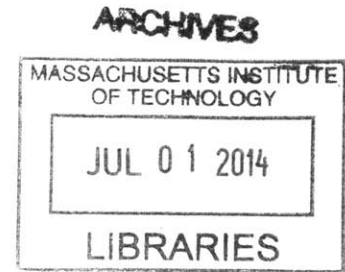
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Signature of Author: _____ **Signature redacted**

Department of Architecture
May 22, 2014

Certified by: _____ **Signature redacted**

 James Wescoat
Aga Khan Professor
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by: _____ **Signature redacted**


Takehiko Nagakura
Associate Professor of Design and Computation
Chair of the Department Committee on Graduate Students

Hala Bashir Malik

SMArchS

Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture

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Advisor: James Wescoat
Aga Khan Professor

Reader: Arindam Dutta
Associate Professor of the History of Architecture

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By
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 22, 2014 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Architecture Studies

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the Lahore Improvement Trust in relation to the urban development of the city of Lahore in mid-twentieth century. LIT was responsible for most major urban development in the city from 1936 up until 1975, when it metamorphosed into the Lahore Development Authority. However, its impact on Lahore's urban history is surprisingly under-recognized, and this may be due to the relative failure of the body itself in delivering a large part of its mandate, despite being responsible for major morphological changes in the city.

The formation of LIT, like other Improvement Trusts in India, was based on a real need for planned urban development of a rapidly expanding city. This thesis argues that the structure of such a body was, however, based on conceptual frameworks that were introduced in India by numerous different British institutions, with the aim of either 'testing out' or for furthering a particular colonial agenda. These inherent structural beliefs were carried through numerous cycles of 'reform' before being applied onto the Improvement Trust network which, this study argues, followed a strict path dependent paradigm in a late colonial institution such as LIT. Using the annual reports of LIT, I show that this was evident in the modus operandi of the body, to the point that despite being able to implement individual projects that can be considered successful to a certain extent, it failed to develop or implement a coherent urban vision. Projects under LIT were fragmented instances in the larger urban morphology of the city, which failed to respond to the more pressing problems in the city. Its failure to register itself as a viable body was further exacerbated by the body's incapability to deal with issues such as housing shortage in the city. This was particularly evident in the face of a major shock as Partition in 1947. A huge influx of migrants from East Punjab and riots within the city that caused major infrastructural damage within the city meant that the deficit of the body carried itself exponentially beyond the event of Partition in 1947. That the Trust exhibited institutional inertia well beyond the Partition in its mode of operating explains the weak progress it made beyond that event, and its eventual dissolution into Lahore Development Authority in 1975.

Hence, while most projects implemented by the Trust were moderately successful, the lack of a holistic urban plan, a result of both structural (internal) and situational (external) problems, was where LIT failed to deliver causing it to leave an ineffectual mark on Lahore's urban history.

Thesis Supervisor: James Wescoat
Title: Aga Khan Professor

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Thesis Statement and Argument

In the summer of 1936, about eighty years into the establishment of formal British rule over the Indian subcontinent, the Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT), the first institutional body tasked with the urban development of the city was set up.¹ This was part of a network of Trusts set up all over major Indian cities in the subcontinent which although operating under their own respective legal jurisdictions, were collectively conceived under the rationale of separating day-to-day municipal affairs from that of planning future urban development in cities of the subcontinent. It could be argued that this need was felt increasingly after the turn of the twentieth century, when cities were beginning to expand at unprecedented rates and thus drew attention towards concerns towards urban development. It was also, of course, partly due to the increased focus on urban planning as a formal field following the Industrial Revolution. Each Trust devised in Indian cities came hand in hand with its own Town

¹ Rai Sahib Om Prakash Aggarawalla, *Town Improvement Trusts in India* (New Delhi, 1945), 71.

Improvement Act, but evidence suggests that despite being autonomous from other Trusts, these Trusts commonly referred to other Trusts and their supporting legal jurisdictions while commenting on their own affairs.² It is important to acknowledge, however, that there was a larger overarching set of (alien) principles that provided the impetus for these Improvements Trusts and that they were reflected strongly in the decisions subsequently made and the plans implemented. This can be stated to be particularly true for a late colonial institutional setup such as LIT, when colonial presence in India and the structural changes driven by its agenda were in their most mature and even waning form, and were deeply entrenched into the administrative systems of the country. Lahore Improvement Trust was responsible for, admittedly with support from other local administrative institutions³, projecting and directing the city's major urban growth, particularly after Partition in 1947.

This thesis examines the Lahore Improvement Trust in relation to the urban development of the city of Lahore in mid-twentieth century. LIT was responsible for most major urban development in the city from 1936 through Partition up until 1975, when it transitioned into the Lahore Development Authority, currently the city's main regulatory body for urban development.⁴ However, its impact on Lahore's urban history is surprisingly under-recognized, and this may be due to the relative failure of the body itself in delivering a large part of its mandate. Despite being responsible for

² *Town Improvement Trusts in India*, 70. The Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922 was modeled "on the lines of the UP Town Improvement Act, 1919." References have also been made numerous times in the annual administration reports of Lahore Improvement Trust towards other Improvement Trusts' activities and their legislature.

³ This includes primarily the Lahore Municipal Corporation after 1940, which implemented and monitored some regulations introduced by LIT.

⁴ The Lahore Development Authority Act was passed in 1975, which superseded the Punjab Town Improvement Act of 1922 for urban development in Lahore.

major morphological changes in the city, the Trust does not register within the canon of modern Lahore's urban history.⁵

By tracing the historical development of ideas and institutions in colonial India that led to the formation of LIT, this thesis demonstrates that the Trust inherited certain structural tendencies from the long process of institutionalization in the country that followed a path-dependent trajectory, which had weakened in rationality but strengthened inversely in structure, over time. The structure of the body was based on conceptual frameworks that were introduced in India by numerous different British institutions over their long period of administrative, political, social and economic engagement within the country. These frameworks were introduced in the subcontinent with the aim of either 'testing out' (for applicability in England) or for furthering a particular colonial agenda. These inherent structural frameworks were carried through numerous cycles of 'reform' before being applied onto the Improvement Trust network which, this study argues, was reflected in the strict path-dependent mode in a late colonial institution such as LIT. That LIT was conceived and formed during what could be called the self-rationalizing phase of colonial institutions offers a prognosis into the fate of the Trust: these structural tendencies translated themselves onto the mode of operation of the body itself, resulting in a serious lack of vision, expertise and capability to deal with the real problems of the city, such as an acute housing shortage, particularly when made to respond to a major shock as Partition in 1947. Of course, the shock of Partition itself, with its massive influx of

⁵ Of the many studies on Lahore, the Lahore Improvement Trust appears as a very minor player in the urban history of twentieth century Lahore. See William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minneapolis, 2013).

migrants into the city and infrastructure damage within the city due to riots, was massive enough for any competent body to have crumbled under the pressure to deliver. These situational problems combined with structural failures are thus used as evidence to construct a narrative of LIT as faulty by design and ineffective in its context.

Establishing the foundational fault in the conception of LIT enables me to provide an institutional context for projects undertaken by the Trust. Factors such as financing structure of the body; increased social stratification due to institutional dependence on profit driven projects; and development of regulations without sensitivity to cultural norms are a few clues to the picture that can be painted of the kind of city the Trust was producing, or envisioning. These, along with an in-depth analysis of the timeline and nature of projects carried out by the Trust allow us to trace the design rationale and modus operandi of the Trust as it developed over time by responding to contextual circumstances or, as in most cases, reacting to issues without contextual clarity. It also brings to the fore how the Trust's design rationale and its resulting developments permanently manifested themselves on to the urban morphology of the city. It is assumed in this thesis that the Trust's presence must have been reason for the introduction of some sort of frictions between these entities: In this thesis I argue that the LIT housing "reforms" created tensions with existing patterns of urban development and ways of living that varied over time, space, and different socio-economic groups. These tensions can be charted within the built fabric as well as in the widening of socio-economic differences that were enabled by LIT's projects, that carry through even beyond LIT's tenure.

Through the lens of an urban institutional history framework, this thesis explores the way institutional processes are arrived at, how they are normalized, how they operate, and how that affects urban morphological realities of the city that have a direct implication on the social structures that it then enables.

Chapter Breakdown

The study begins with an in-depth analysis of the spatial context in the city of Lahore at the time LIT was formed. Lahore in the 1930's was a drastically different city from that of the Lahore in 1849, when the territories of Punjab were formally annexed under British control. A nuanced appraisal of the subsequent transformation of the city is crucial to the understanding of the spatial context of the city in 1936. Chapter 2 will outline the spatial development of the city over the century, specifically in context of the maps that were produced in this time period. This is achieved by mapping the shifting focus of representation within these maps, as well as on the evolving spatial patterns, either deliberately as part of the colonial administration's 'spatial imagination', or in response to evolving social structures in urban Lahore. In this chapter, I argue that there can be observed a discrepancy between the evolving patterns of Lahore and how it was represented or imagined spatially by the colonial administration, which led to a constructed conceptualization of the city based on colonial biases, and thus restricting appropriate responses to the realities on ground. This, in turn, enabled, and also restricted, LIT decisions that were not ideal in the face of the complex realities within the city limits. Glover argues that the dual city concept allowed retaining a "particular perspective from which to view the city, one that seeks

the confirmation of abstract principles in the shape of its visible features.”⁶ He focuses on how this was achieved by the colonial administration. This chapter expounds on the implications of adopting and promoting such a perspective on behalf of the colonial administration: reducing the city to a binary led them to compartmentalize ‘good’ and ‘bad’ models of urban settlements, thereby effectively endorsing one and only one rational model, based on ideals almost entirely alien to the city’s culture. The picture in this development is, however, further complicated by recognizing the rise of the ‘colonial third culture’⁷ and subsequently the appearance of the professional Indian middle-class, who started producing hybridized lifestyles that also manifested physically in the city’s footprint and built fabric, for example in the form of Model Town in 1920’s.⁸

With the Lahore Improvement Trust reports forming the basis of our knowledge of this institution, there can be made formal studies into the spatial reality of the city, how it was represented and how it was perceived to be transformed over time owing to certain predetermined ideals by the Trust. These ideals were, however, as previously stated, arrived at by a long process of local, regional and international schools of thought that need to be assessed in order to arrive at conclusions about the implications that were imagined upon their application by the Trust. In order to properly assess the reasons behind the establishment of the Trust and the role expected of it, there needs to be a nuanced appraisal of these historical reforms that

⁶ William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minneapolis, 2008), 198.

⁷ Anthony King, *Colonial Urban Development* (London, 1976) 58-66.

⁸ See: Masood Khan, "Cultural Transfers: The Repossession of Architectural Form." In *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1-2*, edited by Attilo Petruccioli (Rome: Dell’oca Editore, 1994-1995), 84-103.

were put in place by the British colonial administration, which in turn enabled the call for such a body as an Improvement Trust to be initiated.

In Chapter 3, in order to provide contextual clarity to the changes introduced by LIT, these reforms are studied in detail, within the sub-domains of pedagogical, regulatory and physical reforms carried out by the administration. These reforms have been contextualized historically to connect to the processes that eventually zeroes in to urban institutions like Improvement Trusts in India - the rationale behind their formation, the logic upon which they operated, and the structures they inherited from previous institutionalizing efforts - to formulate a foundational understanding of where LIT, or its founding members, derived its initial impetus from. Following in the model of Eric Stokes, each line of thought has been individually traced from its point of inception, the motives behind it, and the means adopted to achieve it, until it led to formation of actual bodies that in turn eventually cemented a certain set of operational procedures that were replicated over and over again to the point where this system became self-validated and closed.⁹

Following from the establishment of the spatial context of the LIT in Chapter 2, and of the social and political context to LIT in Chapter 3, this study then uses these urban and institutional contexts as the basis for decoding the programs undertaken by the Trust in its formative years. In Chapter 4, LIT's annual administration reports and other supporting primary material are analyzed in detail in order to deconstruct the changing morphology of Lahore under the Trust. Visual evidence in the form of

⁹ Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarian's and India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

surviving urban morphology from the mid-twentieth century and other pictorial evidence play a key role in the process of unfolding the logic of the programs introduced by the Trust. Additionally, the primary evidence in the form of the LIT reports has been used as a decoding device in formulating a analysis of the city as it developed through the decisions implemented by the Trust; the Trust here being an institution that was given the mandate and authority, upon which it acted, to modify the urban morphology of the city. Retrospect is the key term that I wish to emphasize on at this point, in suggesting that some of the evidence for the claims made in this study have been derived from an agglomeration of material that spans across mediums and objectives not traditionally used to chart the development of the city through the lens of an institution. Having been trained mainly as a designer, I have structured this study as I would a design project. A claim to chart the entire institutional history of a bureaucratic body requires a lot of archival material, both primary and secondary, in order to develop a balanced narrative of such a body.

Primary evidence for this study is being drawn from the annual administration reports of the Lahore Improvement Trust present in the Punjab Archives, Lahore. Because these reports are not available for the entire length of the institutions history, it makes this source of evidence incapable of producing a detailed historical narrative. A balanced study would also require direct responses from other institutions or individuals (residents, public officials, etc.) towards the programs carried out by the LIT. These too, fall short of forming a formidable quantum of evidence as would be ideal for such a study. How, then, does one approach a body that offers little primary evidence on paper? Of course, there is the actual physical evidence available, in the

form of the urban morphology of Lahore as can be observed even today, that offers us clues about how urban development was perceived spatially. One can take the approach of collecting whatever clues are available, be it in terms of spatial, cultural, economic or political references, and assembling them so that they can then offer a viable solution in terms of design.

These fragmentary evidences can build a picture that can offer a holistic picture of the design problem. While this approach faces possible pitfalls, it lends a method to this study that makes use of the evidence available to understand the urban structural projects, and causes of failure of LIT.

The annual administration reports have been approached with this method in mind. The reports offer us many kinds of evidence: textual, graphic and quantitative. The textual evidence provide clarity on how the Trust justified the projects it chose to undertake and how it came around to adopting the urban design approaches it did. Additionally, they allow us to compare the description of projects undertaken by the Trust with that of recommendations made by planners within these reports. By ascertaining what information was included in the reports and what was excluded, we can assess how information was reported, as descriptive text, lists or tables. These, in turn, highlight the Trust's approach to achieve its mandate as well as the overall urban vision (or lack thereof) that drove its operations.

This sort of evidence is further supported by graphic representations in the form of maps, plan and pictures that offer us the chance to corroborate visual information with

the texts in order to confirm analysis or ascertain gaps within the two entities. More quantitative evidence is also available in the form of appendices included in each report (finances, sale of land, taxes, land acquisition, etc. – i.e., design justification and specifications) that give us a much more grounded understanding of the way LIT operated and are particularly useful for testing the arguments made in the thesis.

Having analyzed the institution and its rationale in terms of urban planning in the body's formative years, and having highlighted its modest successes and failures, this study then concludes (Chapter 5) with an analysis of its most major failure: inability to respond to the acute housing shortage in the aftermath of Partition, where the city experienced massive riots which caused major infrastructure damage (including housing, mainly) coupled with an unparalleled influx of migrants from East Punjab and beyond. What follows in the history of LIT is an amazing example of institutional inertia, where projects such as the New Civil Station continued development in the face of such a crisis. This crisis highlights most stunningly the rigidity with which an institution operates; a quality, I argue, that is understandably present in late colonial institutions. Response to the housing crisis was at best fragmentary and clearly shortsighted, to the point that it becomes a major point of contention between the Trust and the provincial government. The event of Partition and the Trust's inability to respond appropriately are what caused the beginning of the demise of the Trust, and part of the reason it never recovered to rise up to the task of urban planning for a provincial capital.

To conclude, the subject of this study is a city that was to some extent modified,

planned for, and developed through a singular institution, the Lahore Improvement Trust, which initially derived its ambitions from parameters external to its context. The thesis charts the process of LIT's adapting and appropriating these parameters to formulate urban design approaches that to this day are visibly manifested in the urban morphology and social structuring of the city. This institution thus acts as a case study which provide clues into the processes that were instated by colonial institutions either preemptively or in reaction to certain issues in urban development, that in turn either responded to certain needs (and in the process enabled certain necessary developments to occur) or failed to respond in certain situations (thus effectively inhibiting appropriate development patterns within the city). Where it failed and where it succeeded, both are telling signs of the institutional legacy that many administrative bodies in the subcontinent have continued to embrace after Partition.

CHAPTER 2

“De-familiarizing the familiar”

The Changing Spatial context of a modernizing Lahore

By virtue of the Lahore Improvement Trust having been formed so late in the colonial history of the Indian subcontinent, Lahore had already been colonized spatially, and experientially, by the time the Trust had been formed. But before one can make an appraisal of the interventions the colonial administration made in the cityscape of Lahore, it is important to assess the nature of the city at the time it was occupied by the British; how it was understood under the British administration while making the first physical interventions in the city; and then, finally, how they chose to make their mark on the morphology of the city they had included under the dominion and what it meant for future urban development within the city.

This chapter examines the development of the colonial *constructed* narrative of Lahore's history, which eventually allowed for a specific kind of urban development in the city in the twentieth century. By the mid-eighteenth century, the colonial city of Lahore was increasingly perceived and acted upon in two distinct ways. First was the

monumental quality of Lahore, which the British found so readily in the Mughal monuments spread all over and around the city. It allowed the colonial administration to construct a narrative that represented the city as in danger of complete ruin, which in turn allowed for them to pose as its caretakers that would preserve its heritage. On the other hand, the British would emulate the Mughals in terms of the narrative they had established – as great rulers that built great monuments. Much like how they documented the Mughal history of the city, that is in terms of the formal qualities of its administrative and military infrastructure, the colonial administration too would follow the same trajectory. Hosragahar calls it a process of ‘de-familiarizing the familiar’¹⁰ as new typological entities (buildings, exclusive settlements) were introduced to the city which gradually (and perhaps understandably) took more precedence over the older settlements of the city – not just in terms of aesthetic value but also for the lifestyle they allowed and stood for. These developments were made at the expense of the traditional settlements in the city and its suburbs, which did not register under the monumental value that larger Mughal structures afforded.

It was in between these two different natured perspectives that the colonial administration started physically altering the city of Lahore. The local population and their traditional settlements did not figure in the narrative of formal interventions into the city until later when other social concerns brought them to the fore.

¹⁰ Phrase borrowed from: Jyoti Hosagrahar, “Negotiated Modernities: Symbolic terrains of Housing in Delhi,” in Peter Scriver, Vikramaditya Prakash, ed., *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* (London: Routledge, 2007), 220.

Pre-colonial Lahore in the 19th century

Prior to its annexation into the British territories in 1849, Punjab was the one of the last provinces to have been inducted under formal British rule. This late British occupation of the province meant that there was a delayed onset of all the changes that were brought in with the arrival of a colonial power. These changes were very physically manifested on to the city of Lahore, being as it was one of the main urban centers of the province, through deliberate interventions that reflected evolving processes of British colonization. It is important to understand how the British perceived the city of Lahore at the time they took formal control of it for its ability to offer us clues into the kind of narrative that enabled the physical interventions carried out by them eventually.

Lahore had enjoyed immense attention under many dynasties that ruled in India over the centuries, but these came in phases of ebbs and flows under different circumstances. While its history can be accurately mapped from the seventh century, certain references can be found to a settlement at the location of Lahore as far back as the first century.¹¹ It was however under the Mughals that the city gained most prominence. Further, it is the Mughal period which is the most extensively documented period by the British. For the British, the fascination with the Mughals and their monumentality was because it provided them a precedent in physical grandeur that they could emulate. The British imagined themselves to be seen as “heirs

¹¹ See: Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (Lahore: New Imperial Press, 1892). Also see Lahore chronology on Gardens of Mughal Empire website: http://www.mughalgardens.org/PDF/lahore_chronology.pdf (March 15, 2014)

of the wise and tolerant Akbar”¹², in whom they wanted to see “a ruler who consciously manipulated fixed, and socially meaningful, architectural elements to achieve a set political objective.”¹³ It was thus important for them to acknowledge its existence and enhance its respectability, but at the same time, it was equally important to establish its state of degradation, so as to justify their presence in the subcontinent as a force that would propel it into modern times.¹⁴

Under the Mughals, Lahore enjoyed most attention during the time of Akbar’s reign beginning in the mid-16th century. Akbar transferred his capital to Lahore in 1584 after the failed attempt of transferring it to Fatehpur Sikri, and built a Fort atop the old Lahore citadel. This resulted in increased interest in developing the monumental architecture of the city for the Mughals. It continued to enjoy patronage under the likes of Shah Jahan, who remodeled the Fort, and Aurangzeb, who was responsible for the construction of the Badshahi Mosque amongst other such monumental structures. Besides the increased activity in the construction of these, the city itself thrived immensely under the Mughal administration. H. E. Goulding cites Amin Ahmad Razi, author of ‘Haft Aqlim’ to state that “until the time of Akbar, Lahore was nothing more than a number of detached hamlets”.¹⁵ But because Lahore was essentially a “Mogul city”, the city itself seems to have spanned far longer than its extents in the mid-eighteenth century. He confirms this claim by looking at remnants and ruins of structures in the environs of the city that extended to up to three miles beyond the city

12 Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and British Raj* (OUP, 2002), 48.

13 Ibid, 54.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ H.E. Goulding, *Old Lahore: Reminiscences of a Resident* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1924), 62.

limits in his times: “...among the debris, of numerous small wells, such as are constructed in the private dwelling-houses of a closely-packed city and from the position of the large ruined mosque on the right-hand side of the Amritsar road, known as the Idgah, or place of assembly upon Muhammeden feast-days. These buildings are almost always erected in the immediate outskirts of a town; it may be inferred, therefore, that when this mosque was built the city extended as far as its immediate vicinity; but the city is now nearly three miles off...”¹⁶ As such the city in itself, besides its monumentality, thrived under the Mughal administration, even this aspect was not the focus of the British historians.

However, beyond Shah Jahan’s reign and up until the rise of Sikh power in Punjab in the last quarter of the 18th century, Lahore lost the heightened patronage it had enjoyed in the 16th and 17th centuries. Although it continued to thrive commercially, it “sank to a provincial level both in the eyes of the introvert Government centered at Delhi and in the smaller minds of its viceroys who governed the Punjab in its name.”¹⁷

Beyond the Mughal era, where we observe one large dynastical presence – much like how the British imagined themselves – there was little in Lahore that was seen worthy of appraising. The times under the numerous Sikh rulers after the Mughals lost control of the city in the 1770’s are portrayed as grim times for the city. The subsequent administrators of Lahore, a long string of Sikh rulers, did not contribute to the city’s infrastructure in the same manner as the Mughals and thus is registered to be the time when the city’s infrastructure started degrading.

¹⁶ Goulding, 83

¹⁷ F.S. Aijazudin, *Lahore Recollected: An Album* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2004), 13.

Keeping in line with the narrative that the colonial administration wanted to disseminate, F.S. Aijazuddin records their rule over Lahore as such: “Sudden inheritors of some of the finest examples of Mughal architecture, they treated these monuments with all the negligence recipients of an unexpected windfall might – they despoiled whatever took their fancy and discarded or neglected the rest. Lahore never recovered from the assault.”¹⁸ This demonstrates the damage of the larger monumental architecture of the city; however, the city and its population itself did suffer somewhat in these times. Lahore was a city where the population thrived, particularly the artisan class, due to the patronage of the ruling or elite population. During times of political turbulence, this patronage was obviously affected, leaving a hurting economy with dire effects on the local population.

As the local population decreased due to the artisan classes moving to other cities with better income prospects, Lahore’s monumental structures fell into ruin or disrepair. A diary entry by an English officer in 1809 observed: “I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afforded a melancholy picture of the fallen splendor. Here the lofty dwelling and Masjids, which, fifty years ago, raised their tops to the skies and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and in less than half a century more will be leveled to the ground. In going over these ruins, I saw not a human being, all was silence, solitude and gloom.”¹⁹ Such a perception of the city and decay of its historical buildings by the British was common and, as established earlier,

¹⁸ Aijazuddin, 14. The dominant narrative of Lahore’s history has remained unchallenged. While there have been attempts, the narrative developed in the colonial times still continues to be disseminated today. Falling back on Mughal influence – nationalist discourse, or at least Punjabi.

¹⁹ M. Hanif Raza, *Lahore: Past and Present* (Lahore, 1987), 63.

important to further their colonial agenda.

The last proper independent government established in Lahore before its takeover by the British, was by Ranjit Singh in 1799. While Ranjit Singh had no aspirations to build at an imperial scale similar to the Mughals, there was still a general sense of improvement in the physical conditions of the city under his rule. Political stability in the city brought with it a rise in commerce and trade, allowing for the residents of the city to see better prospects than that of the last three decades of the eighteenth century. However, despite a surge of (re)construction within the city of Lahore, its extents remained largely contained within the boundaries of the Walled City. Aijazuddin notes by example two haveli's – Nau Nehal Singh Haveli and Wazir Dhiyan Singh Haveli, that most large-scale structures were constructed within the extents of the Walled City, whereas gardens and country estates were spread outside the city, mainly on the route towards Shalimar Gardens.²⁰

A 1846 map of Lahore, one of the earliest detailed surveys of the city by the British, marks Aijazuddin's observations to be true (Figure 1). One can already note the presence of initial British cantonments in Anarkali, immediately south of the walled city. These barracks had been established about the time of this map being drawn, before Lahore's annexation into British rule in 1849. Ranjit Singh's authority over Lahore itself had been guaranteed after both parties signed a treaty to stay off each other's territories in 1809. However, by 1846, the British had started to grow uneasy about this situation, and had placed its army in the Anarkali barracks to secure control

²⁰ Aijazuddin, 16.

over the city. Local administration was however left to the Sikh ruler until 1849. This proximity to the Walled City of Lahore in the form of a Cantonment was strategically obvious, since the purpose of the army stationed in the city at that point was to control it as a military force.

This map allows us to consider the extents of the city of Lahore and its environs that it considered to be part of one geographic unit. The River Ravi forms the Western edge of this unit, whereas the Eastern edge cuts off at Shalimar Gardens, which is the most imposing man-made feature after the Walled City itself. Numerous garden estates are documented on the road that connects the Walled City to the Shalimar Gardens, which was eventually converted into the Grand Trunk Road under the British administration. Villages scattered all around these environs are represented as a group of circles. Barring a few, not many villages are named, as opposed to the Gardens, which are titled extensively. One can observe here that most agricultural land was located to the North and West of the Walled City, due to the course of the Ravi River and fertility of its floodplains. To the South and South-East of the city, however, are very few villages or Gardens, and the landscape has been given a contoured texture to possibly represent non-irrigated land due to the irregular terrain. This was the Lahore that the British occupied in 1849, and which they would transform incredibly over the course of half a century: a city contained within its own walls, flanked on three sides with scattered garden estates and agricultural land. To them, the real prize of Lahore lay in the monumentality they had documented extensively in the city; the mundane was of no importance to them, as it would certainly not have played any role in asserting their dominance in the city.

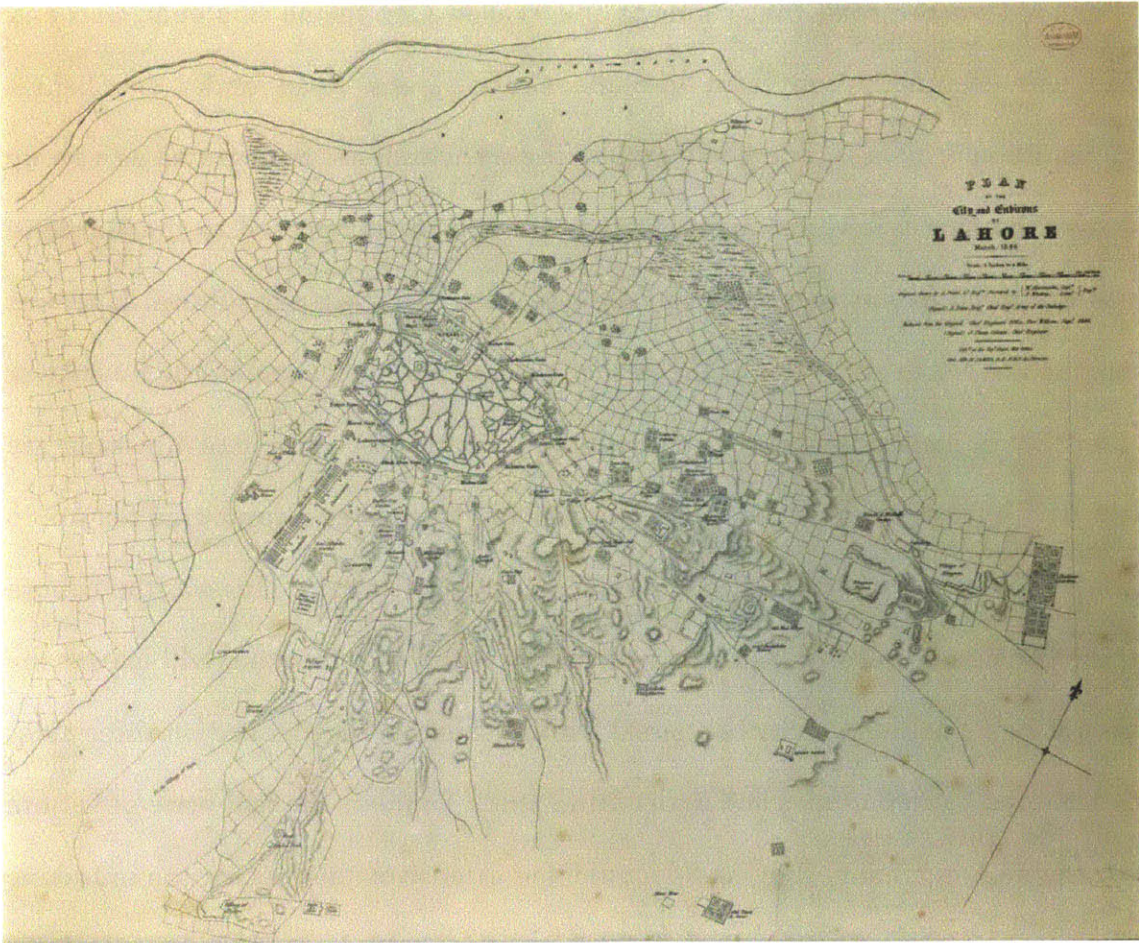


Figure 1 - 1846 Map of Lahore: British cantonment stationed at Anarkali. (source: Abdur Rehman, *Mapping Lahore: Tracing Historical Geography of a City Through Maps*, 2013)

Transformation towards a modern city

As has been established, when Lahore was taken under formal British control following Punjab's annexation, the Mughal Lahore as recorded in the earlier accounts of local historians and that of Englishmen travelling through the city, was not in the same condition it was in the seventeenth century. It was however, not in complete decay either, as the British wished to have it portrayed; rather it was flourishing in a different sense from that of as a powerful dynasty's capital that finds its importance registered principally through monumentality.

While the older living quarters of the city, the non-monumental, were increasingly dismissed as sites unfit for human habitation, the monumental architecture of the city was being 'museumized', to use Mahmood Mamdani's term.²¹ This phenomenon was observed all over the Indian subcontinent and has been established by the constitution of bodies like the Archeological Survey of India.²² In adopting an Indo-Saracenic style of architecture, the British were thinking of themselves as the holders of the knowledge that was required to preserve what already existed, and as the torchbearers for future development, the British were thinking of themselves as the next wave of great rulers as the Mughals. All that was monumental was thus documented, compartmentalized and appropriated by the British; all that was not was discarded from the discourse, unless it figured in other spheres of their colonial reforms, such as sanitation and hygiene improvement missions, which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

²¹ Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism*. In *American Anthropologist*: 104 (2002), 766.

²² Hala Bashir Malik, *Fergusson's Legacy on Architectural Discourse in the Indian Subcontinent* (2012).

As such, there was little focus on the documenting the urban morphology of the city. As far as the British were concerned, the traditional settlements almost never registered in the historical narrative, and if it did, it was always considered in terms of squalid living conditions. These traditional settlements never offered much to the colonial administration in terms of either appropriating or even rejecting.

William Glover, in his book *Making Lahore Modern*, argues that the Sikh and eventually the British administration “adopted and altered” what he calls a durable physical template for all later developments as provided by the Mughals. He believes this to be true despite acknowledging that the documents detailing urban development under the British administration “seldom conceptualized” it to be so²³. He uses the example of suburbanization that the Mughals established under their rule to link to the selection of building by the British administration. We know from the 1846 map that the Sikh period continued to build on the tradition of the Mughals in constructing garden estates in the outskirts of the city; a rather large number of these gardens have been recorded on the map and seem to have continued to occupy a lot of attention from British cartographers for a while until the infrastructure of the city took precedence by virtue of its growth and replacement by British designed garden spaces.

It may be plausible to establish a link between Mughal and British usage of specific sort of structures for their civic administration, especially since the British actually drafted a lot of Mughal and Sikh buildings for their own administrative purposes. Further, they did develop suburban pockets in the outskirts of the city rather than

²³ Glover, 17-18.

within the established city limits in the nineteenth century. However, it can be argued that this was not as much due to the physical template provided by the Mughals, as it had to do with the colonial administration's own very need for a distinct spatial presence, as can be documented in Anthony King's work, *Colonial Urban Development*.²⁴ Additionally, as noted earlier, the only historical aspect the colonial administration wished to associate itself with was the monumentality, and the power that it reflected. The local traditional patterns of living were thus almost unregistered in the early days of colonial presence in the city.

The high-density settlements of the old quarters of Lahore necessitated that most urban development would take place in the outer edges of the city. The shifting of the Cantonment from Anarkali, near the Walled City, to Mian Mir in the far eastern suburbs was however a definitive step in the way Lahore was to be conceptualized from thereon. This separation between the colonial-military apparatus and the old fortified city marked a very stark contrast between the two. These two were connected together by a civil corridor, a wide road - the Mall, which would run from the southern edge of the Walled City to feed into the Cantonment from the Western side. Even in terms of the area it occupied, especially in relation to the Walled City, the Cantonment was clearly established with the ideas of propagation of power and order as the purview of the British administration. The walls around the Walled City managed to survive through numerous British interventions, but the moat around was transformed into Circular Gardens, so as to slightly neutralize the fortification of the Walled City against the new space representing military strength in the form of order and rational

²⁴ King, *Colonial Urban Development*.

design.

Figure 2 shows a map of Lahore in 1867, which marks the transformation of the city very vividly. The Cantonment, which was constructed on a strict North-South axis, stands strongly in contrast to the Walled City. Cartographically speaking, the location of the Cantonment so further out to the East meant that the Walled city of Lahore was pushed to the edge of the geographic area represented. While the city was still vertically positioned somewhat in the center, the strict ordered layout and the rather magnificent size of the Cantonment meant that there was an obvious weakening in its position of the city visually. Gardens were highlighted in a bright green, that depict both surviving Mughal and Sikh gardens, but also highlight the Circular Gardens and the Lawrence Gardens, both British contributions to the city. The placement of the Cantonment also necessitated the construction of a canal, which was upgraded by the British in 1861 to serve the Cantonment, and was extended from the BRB canal further east to the city, hugging the current border of India and Pakistan. It also served as a very direct point of division between the old and the new city. Access was possible through the Mall Road, and was supported through two other major roads: Jail Road and Mayo Road. Restricted access further contributed to the exclusivity of the Cantonment. Two railways had also been laid out by the time and culminated in the newly constructed Railway Station, which was modeled to act as a Fortress in case of political unrest. While most architectural and infrastructural interventions had already been made before the rebellion of 1857, its aftermath supported the development of moves like these, in order to allow the British authorities to assert their dominance while also acting as strategic elements for military oppression, if needed.

Both the railway lines and the Canal however, also need to be acknowledged for their transformative effect on where urban development would occur in the future, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

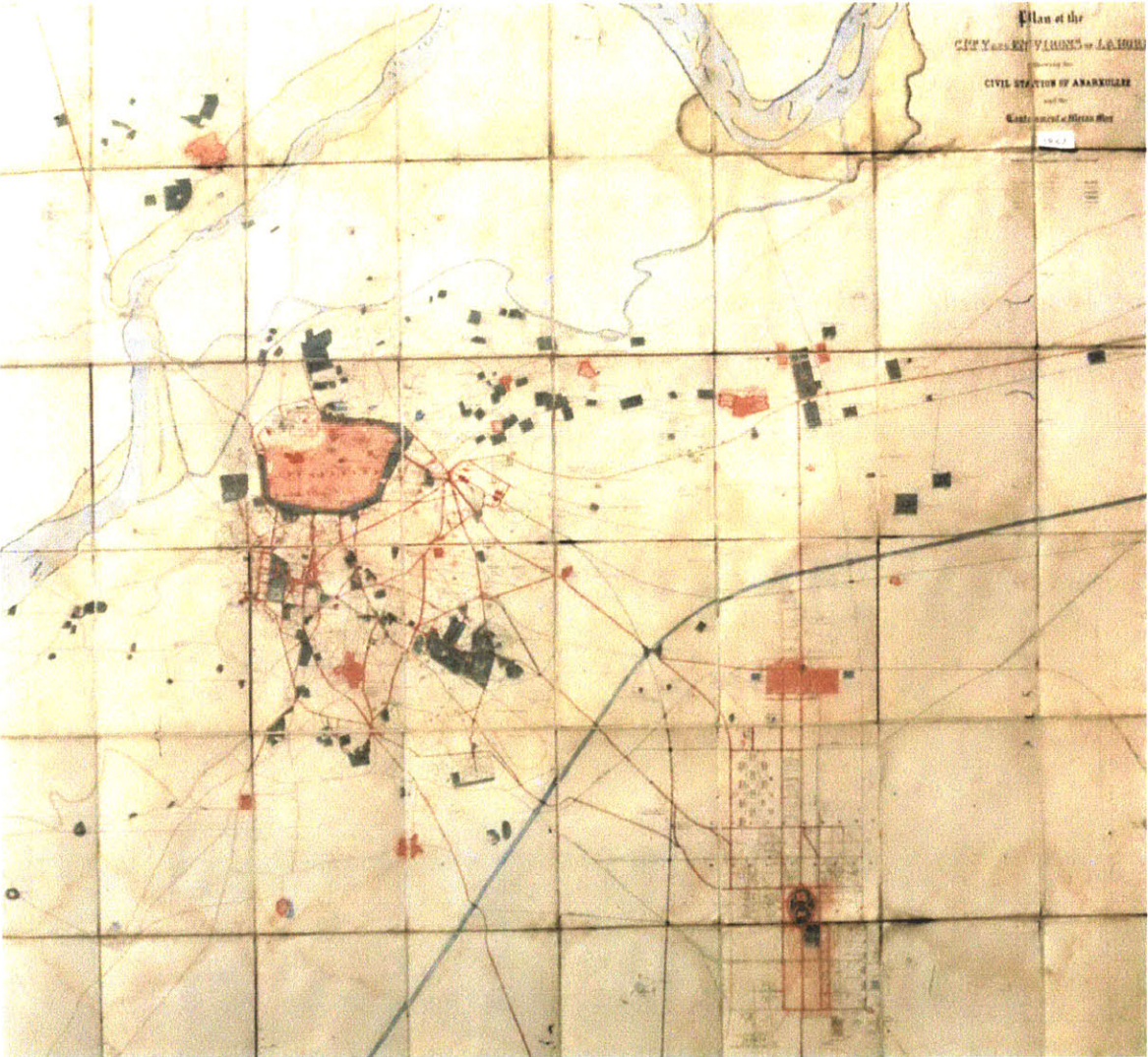


Figure 2 – 1867 Map of Lahore: Mian Mir Cantonment had been laid out. Canal had been constructed and railway network established. Mall Road constructed, new green spaces created, walls around old city still intact, but moat removed to make space for Circular Gardens (source: Mapping Lahore, 2013)

Whereas the Canal could arguably be pinned as a physical separation between the two area (Figure 3), the Civil Station operated as social buffer between the two. By the turn of the twentieth century, this was where most administrative buildings would be housed, as would be other civic buildings such as colleges, universities, hotels and hospitals (Figure 4). Dina Nath's novel *The Two Friends* (1899) narrates the "sense of freedom" with which the two friends, local students in a college in the city, are allowed movement between the old city and the Civil Station. The Civil Station, however, acts here as the outer limit of this mobility – the Lawrence Gardens being its furthest extent, and the Cantonment is projected as external to the concerns of the two students. So, while the Civil Station allowed this sense of freedom, it also disguised as a sort of an invisible barrier beyond which laid real power that was not to be considered by the local residents.



Figure 3- A view of the Lahore Canal, c. 1900



Figure 4 - Lahore's civil station, circa 1900
 (source: William Glover, Making Lahore Modern, 2013)

The Mall Road too played an important part in molding a distinctive spatial identity for the old and the new city. While it acted as the main connection between the old city and the Cantonment, with the support of the Civil Station, it too contributed to the buffering aspect. The road itself played an important role in imparting the power-relation between the colonial administration and the local population. Lt. Colonel Napier, who aligned the Mall Road in 1851, described it as a “direct road from Anarkali to Mian Mir.”²⁵ As if recognizing the importance of this corridor, the administration lined it up with numerous military references, in the form of artillery and statues. H.E. Goulding has discussed one such statue, its impact on the local population and their response to it, in detail. The Lawrence statue, depicting John Lawrence, Viceroy of

²⁵ The Mall was also generally divided into two parts, Upper Mall and Lower Mall. Lower Mall represented the length of the Mall that was ran on the North-South axis, and existed prior to the construction of this connection to Mian Mir.

India (1864-1869), was sculpted by Sir Edgar Boehm and gifted to the Lahore Municipality in 1887. It was placed in front of Lawrence Gardens on Mall Road. The statue had been placed on a pedestal with an inscription: "*Will you be governed by the pen or the sword?*" as a reference to the "general policy adopted by Lawrence for maintaining law and order in those troublous times."²⁶ Its inscription however, was not one without any effect. In 1920, after about 33 years of the statue having been placed in its location, a motion was filed in a Municipal Committee meeting to demand the defacement of the inscription. Supported by the Congress Party, this demand was elevated to the removal of the entire statue itself. The committee decided that the statue would be removed and stored in the Town Hall until a temporary committee would arrive at a decision for its final disposal.²⁷ This incident is important to note because of the power such elements had on the city and its residents. But it is also important to note here the relationship between a local body with that of a colonial Government. The Municipal Committee voted in favor of the removal of the statue but was unable to do so due to the Government's interjection that the statue was actually placed on Government land, and so not under the Committee's purview. Despite the committee's persistence on the fact that the statue was indeed a gift to the Municipality, and repeated attempts at arriving at a resolution by proposing to replace the statue with one that was not offensive to the local population and sharing the cost with the Government, their proposition was still rejected. The government refused to

²⁶ Goulding, 37. Actual words, to which this invocation refers to, were probably uttered by a Mr. Robert Cust, and is recorded by Goulding thus: "It was in 1848, after the suppression of the rebellion of the Kangra hill chiefs, that Mr. Robert Cust, Deputy Commissioner of that district, acting under the orders of John Lawrence, then in charge of the recently acquired Trans-Sutlej territory, issued his famous proclamation which contained the following passage: "I have ruled this district three years by the sole agency of the pen, and, if necessary, I will rule it by sword."

²⁷ Goulding, 36.

contribute to the expenditure, and the Committee could not financially support the entire endeavor, the result of which was that the statue remained where it stood.²⁸ This incident reflects the fact that the Government held the upper hand in most cases even when the Municipal Committee was within its rights to carry out the project. Bodies like the Municipal Committee, and subsequently the Lahore Improvement Trust, which operated on nominated officials rather than elected members, were expected to work in line with the government's agenda – a facet of operation that seems to have manifested itself in most local administrative bodies.

By the turn of the twentieth century, thus, a very distinct 'colonial spatial imagination' had been applied all over the city – and was almost oblivious to the traditional settlements of the city. This was exemplified in the kind of buildings that were constructed, and the new typologies that were created by the introduction of different functions: “factories, hospitals, prisons, lunatic asylums, clubs and racecourses, parks, arboretums, zoos, hotels, courthouses, museums, universities, cinema halls, gymnasiums.”²⁹ These buildings were constructed with newer materials that were now more readily available due to better infrastructure in the form of roads and railway lines. These thus allowed for newer kinds of standards to be introduced, and eventually, formalized through institutionalized setups such as the municipality. Most importantly, however, as Glover points out: “Urban governance was institutionalized in the form of a “municipality” and effected through new regimes of record keeping

²⁸ An example of the weak financial basis of South Asian cities, vis-a-vis the provinces and the center, that persists to the current day.

²⁹ Glover, xiii.

and surveillance, new ways of classifying people and property.”³⁰ Not only was the physical morphology of the city radically altered and sorted into a sort of a hierarchical order, these changes brought with them a very different sense of what it meant to be a resident of the city and how one could move around in the city.

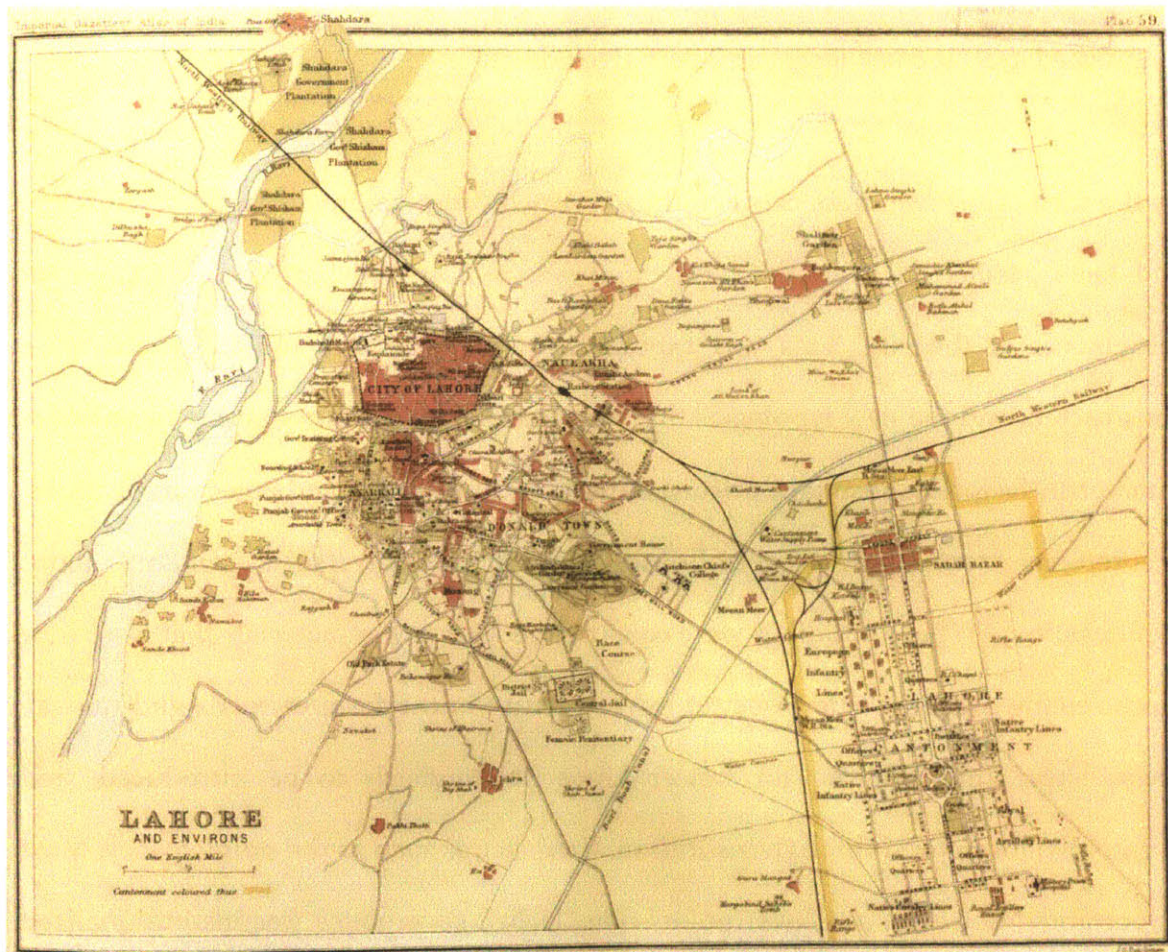


Figure 5 - 1907 Map of Lahore: Expansion of Civil Station and more visible colonial infrastructure

³⁰ Glover, xiii.

Hybridized identities: the Anglicized Indian population asserts its own spatiality

Up until the twentieth century, almost all major modern developments within the city were initiated by or commissioned by the colonial administration and thus can be attributed to very particular colonial ambitions. Understandably, the difference between the traditional settlements of the city and the British-established settlements of the city was very apparent and even deliberate. One could argue that this was the obvious result of colonial intervention onto a traditional Indian city. Imposition onto the indigenous population would not have been a direct desire on behalf of the colonial administration. The distinction here is between general guidelines of hygienic and standardized spaces of living against proper typologies that the British used as a means to establish their superiority over the local people. While general improvements in living conditions were encouraged through numerous programs aimed at the traditional settlements,³¹ it can be claimed that the desire was not to traverse the gap between the British and the local population, be it in terms of proximity or that of the nature of spatial occupation.

The phenomenon of Model Town has been documented extensively as one of the major urban developments at a large scale in twentieth-century colonial Lahore. It marks several aspects in the changing nature of Lahore's urban development, but also in terms of what it meant to lead an urban modern way of life and the spatial apparatus that could be employed to manifest it.

The idea of Model Town came from Dewan Khem Chand, a lawyer based in Lahore, in

³¹ These programs aimed at sanitation and hygiene reform will be discussed in Chapter 3.

a note he published in January 1921.³² It was developed on a large tract of land that was located 5 miles south-east of Anarkali and 3 miles from the boundary of the Lahore Municipality.³³ It held its first meeting in February, 1921, where Sir Ganga Ram was appointed the Chairman of the company.³⁴ With the Model Town, Khem Chand imagined bringing to Lahore two movements that he had experienced during his time in England and in rural Punjab (as introduced by the colonial administration): the Garden City movement and the Cooperative movement, respectively. It is little wonder that the winning design for the layout for the Model Town was very distinctly reflective of the Garden City model – not just as a model for the layout of a town, but as an actual replication of the model diagram [Figure 6].

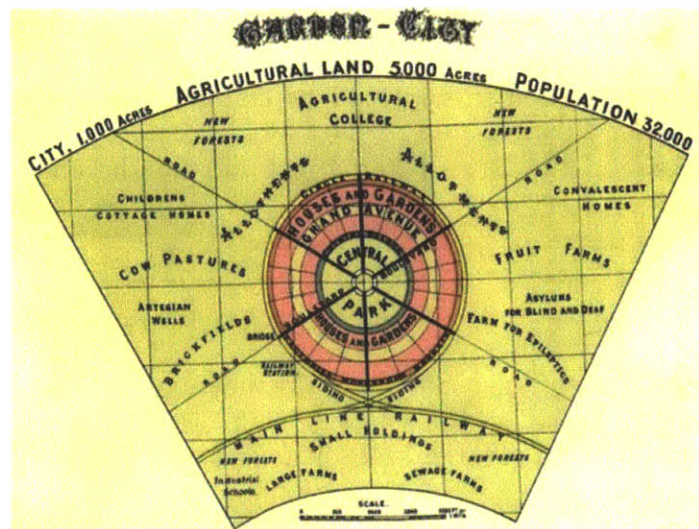


Figure 6 - The Garden City diagram, based on Ebenezer Howard's model

³² Aijazuddin, 206 – citing Diwan Khem Chand's "The Scheme for Model Town and its Realization", April 1930. Also: Masood Khan, 1998.

³³ Aijazuddin, 206. "1963 acres of forest land was purchased from Government at a cost of 9 lakh rupees, but due to the intransigence of the Forest department, it took two years before possession was finally handed over on 5 January in 1923 to the new Society, which had been formed as a company and registered under the Cooperative Societies Act some years earlier."

³⁴ Sir Ganga Ram was a civil engineer responsible for the design and execution of numerous major civic buildings in the city under the British administration: Lahore Museum, GPO building, Mayo College of Arts, Aitchison College, etc. All in the Indo-Saracenic style.

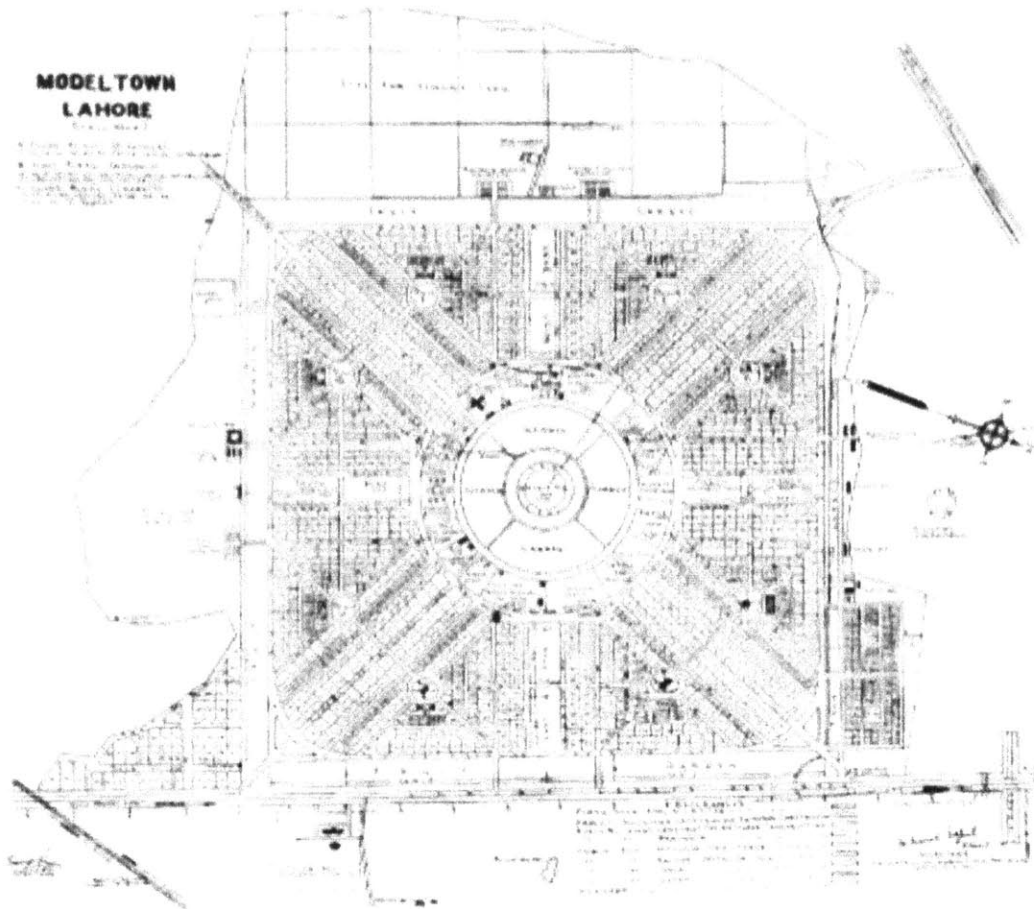


Figure 7 - Model Town's proposed layout

Such a large scale project modeled partially on the lines of the development seen in the Civil Station and the Cantonment was rather strange, and marks the rise of an indigenous class that had been educated in the Western style and employed by the colonial administration in numerous different fields. The lifestyle of this class, at least outwardly, was over time transformed more and more to be more close to that of the colonial third culture's lifestyle, as Anthony King called the foreign ruling class in a colonial situation.³⁵

³⁵ King, 58.

The emergence of this class and their subsequent footprint on the city of Lahore further enabled the validation of a spatiality that the colonial administration favored. Khem Chand imagined a town where “each house would be detached from the others and would be built Bungalow-like with some garden around it.”³⁶ This kind of development suited most members of the Society who were professionals working under the colonial government, and were nearing retirement, which meant that they would then have to vacate their government appointed bungalows.³⁷ Masood Khan argues that the bungalow typology in Model Town was eventually hybridized to appropriate elements from the traditional ways of living into this new typology adapted from the British population.³⁸ Certain traditional elements within an individual housing unit may have been reintroduced but the overall language of the unit remained heavily influenced by the British bungalow style. From the kind of spaces that were constructed to the very terminology used to describe them marked a decidedly colonial influence on the modern lifestyle of upper middle class Indians. Members of the cooperative could decide between three kinds of plots – Type A, B and C, which would correspond to the size of the plots. The Society itself provided construction and design services; members were made to choose from a hundred ready-made plans most of which had been designed by the Society’s architect, M.C. Khanna.³⁹ All these houses were modeled on the bungalow typology, which highlights the fact that the society operated on a very focused agenda of recreating a town that was very much in line with that of the settlements conceived and developed by the

³⁶ Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century: 1857-1947* (London, 1963), 236.

³⁷ *ibid*, 239.

³⁸ Khan, 98.

³⁹ Prakash Tandon, 236.

colonial administration for members of its staff.

Further, spaces hitherto nonexistent in the traditional society were introduced within the Town limits, “to encourage social interaction between different communities”. Could this insistence of fostering inter-community interaction be indicative of a desire to move away from ethnic and religious affinities towards a class distinction? In his 1930 report, Khem Chand did boast of the fact: “all members are literate and belong to the upper middle class.” Some of the public spaces designed included a Ladies Club, Men’s club, Mixed Club, Cinema, and a Community Wedding Hall. The Ladies Club failed to gain any traction and was shut down in 1926. Of the proposed Men’s Club and a Mixed Club, only one was constructed, and served mainly as a Dak Bungalow for visitors.⁴⁰ In this regard, the Society experimented with many different options in line with the colonial-induced lifestyle. Not all seem to have worked, but the very fact that these were attempted highlight the crossover of these spatial typologies to the local population along with the lifestyle that they represented, even if it was through and for the upper middle class. Rather, because it was through and for them, there is perhaps a strong correlation between the kind of pro-middle class development that the Lahore Improvement Trust thought it was feasible to adapt.

To consider Model Town as an anomaly, or as a one-off project without any serious implications denies us the possibility to connect it the massive effect it had on Lahore’s urban form. One of the most obvious implications of such a project was the

⁴⁰ Religious facilities for each faith were also constructed in different parts of the town. A school was also established, as was a Dairy farm, both of which were successful.

triangulation of Lahore's limits owing to its location in the southern side of the city. Where the city was spreading almost linearly towards the East, the presence of such a large-scale settlement must have had a pull effect on the urban development of the city (Figure 9), as can be observed in the New Civil Station Scheme (now Gulberg) and the Punjab University Project. One can only wonder what form Lahore would've taken had the Model Town been constructed on the Shahdara side of River Ravi, as was originally planned. Additionally, while it was not the most important physical development in the history of twentieth century modern Lahore, it still played a crucial role in bringing to the fore the question of living settlements and typologies for the local population, and by extension, questions about the overall urban development of the entire city, as opposed to just the distinctly colonial spatiality that was being developed previously.

Re-Conceptualizing Lahore

In terms of two rather self-contained and closed spatial orders, the Cantonment and Model Town considered together offer us a strong clue towards the trajectory Lahore's urban development took in the first half of the twentieth century. The Cantonment provided the strictly ordered layout that offered the framework for and standards of modern urban development. The Civil Station, by virtue of unmarked boundaries, was unable to perform the same function. It did however provide the low-density template for the housing typology in the form of a bungalow, along with providing a buffer space between the space of power (Cantonment) and space of subject (Old city). The Model Town emulated, and perhaps even legitimized, this colonial typology by adapting it as its preferred model that was further replicated in the Garden City inspired layout. In doing so, it brought together both the exclusivity and modernity that the Cantonment and the Civil Station designed for the military and civil administrative staff to the local population, which was however unfortunately decidedly aimed for the upper middle class.

There were thus two distinct qualities to how Lahore was perceived. As a major center for many powerful dynasties before the arrival of the British, it was conceived as a city that was at one time a magnificent city, but which had now lost all its glory and had left behind squalid living quarters within the Walled City that were unfit for human habitation. It was the British who were now responsible for preservation of that lost heritage, and it was them who decided what was worthy of being preserved and what needed to be replaced. And then there was the Lahore that the British had constructed or co-opted, a modern Lahore. In this construction, it was spaces such as the

Cantonment, the Civil Station and the Mall Road that figured almost exclusively. As the footprint of the physical interventions the British made in the city grew stronger and stronger, the local indigenous settlements and neighborhoods that not only existed in the Walled City but that had developed over time around the city environs organically were relegated more and more outside the dominant discourses of how the city was projected and planned for. Model Town, in bringing housing settlements to the fore, still represented a very limited section of the society.

This conceptualization was further supported by how these spaces were imagined in the way they were represented textually as well as in terms of the spatial terminologies used. Dina Nath's story discussed earlier was a good example of how the indigenous population too imagined the city in line with how the British preferred it to be. Kipling and Thornton's publication on Lahore, titled "Lahore As It Was", affords another example to us in the form of a travelogue that was published in the 1880's. Historian Mubarak Ali, in the foreword to the 2002 republished version, points our attention to the way the book was structured. That Lahore 'as it is' is placed before a republished travelogue on Lahore 'as it was', according to the historian, offers us a clue on the way the British wished to present Lahore: "...by first encountering the modern city and then going on to read about its medieval and ancient past, the lesson that is learnt is that the past must be forgiven and the present needs to be upheld."⁴¹

Furthermore, Anthony King argues that there is a strong co-relation that could be established between the terminologies used for spaces by the dominant culture and

⁴¹ Kipling and Thornton, *Lahore As It Was* (Lahore, 2002 – republished)), vi.

that of how these spaces were then eventually perceived. He charts these terms from the largest units of country, Home, etc. down to the micro unit of bungalows, clubs, quarters, barracks, etc. The introduction and employment of these terms against terminology associated with indigenous spatial elements also changed the way space was to be imagined. The typologies and terminologies adopted by the members of Model Town is a good example of how they not only reflect a certain lifestyle but how these labels can radically transform the urban living experience. At the building scale, this can be exemplified in the adoption of buildings such as 'Clubs'. At the housing unit scale, ordering of spaces as 'Drawing Room' against a 'Baithak', 'Bedroom' against 'Kothi', 'Courtyard'/'Lawn' against 'Sehan' not only represent completely different spaces that are in essence similar, but also enables different ways of occupying these spaces.

All observations then lead to the development of a narrative, which highlights the progressing dichotomization of the city between what represented decay and what represented modern urban development. This was eventually appropriated in the design rationale of the Lahore Improvement Trust, which favored a particular type of development over the other, despite the presence of other alternative models prevalent in the city at that time. One example of such alternative models would be Krishanagar, which was settled in the 1930's in the years immediately following after Model Town's establishment. Krishanagar as a private cooperative scheme, much like Model Town, but probably not as assertive, was being developed at the time of the formation of the Trust. That the Trust chose to pursue a specific trajectory is reflective of the spatial context within which the city's narrative was constructed, along with being reflective

of the administrative path dependent setup it inherited. It was not exclusively the formal qualities of these settlements that would eventually lead the discourse on overall urban development of the city (whether or not registered in the dominant narrative); it would be led by the increasing institutionalization of urban living as it became more regulated and standardized by local administration. Considering the spatial context of Lahore conjunction with these political and social developments (Chapter 3) is important to consider in order to arrive at a much more nuanced picture of the Lahore that was when the Trust was formed.

CHAPTER 3

Faulty by design

Social and Political Context for the formation of LIT

This chapter traces the initial social and political developments in India under British rule in trying to arrive at an understanding of what drove the colonial reforms and civilizing missions in India, both in the private and public domains. The reforms can be recognized in terms of pedagogy, regulation and physical intervention. The idea here is to chart out the path of these ideas that over a series of developments led to the formation of Improvement Trusts in India, including the Lahore Improvement Trust. This part of the study is thus an attempt at understanding how an institutional logic is arrived at through formal and informal social or political models that are in turn adapted, appropriated and reformulated in different mediums. The argument in this chapter is that the logic and modus operandi of institutions such as the Lahore Improvement Trust were explicit results of different conceptual models that were revised many times over, in successive institutional arrangements. This path dependent process kept progressing until a point was reached at which the rationale behind the processes did not necessarily remain as strongly apparent, but the processes themselves were normalized to the point that it kept reinforcing the

mechanism. This is the point at which the LIT was formulated, where the institutional practices were so entrenched within the system, that it almost automatically carried the initial impetus of the body.

Authority, Morality, Utility as conceptual models

One can trace many different conceptual frameworks that supported the social and political developments in the Indian subcontinent under direct or indirect colonial rule. To begin with, the romantic understanding of India, which was most evident even before the East India Company assumed responsibility for administration of part of the subcontinent, allowed for a sensitive approach to that of the indigenous administrative structures. Even after the passing of the Diwani grant in 1765, the administration sought to administer a 'double government', by masking the Company's sovereignty behind the local traditional systems of governance. In doing so, the aim of the Company was not to radically alter the nature of administration, but driven by 'motives of expediency', it preferred to ensure control without having to deal with the task of administration itself. As such, there was a general sense of regard for the indigenous systems and customs, in the early days of the Company's formal control.

By the end of the 18th century, however, this policy of 'double government' was being challenged in numerous ways. One such challenge came from people influenced by the ideals of Evangelicalism. In 1792, Charles Grant, Chairman of the East India Company, wrote a lengthy treatise, "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain". In it, he championed for a social and moral reform of

the society, as encouraged by his Evangelical beliefs. This was an important mission to pursue in India, according to Grant, especially if England hoped to continue benefiting economically from the subcontinent: *“In considering the affairs of the world as under the control of the Supreme Disposer, and those distant territories... providentially put into our hands... is it necessary to conclude that they were given to us, not merely that we might draw an annual profit from them, but that we might diffuse among their inhabitants, long sunk in darkness, vice and misery, the light and benign influence of the truth, the blessing of well-regulated society, the improvements and comforts of active industry? ... In every progressive step of this work, we shall also serve the original design with which we visited India, that design still so important to this country - the extension of our commerce.”*⁴² Rather than allowing the indigenous systems, however damaged by then, to continue to inform the Indian population and their ways of livings, Grant was proposing to adopt a ‘policy of assimilation’. This suggested paternalistic notion of the British acting as the moralizing force in the Indian subcontinent eventually merged with that of the primary concern of commerce by the turn of the nineteenth century.⁴³

Prior to 1813, the wide held opinion was that India was to operate most as a trading post rather than as a market itself. However, due to the losses generated by the East India Company over time, it became ‘a purely administrative and military power’, which gave free-trade merchants the courage to call for cancelling the monopoly of the Company over Indian markets in 1813 when the Company’s Charter was being renewed.⁴⁴ The ideas of moral reform of the Indian population were further validated

⁴² Stokes, 34.

⁴³ Stokes, 44-47.

⁴⁴ Stokes, 37.

when upon the opening up of markets, the British merchants “witnessed with delighted astonishment the cloth and twist of Lancashire displacing even the famed muslin of Dacca in the Indian market.”⁴⁵ This unexpected response on part of the Indian markets made it clear that there was huge economic potential in India, and thus the ‘purchasing power’ of the Indian population had to be raised.

This purchasing power, it was argued, could be raised by not merely opening up the markets; education and proper administration would be needed to civilize the Indian population into becoming a profitable consumer – after all, “to trade with civilized is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages.”⁴⁶ It was at this time that ideals of Evangelicalism and Utilitarianism came together in their collective denouncement of ‘tolerance’ of the Indian customs and traditions to impose reforms in education, administration and law. Where Evangelicals focused more on the pedagogical aspect of reform, the Utilitarians pressed ahead with *political* education, that is the introduction of efficient administration and a strong law, based on Western ideals. These developments marked the point of when the ideas of colonial administration took the form that would be carried throughout the length of the British rule in the Indian subcontinent.

Further, for this study, it is also important to note that these developments supported the call to create an English-educated middle class, “who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in colour and blood,

⁴⁵ Stokes, 40.

⁴⁶ Stokes, 44.

but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.”⁴⁷, These middlemen would also play a large role in enabling and normalizing the values that the colonial administration sought to impart, in many different ways.

Institutionalization of urban ways of living

Once these conceptual frameworks had been put in place within their own specific manifestations in the Indian subcontinent, they were eventually transported to ideas of governance, which carried themselves from centralized forms of government to very localized ones. In itself, the affairs of local government saw improvements and backtracking numerous times, especially in terms of representation and decision-making powers and where they would lie. Hugh Tinker in his study on local government in the Indian subcontinent claims that local government seems to have enjoyed much more support under the East India Company, and later the British Raj, than it did in other colonies. The earliest municipal corporation was set up as early as 1687 in Madras. It was however in the mid-nineteenth century that most municipalities were established in the Indian subcontinent, when the importance of efficient administration in India was being considered most strongly.

One of the most important developments to have occurred in the late nineteenth century in terms of local government was the passing of the Ripon Resolution of 1882. This resolution called for a transfer of power from the lone government-nominated District Commissioner, who was always British, to that of a locally elected body. Ripon argued for the local control to be given back to the people: “...if local government is to

⁴⁷ Stokes, 46.

have any vitality, then it should evolve out of local circumstances; if it has to be created artificially, at least it should be planned in detail by local administrators, and not be imposed ready-made by the central government.”⁴⁸ These reforms were designed with the idea of popular education, reflective somewhat of the civilizing missions of early nineteenth century.

Famous author Rudyard Kipling’s *New Brooms* (1888) reflects British sensibilities towards sanitation, but also highlighted Kipling’s concern for the transfer of power proposed under Ripon’s proposed reform. This short story is essentially a warning about the unconcerned nature of the Indians to improve their standards of living – “*it is as it was in the days of our fathers!*” By painting the local Indian population as unconcerned, unaware and unwilling to allow change, Kipling posed the question: how could these people be expected to vote in favor of a body that would make sure it did the job? Ripon’s resolution, as highlighted in Kipling’s story, caused quite a lot of uneasiness amongst a relatively conservative British administrative body.

While the resolution was passed in theory, however, there was little in reality that changed. Things progressed as they had; loopholes were found around which pretty much the same system could be promulgated. Previously, the District Commissioner, who was always British, nominated British and “only prominent (and loyal)” Indian members to the local administrative bodies. Following Ripon’s reforms, however, members were drawn, “by virtue of qualifying criteria, from the middle and upper

⁴⁸ Hugh Tinker, *Foundations of Local Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (London, 1954), 43.

classes.”⁴⁹

This, coupled with limited funds as a means of a “check upon the enthusiasm of the advanced minority” led the local bodies towards development paradigms that were not as effective and which thus eventually resulted in trends of parochialism. As Tinker argues: “Indian administration in the late nineteenth century seems to have worn into a groove, to have adopted a cult of efficiency without any attempt to define the purpose of government, and as communications improved, to have elaborated the numbers of reports and returns and the whole machinery of secretariat administration as a substitute for tackling the mounting problems of the day. A new hierarchy of ‘experts’ was growing: the Public Works Department, the Education Department, the Sanitary Commissioner, the Accountant General, and later the Agricultural Department. In time all came to have a say in local government affairs. As a result, a rigid system of supervision was created, which ran from the smallest municipality up to the Secretary of State.”⁵⁰

In this excerpt lies a very core argument for this thesis: efficiency of a system was expected only when ‘experts’ were positioned in a hierarchy set into place over a series of developments over time. Each level of expertise and control was intrinsically connected to the ones above and below it, so that once the system was set running, there was almost no leeway possible for any sort of alternative mode of operating. Over time, as the system got more and more complex yet rigid in its ethos, this ‘cult of efficiency’ was strengthened to the point that even when the logic and rationale

⁴⁹ Glover, 131.

⁵⁰ Tinker, 59.

behind it was lost, its own *modus operandi* became its rationalization.

Local governance initially concerned itself with issues of taxation and revenue collection, but with this growing network of professionals and their institutions, it made its foray into adapting a much more active role in its operations. As each department settled deeper and deeper into their respective fields, responses to problems within each began to be much more pronounced, but these were not necessarily nuanced.

Public health and sanitary reform

One of the major excuses for a direct attack on the traditional physical environment of Indian cities was conducted through issues such as hygiene, sanitation and public health. Following the imposition of formal British Raj in India in 1857, the narrative of large scale urban development in the Indian subcontinent essentially finds its roots in the sanitary reforms of the nineteenth century. This narrative has been documented extensively in the historical studies of Indian cities under colonial rule.⁵¹ Numerous disease outbreaks in the nineteenth century in numerous Indian cities, shifted the focus towards public health, and ideas of Edwin Chadwick for sanitary laws in England, were transported to the Indian subcontinent. After the Crimean War particularly, the high mortality rate of soldiers due to widespread disease, which killed more soldiers than did combat, arrested the attention of the British towards the living conditions of their troops in India.

⁵¹ See: Harrison, Hume, Arnold, Nightingale on India.

In 1887, the colonial British administration introduced provincial sanitary boards all over the country. These boards then commissioned the production of biannual inspection reports of the municipalities under their purview, which were prepared by a sanitary engineer. Each neighborhood was extensively documented and often described very graphically “in a style of exhortatory rhetoric”. Kipling’s *New Brooms* reflects the British sensibilities very accurately in the form of their paternalistic devotion and persistence towards fixing the native populations ways of living.

To and fro stamped the Englishman, who is everlastingly at war with the scheme of things. “You shall not die,” he said, and he decreed that there should be no more famines. He poured grain down their throats, and when all failed he went down into the strife and died with them, swearing, and toiling, and working till the last. He fought the famine and put it to flight. Then he wiped his forehead, and attacked the pestilence that walketh in the darkness. Death’s scythe swept to and fro, around and about him; but he only planted his feet more firmly in the way of it, and fought off Death with a dog-whip. “Live, you ruffian!” said the Englishman to Ram Buksh as he rode through the reeking village. “Jenab!” said Ram Buksh, “it is as it was in the days of our fathers!” “Then stand back while I alter it,” said the Englishman; and by force, and cunning, and a brutal disregard of vested interests, he strove to keep Ram Buksh alive. “Clean your mohallas; pay for clean water; keep your streets swept; and see that your food is sound, or I’ll make your life a burden to you,” said the Englishman.

- Rudyard Kipling, *New Brooms*, 1888

This sort of a discourse on sanitation was evident since the 1840's, when the romantic leanings of a majority of the British population were lost. Writing on colonial Calcutta, Swati Chattopadhyay notes the tendency of medical professionals beyond that point in time to consider the native body to be 'inherently diseased' partly due to the climate, but mostly 'due to the moral and social conditions of the people.'⁵² By extension, they considered it important to formulate a distinction between the physical surroundings of the native and the European residents of the city. This was necessary, in their opinion, before any step could be taken to improve their corrupt ways of living and thus, their bodies. In observing this sort of a development, thus, Chattopadhyay notes two conceptual tendencies at play. Locating the resolution of the problem of sanitation through that of 'improving native morality', these medical professionals were situating themselves in the Evangelical school of thought. However, they were also heavily influenced by ideas of utilitarianism both in terms of describing the problem and approaching its resolution. Specifically pointing out the medical practitioner James Ranald Martin, Chattopadhyay highlights his contribution to the field by being "the first in India to introduce medical statistics on a systematic basis to convey information on disease, temperature, and mortality."⁵³ Indeed, it was Martin who convinced the colonial administration to initiate the process of setting up sanitary committees all across India.

In this process that was thus initiated in the mid-nineteenth century, traditional settlements of the city were increasingly seen as localized sites of disease. Each major

⁵² Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, nationalism, and the colonial uncanny* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 64.

⁵³ *ibid*, 65.

city in India received different responses in this context based on the differentiated natures of traditional settlements. But the one thing that was unanimous throughout was the way of documenting these traditional settlements, and characterizing their nature as unhealthy spaces; by giving “scientific credence to the idea of the native city as a pathological space contrary to the European town”,⁵⁴ the colonial administration was thus able to carry out massive physical interventions into these parts of the city with an air of certainty of its implications.

Prashant Kidambi, writing on colonial Bombay, calls this tendency the ‘localist doctrine’, where the general insanitary conditions of a city’s poorer indigenous settlements were considered to be “the breeding ground of the plague microbe.”⁵⁵ Quick measures like spraying entire houses thought to be contaminated with some chemical and cutting off water supply to houses where dampness was found were carried out. Generally however, evacuation of residents and eventual demolition was the measure most commonly applied.

In the context of Lahore, William Glover offers us an overview of the impact of sanitary reforms on to the physical fabric of the city. He uses an excerpt from Crawford Roe’s report on Lahore’s sanitary conditions in 1897, ten years after sanitary boards were set up all over Indian cities, to highlight the manner in which sanitation and hygiene concerns were based in ‘the power of sensory observation’: “*Let anyone visit some of the places I have mentioned [in this report], breathe its air, taste its water and eat its*

⁵⁴ Chattopadhyay, 66.

⁵⁵ Prishant Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920* (Ashgate, 2007), 57.

food; let him enter some of the yards, taking care where he treads, and follow the guidance of his olfactory nerves into some of its recesses, and then reflect whether such sickening evils as one hour's enquiry will have shown him ought to be the habit of the masses of the people, and whether it is not a blot on civilization that such things exist in the midst of us, and the interests of human life remain almost uncared for.”⁵⁶

The sanitary reports were indeed used as tools through which the colonial administration could “translate the indigenous quarters of Indian cities into the emotive and pseudoscientific verbal imagery that gave sanitary reforms in England at the time their purchase on middle-class activist sentiment.”⁵⁷ Once the sanitary boards had established a particular genre with which to highlight sanitary issues in the indigenous settlements, they were then also transferred to the local population in the form of “Urdu pamphlets and treatises on urban sanitation”. The administration commissioned Indian authors to publish literature on urban sanitation and public health, which were then distributed amongst the local population. Glover also includes examples of such material that often “included lithographic images of familiar urban settings, highlighting both ‘good’ and ‘bad’ arrangements and practices.”⁵⁸

These pedagogical devices to highlight issues of urban sanitation aimed directly at the local population had an effect on the ways people imagined their private spaces. William Glover highlights the physical changes that started manifesting on to the physical fabric of the traditional dwellings within the city. From increased ventilation

⁵⁶ Glover, 131.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 132.

to introduction of internal and external plumbing, there could be observed positive changes occurring in the micro-unit of a dwelling. These were changes somewhat adapted by the local population themselves, and were further supported by certain regulatory mechanisms applied in the city through the Lahore Municipal Corporation. The 1884 revision to the Lahore Municipal Act allowed the Municipal Committee to regulate building practices by stipulating the requirement of approval by the Committee prior to approval. In any case, this sort of a narrative allows us to believe that some sort of steps were taken by the local population of Lahore in terms of physical remodeling of their living spaces to improve their living conditions. These developments were by nature one with a slow onset and thus reflected a very limited pace of change towards improved urban living. At the large scale however, the colonial administration carried out immense physical transformations within Indian cities under the excuse of improving sanitary conditions.

Physical manifestations of colonial reforms

The focus on sanitary reform brought the problem of public health directly in contact with that of the cities physical characteristics. The conceptual ideas discussed in the beginning of the chapter had found themselves regurgitated in many facets within the discourse of sanitary reform; this discourse in return manifested itself on the urban sphere in the form of serious physical transformations within the cities.

One of the most strong currents of institutional trajectory, in the context of heightened focus on sanitation and public health, came from the focus on specific kinds of spatial entities that were held almost entirely responsible for all that was unhealthy. These

were then actively castrated from the urban domain as habitable spaces, which was supported by and perhaps supported in return colonial ambitions for an urban center such as Lahore. The issue of slum clearance is an obvious example, which carried through from their being characterized as “spatial and social abominations”⁵⁹ from England and US. These were considered so not only to threat to public health but also for moral and social dangers to the society. This is true particularly for cities like Delhi that saw a massive overhaul in its physical fabric following demolition of about one third of the city, ‘in the name of sanitation and security.’⁶⁰ This is important to note because of the implicit veiling of another real concern of the colonial administration under the guise of sanitary reform and, by extension, municipalization of the city – that of ‘policing’ disease and the population, while establishing a mode of superior governance on to the local inhabitants.⁶¹ Coupled with public health reforms and political colonial agendas, thus, there can be observed a strong tendency for the administration to physically assert changes in the city that would impart whatever particular ambition the administration had in mind.

Large-scale evacuation and eventually demolition of entire neighborhoods and settlements was one of the key measures against the spread of epidemic. Despite numerous instances of resistance recorded in the face of demolition in cities such as Delhi, Mumbai and Calcutta, evacuations and demolitions were still carried out, even if in a controlled manner. At the same time, the urban development that was being carried out was based on principles and design values that had been imported from

⁵⁹ Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating architecture and urbanism* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 83-84.

⁶⁰ *ibid*, 85.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 93.

England. In relation to these developments, we can refer to the report on town planning in Lahore by Patrick Geddes that was submitted to the Lahore Municipal Committee in 1917. He spent about two weeks in Lahore surveying the existing settlements of the city, as well as the suburban development being carried out under the direction of Lahore Municipal Committee, and made some preliminary remarks on how to best approach urban development within the city. He also published an extensive set of plans with his report, which unfortunately seem to have been lost. Like his counterparts in the colonial administration, he too was convinced of the importance of surveying and classification of spaces and land usage, as a means of classification and knowledge production. Additionally, he too believed in the role of physical environment in determining the health of the residents. Regardless, his keen understanding of the real nature of the problem as stemming from beyond just the physical characteristics of traditional urban settlements in the Indian subcontinent offered an alternative approach to understanding urban development.

His observations called out the problematic notion of considering all traditional living and settlement patterns as abominations and particularly against mass-scale clearing of settlements to be replaced with better living units. He argued for a much more nuanced understanding of these traditional settlements as spaces that carried with them strong historical value as well as cultural specificity. He proposed against the need for large-scale schemes that were to wipe out existing traditional settlements that the Municipality considered unfit for habitation. "Demolish?" he asked, "But that has been too long the sanitary war-cry of Town Councils; in fact for more than a generation past: and a whole series of terms, such as "relief of congestion," "Opening

up,” &c., have arisen accordingly.”⁶² He argued that ‘pleasing terms’ such as these only blinded the planners to the fact that demolition is not the answer to a problem that laid in the fact that people were living in over-crowded conditions. Demolition only pushed the people ‘out of sight’ who were then necessarily resettled behind the new developments planned by the administration.

Instead, he proposed what can be called a “conservative surgery” into the existing settlements that, he argued would easily resolve most issues such as public health, hygienic living conditions and other urban problems that occupied the interest of the city administration. Further, he was very keen to note socio-economic realities of the city and its residents and declared that a nuanced appraisal of these was almost essential before making any sort of proposals for urban development.

More specifically, he also notes the complete disconnect between some of the physical interventions proposed and implemented by the Lahore Municipality during his visit to Lahore. Commenting on the construction activity he observed in Gawalmandi, he records that there is a huge discrepancy between the areas being developed by the Municipality and that of existing neighborhoods already settled adjacent to them. Upon noting that bizarrely structured houses on triangular plots “with a room at each angle so small as only to contain one person at a time in an erect position...”, he wondered how these came about. He observed that this was due to the ‘rectangularity’ that was introduced based on “(obsolete) European principles, those of Bye-law planning”. When these newer layout came in contact with the old ones, anomalies like

⁶² Patrick Geddes, 411.

the triangular plots came about. While this was a very basic observation, it highlights the nature of development that was being carried out in the city which disregarded existing realities, both physically and culturally.⁶³

His commentary on the approach of the local administration to the city's urban development was a scathing critique on the established norms of urban development driven by utilitarian ideals. In an answer to a question he posed himself – “How came this rectangular lay-out to be imposed upon this ground at all?” – he ventured an answer: “Upon this western fashion (a degraded form of doing *puja* to one's own implements) the entire system of nineteenth century Bye-law Planning in Britain, and in the United States, was essentially founded: and its introduction here, by British (or British-trained) Engineers or Surveyors, has this its sole explanation in the force of bad habit, especially when acquired in youth. Sanitarians and Engineers, and those who accept their plans also in their honest, but mistaken, conviction that they are “practical men,” “strict utilitarians,” “good economists,” “careful planners,” and so on – have thus long been making the most profuse and wasteful expenditures of both land and money, for their esthetic ideal, that of perfect rectangularity.”⁶⁴

In his two week study of Lahore, Geddes seems to have acquired a much more deep understanding of the spatial dynamics of Lahore, and the problems associated with the Western approach at ‘Bye-law Planning’, than can be said for the Lahore Municipality

⁶³ On the bye-laws implemented by the Municipality that prohibited the construction of balconies, Geddes noted: “But the balcony is not merely the ornament of an eastern home. It is the women's and children's open air sanatorium and their preventive hospital, let alone their pleasure; and to suppress it or even to repress it, is bad hygiene altogether.”

⁶⁴ Geddes, 405.

or subsequently the Lahore Improvement Trust. However, there was little heed paid to the suggestions made by Geddes, partly due to the path dependent trajectory that drove most administrative bodies having been set in their ways of doing things, and partly due to the brevity of his visit. Sanitary reform in the guise of extreme physical makeover of traditional parts of the Indian city led the discourse on urban development. Lahore may have been spared from the extensive surgical operations of clearing entire portions of the city as happened in cities like Delhi and Bombay, but it still suffered under the slow onset of urban development as was initially carried out under the Lahore Municipal Committee and definitely later under the Lahore Improvement Trust. Aside from echoing Geddes' sentiment on the importance of surveying of the city in its entirety, Martin Basel Sullivan, Chief Architect of Punjab, failed to acknowledge any of the other recommendations that Geddes made in his notes on the establishment of Lahore Improvement Trust in 1928. Shifting gears at this point in time towards the direction that Geddes suggested would possibly have been an 'inefficient' task for the administration, keeping in mind Tinker's remarks noted earlier.

Improvement Trusts in India

The formation of Improvement Trusts in India was the direct outcome of sanitary reform being institutionalized further to cover a major portion of urban development. Their formation was supplemented by the physical interventions made by the colonial administration in major cities of the subcontinent, which as previously discussed in the chapter, were manifested through the introduction of institutionalized administrative setups that normalized most of the conceptual models upon which they were based.

The first Improvement Trusts that were set up in cities like Bombay and Calcutta came out of a direct response to an epidemic break. Bombay Improvement Trust was set up in 1898, immediately following the outbreak of the bubonic plague that forced the local administration to rethink the physical conditions of the city, as discussed earlier. After a series of interventions into the areas thought to be infected with the plague, some of which were successful and most not, a body such as the Bombay Improvement Trust was formulated to tackle the issue of insanitary housing and overcrowding in the city. Figure 10 lists all the Improvement Trusts established in the Indian subcontinent before Partition in 1947.⁶⁵

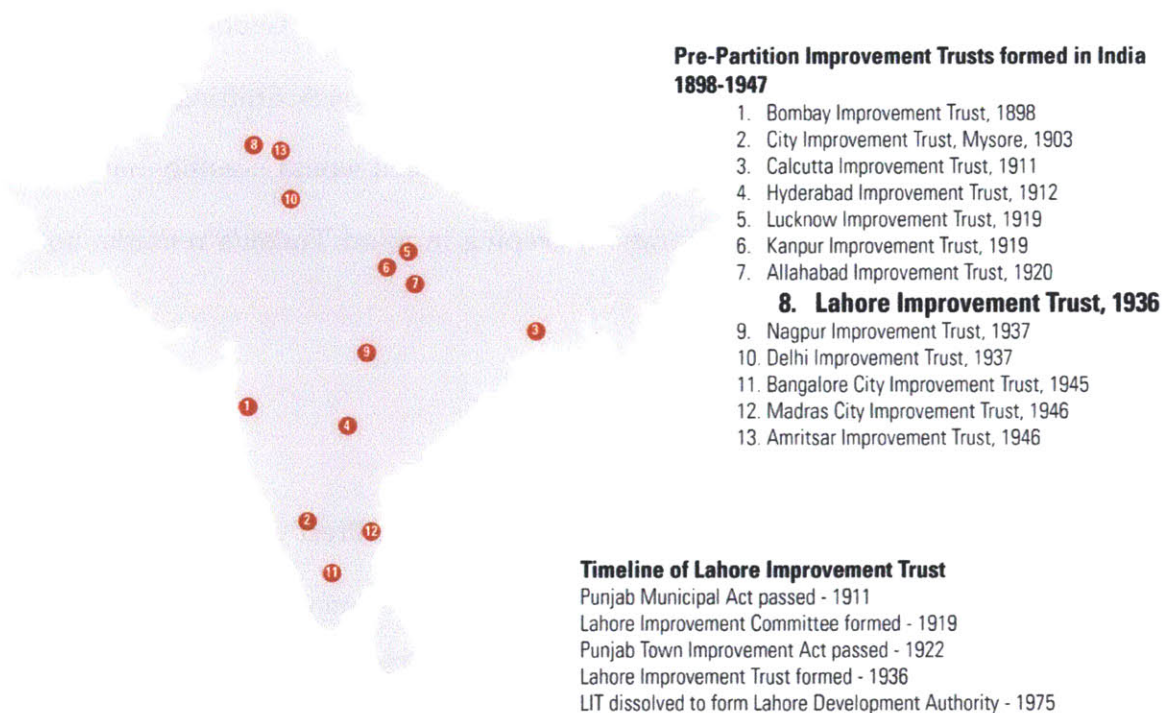


Figure 10 - Timeline of establishment of Improvement Trusts in India prior to Partition

⁶⁵ Aggarawala, 1945. Also, Urban Development in India, Kamaldeo Narain Singh, 34.

The idea for an Improvement Trust was imported from similar models in town-planning, called Improvement Schemes that had been experimented with in the England and Scotland in the nineteenth century. Kidambi highlights two salient features of these Improvement Schemes, in terms of the legal power they were accorded in terms of acquisition and development. The legal jurisdiction for these Schemes were designed “to permit some publicly incorporated authority – such as a land development company or a municipal corporation or an improvement commission – to usurp private property rights in the name of some larger collective interest.”⁶⁶ In terms of development, these Schemes were conceived with the idea of their central power being ‘clearance powers’, that is the right to acquire property included within it ‘a right of demolition’ as a means to development.⁶⁷ Thus, slum clearance was one of the primary objectives of Improvement Schemes. While the context within which Improvement Trusts were introduced in Indian cities were different, these overlying motives were retained in these bodies. Concerns for public health were linked intrinsically to that of slum clearance in the Indian subcontinent too, which were thus translated into one of the main agendas of Improvement Trusts. This can be observed in the overview of Lahore Improvement Trust’s timeline as well.

Further, the fact that these bodies were based on a revenue system that was essentially tied to financial loans from the government further mired the design values that these bodies could adapt.⁶⁸ On one hand slum clearance was the major concern; on the other, rehousing these displaced populations was almost impossible due to the

⁶⁶ Kidambi, 72.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

necessity of the bodies to focus on profit yielding projects. This is further worsened by the fact established earlier that most personnel involved in the decision making processes either considered larger colonial agendas or their middle class sensibilities foremost.

Lahore fortunately never suffered from a massive plague outbreak as did Bombay and Calcutta, but their formation had set the tone for the manner in which urban development would be considered. Because sanitation reform was so intrinsically tied to notions of physical reform, the first Improvement Trusts came out from cities that suffered most under plagues. Improved sanitation, broadly exercised through slum clearance, and urban development would hitherto remain issues that would be considered together. Mysore closely followed suit in 1903 when its first City Improvement Trust was established after having struggled with persistent plague outbreaks around the turn of the twentieth century. Calcutta, which had experienced its fair share of epidemic outbreaks, was the third city to create an Improvement Trust. The creation of Lahore Improvement Trust signaled the second wave of creation of Improvement Trusts in the subcontinent, after a gap of about sixteen years between the creation of Allahabad Improvement Trust in 1920 and that of Lahore Improvement Trust in 1936.⁶⁹

For Lahore Improvement Trust too, the specific call for a LIT by MB Sullivan was essentially a Sanitary board with an additional town planner – methods and objectives were equated to be similar: “...all that is wanted is a body like the existing Sanitary

⁶⁹ Possibly due to interwar austerities, JW.

Board plus a fully qualified town planner and his staff permanently attached to it. With this agency and tribunal based on that described in Section 58 of the Punjab Town Improvement Act everything required can be done.”⁷⁰ By the time Lahore Improvement Trust had been formed, the focus on sanitation was through the institutionalized response to it in the form of a Sanitary Board. Slum clearance became a means to its end in itself towards proper urban development; public health concerns were not out rightly claimed as the main concern anymore.

Kidambi argues that it was clear by the end of the First World War, that the Bombay Improvement Trust had “failed to redress the civic problems that had led to its creation.”⁷¹ Rather, it had only further alleviated the problem of housing for the urban population in terms of both accommodation and sanitary conditions.⁷² There are two points to note here. First, it had been established long before the creation of Lahore Improvement Trust, or for that matter any other Improvement Trust besides that of Mysore’s, that a body in the form an Improvement Trust was unable to perform to its expectations. This was however, not to deter the process of creation of these Improvement Trusts all over the country. The machine had been set rolling, and the institutional strength of colonial ideas such as these meant that their propagation continued uncontested.

Second, strictly speaking in the context of Lahore, M.B Sullivan’s claim on equating it to a problem that did not exist at a strength it did in cities like Bombay and Calcutta,

⁷⁰ Sullivan, 2.

⁷¹ Kidambi, 112.

⁷² Much of these problems as discussed by Kidambi were of a similar nature as that of Lahore’s problems.

strengthens further the argument that there was indeed a failure of the system to re-address its methods of operating once it had been established to a certain degree. Undue focus on a singular particular issue as a means to resolve urban problems of public health, sanitation, housing and economic revitalization was the crux of the problematic manner in which these bodies were conceived.

This can perhaps be best explained by the notion of institutional dependency that this thesis argues is the main reason that a body such as Lahore Improvement Trust, which was faulty by design as this chapter has hopefully demonstrated. Kidambi offers an explanation: "...the Improvement Trust's attempt to reorder urban space became entangled in the very bureaucratic mechanism and legal procedures that had been devised to facilitate its grand design of civic reconstruction... the policies and practices of the Bombay Improvement Trust 'ensnared the colonial regime within contradictions of its own creation, confronting bureaucratic power with insoluble dilemmas'."⁷³

This observation can be taken a step further to look at the larger institutional tendencies under the colonial government: the practice of forming Improvement Trusts in general reflected a strong inability of the administrative setups, be it at the national or local level, to break free from a system that was inherently unable to deal with the problem of addressing urban development in rapidly industrializing cities. Once established, this idea was replicated even beyond the point when it had been established that it was not working out as planned. Additionally, they were so

⁷³ Kidambi, 73.

ingrained in the modus operandi of local administration and its regulatory bodies that feasible alternative viewpoints such as the 'evolutionary' mode of thought propounded by Geddes were almost never inducted into the official doctrine. This inability to perform as expected came not only from the way these Improvement Trusts were structured, but also in what kind of design values they adapted from the colonial reforms discussed in this chapter. In Chapter 3, these structural inadequacies and design tendencies will be uncovered in detail within the specific context of Lahore Improvement Trust.

CHAPTER 4

From Restrictive Planning towards Positive Planning

LIT in its formative years, 1936-1947

The narrative in the previous chapter charts the path of various British ideals of moral reform, which shaped subsequent physical and regulatory reforms. Having traced them down to the moment of formation of the Lahore Improvement Trust, how does one proceed further? Can the rationale at the time LIT was framed suggest the patterns of development that the LIT adopted? How did ideas of morality, authority, and regulation manifest themselves physically in the form of colonial urban development? By looking at the work carried out under the LIT in its formative years, I argue that there was a strong strain of path dependency following from previous cycles of institutionalization of urban ways of living and urban development that provided the initial rationale adapted by the Lahore Improvement Trust. However, because the idea of these bodies had been derived from a singular issue of sanitary improvement, it was inevitable that the processes were institutionalized without any necessitating any major contextual clarity for the Lahore Improvement Trust. There were thus many methods and values appropriated within the domain of urban development that

marked out a singular trajectory of land development and revenue-based models within the city, which did enable urban development but at the expense of many other important concerns.

A methodological note

A claim to chart the institutional history of a bureaucratic body requires archival material, and secondary literature, in order to develop a narrative of such a body. The primary evidence for this chapter has been drawn from the annual administration reports of the Lahore Improvement Trust present in the Punjab Archives, Lahore. This study is based on the annual administration reports between 1939 and 1950, which cover about a third of the Trusts timeline. These reports allow us to construct a clear picture of the activities it undertook in its formative years. A deep study of the LIT would also require direct responses from other institutions and individuals (residents, public officials, etc.) towards programs carried out by the LIT. The LIT archives used do not include these materials. How, then, does one approach a body that offers little primary evidence besides the institutional record?

For purposes of this study, I approach the LIT reports as a source for developing insight into the decisions that were made, and how they were justified, planned and implemented by the Trust. Figure II illustrates the basic structure of the annual administration reports. Each section within the report offers information in different ways, each in its own ways corroborating or clarifying information provided in another section. Building on Matthew Hull's description of 'graphic-artifacts' in his study, which attempts to deconstruct the bureaucratic writings by not "looking through

paperwork”, but by “looking at it”, this study will be an attempt to decode the patterns within which the institution operated and appropriated.⁷⁴ There are some limitations to this approach; such as the fact that the information provided in these reports is limited by its own normativity, as is the structure of the reports. These reports also offer a very singular perspective on the information being provided. But the LIT annual reports do enable a retrospective analysis of the surviving physical evidence in the form of the urban morphology of Lahore and social structures, which allow for some corroboration to occur between what is claimed and what can be observed on the ground.

The descriptive text in annual reports signed by an Indian Civil Service officer of the colonial administration can provide insight into the rationale and implicit aims behind the projects conceptualized in the text. The language and terminology used can convey biases of the institution; an assessment of the kind of information that was included and excluded can point towards institutional tendencies. The structure of the reports, while following a uniform template, can offer us clues on what was deemed important or not. As Figure II demonstrates, the reports can be divided into seven distinct parts. The first part summarized all administrative activities and logistical facts for the year covered. This included an overview of staff or personnel involved with the Trust, in a professional or advisory capacity. It also listed the number and kinds of special committees that were formed each year to deal with a specific issue and the number of meetings each committee held.

⁷⁴ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley, 2012).

The next two sections covered detailed descriptions of projects and schemes that were planned and executed each year within their own respective jurisdictional umbrellas, that is, Restrictive Planning under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, and Positive Planning under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922. It is through these two sections that we get most information on how each schemes was framed, and what steps it went through before it was executed on ground. Along with these two sections, some reports also carried recommendation notes by the Town Planner or other professional members of the body, as appendices. These can be compared with each other to see how the logic of one carried into the other – that is, whether what was being recommended was being practiced, or vice versa. Land also figured very strongly in these reports, and sections on this topic provide us with an understanding on how this aspect also contributed to the kind of development that occurred under the Trust. These sections covered land acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act from private landowners, land development under the granting of Nazul (state) land to the Trust, as well on sale of land owned and developed by the Trust.

Tables of finance details help to corroborate some details within the descriptive texts of the reports. Graphic materials attached in these reports, while limited, shed light on how these plans were visualized and imagined on the palimpsest of the city itself. As previously acknowledged, these clues work in conjunction with the visual evidence that the city makes available to us in its current morphology, as well as with the graphics (maps, plans, etc.) produced by the Trust and other bodies during its time, to offer a much more holistic picture of the urban development this study wishes to chart.

Trust Administration		
I.	Local Area	<i>descriptive</i>
II.	Trustees	<i>descriptive</i>
III.	Associates	<i>list</i>
IV.	Staff	<i>descriptive</i>
V.	Office Accommodation + Meetings	<i>descriptive</i>
VI.	Committees (general + special)	<i>list</i>
VII.	Visits	<i>descriptive</i>
VIII.	Laws	<i>descriptive</i>
IX.	Obituary	<i>descriptive</i>
X.	Acknowledgement	<i>descriptive</i>
Restrictive Planning		
	Larger Area Schemes + Detailed Schemes	<i>descriptive</i>
	Projects carried out under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911	
Positive Planning		
	Projects carried out under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922	<i>descriptive</i>
Land Acquisition		
	+ Listing of land acquisition cases	<i>descriptive</i>
Nazul		
		<i>descriptive</i>
Sale of Trust Lands		
		<i>list</i>
Finance		
		<i>descriptive</i>
Concluding Remarks		
		<i>descriptive</i>
		<i>tables</i>
Appendix: Personnel (Trustees/Associates)		
Appendix: Annual Accounts		
Appendix: Statement of the General Finances of Lahore Improvement Trust since its inception upto respective years		
Appendix: Statement of Loans for the respective year		
Appendix: Recommendation Notes by Town Planners and other Professional Members of LIT		

Figure 11 - A rough structure of Annual Administrative Reports of Lahore Improvement Trust (based on available reports)

Foundation of Lahore Improvement Trust

A letter issued by the Government of India 1917 noted the first call for Town Improvement legislation within the Northern regions of the subcontinent. “In view of the demand among large classes for improved dwellings amid more sanitary surrounding and necessity of inspecting and controlling developments by the application of well considered schemes”⁷⁵. Provincial governments were encouraged to draft legislation for this purpose. The function of an Improvement Trust, as suggested by Colonel W. Forster, Sanitary Commissioner at the Indian Medical Service of Punjab, in 1919, would include the following:

1. improving existing insanitary areas;
2. preparing street schemes;
3. providing housing accommodation for the poor classes and those dispossessed under an improvement scheme; and
4. town planning.⁷⁶

The United Provinces were first to introduce such legislation in the form of UP Town Improvement Act in the same year, whereas Punjab followed suit in 1922 with the passing of the Punjab Town Improvement Act. Rai Sahib Om Prakash Aggarawalla, in his book on Town Improvement Trusts in India (1945), quotes the mover of the 1921 Bill (approved in 1922 as an Act): “...in view of the fact that the Bill is designed to meet the need for urgent sanitary reform and for town expansion in our big cities through the agency of specially constituted Trusts, it undoubtedly supplies a keenly felt need... As we all know the Municipal Committees of Lahore and Amritsar are overworked and

⁷⁵ Aggarawalla, 70

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

the functions of the Trusts are rather of different nature and cannot be carried out by the municipal committees sitting in a large body. It is for this purpose that Trusts have been created in other provinces and are proposed to be created in this province to carry out sanitary improvements in big towns expeditiously and without delay...⁷⁷ The Lahore Improvement Committee was created in 1926, but the Lahore Improvement Trust was constituted later in 1936, after amendments were made in Improvement Act upon dissolution of the Municipal Committee. As noted in previous chapters, the strong focus on concern of sanitation still resonated in the calls for the establishment of the Trust, but owing to the developments over time marked earlier, these did not amount to an actual response on part of the Lahore Improvement Trust when it was formed. This particular concern with sanitation provided the initial impetus for the formation of the Trust, but did contribute to development of its operational values, which were derived from the structural setup it inherited from previous Trusts.

Basil Martin Sullivan's "Note for the use of Lahore Improvement Trust Committee and of the Lahore Improvement Trust when formed" explicitly identified the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922 as the major power-force behind the formation of the Trust, which placed "the wildest powers in the hands of a Trust to deal with every nature of areas, built-up and otherwise".⁷⁸ This is important to note for two reasons. First, LIT was constituted to be driven mainly by the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922, as opposed to being operated under two separate jurisdictions, which included the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911 and the aforementioned Town Improvement Act. This was

⁷⁷ Aggarawalla, 70.

⁷⁸ B.M. Sullivan, "A note for the use of the Lahore Improvement Trust Committee and of the Lahore Improvement Trust when formed, with special reference to the City of Lahore inside the walls," 1928. B.M. Sullivan would later act as the first Chairman of Lahore Improvement Trust.

perhaps due to the temporary dissolution of the Municipal Committee in that time period⁷⁹. The operation of the Trust under two separate jurisdiction was to create a distinction between the kinds of projects that the Trust was to undertake, which caused a somewhat unclear method of operation, as can be noted within the annual reports. The Trust labeled all work carried out under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, as 'Restrictive Development'. Schemes under this label were meant to "provide for the division of the area into building plots and streets", as well as to "impose restrictions on the type of buildings to be erected."⁸⁰ Under this Act, the Trust could prepare town planning schemes for private landowners in line with the kind of urban development they were to envision and implement under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922. In this capacity, they were merely acting as an advisory body.

Under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922, by comparison, the Trust was empowered to "acquire areas of land within its jurisdiction at market rates, to plan and resell them subject to the sanction of Government."⁸¹ This kind of development was labeled as Positive Development by the Trust. The legal procedures of acquisition and limited financial conditions of the Trust however meant that such kind of development was to not begin until 1940, four years after the formation of the Trust. The financial structure of the Trust played a prominent role in the slow start of this kind of development, and will be discussed later in the chapter.

⁷⁹ Lahore Municipal Corporation was established in 1940. It appears however, that the Trust continued to provide consultation services under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911 and the Municipal Corporation acted as the enforcing body.

⁸⁰ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1941.

⁸¹ Ibid.

The second thing to note here is that there was a distinctive focus of the Trust for a large portion of its lifetime on housing. This was clearly in defiance of Sullivan's invocation of the Trust being responsible for "every nature of areas". This focus on housing was later identified as a problematic approach by the reports themselves, and shortsighted amends were attempted. These were not enough to formulate an overall cohesive set of guidelines for Lahore's urban development. One example of such an oversight is mentioned in 1943-44 report where the "rigid adherence to zoning in the larger scheme areas" had led to a strong segregation of residential and commercial zones in the Civil Station Area resulting in major inconvenience to the residents of the area.

The ambitions in which the Trust was formed signaled the arrival of a body equipped to deal with urban development in a rapidly growing city. Similar to Geddes' recommendation, one of the first tasks Sullivan envisioned for the Trust before its official formation was a Civic Survey of the city of Lahore, which would include: physical characteristics of the city; archeological points of interest; recreation areas; education sites; hygiene, density and growth of population and Services; industries and commerce; traffic; land valuation; and, distribution of castes and occupations. Such a survey, which he called the "machinery for carrying out the work of the Trust" did not exist at that time, and was considered by Sullivan to be of prime importance to the operation of an Improvement Trust in the city.

He disregarded the value of layout plans for specific localities that had been attempted by the Municipality, "except as proof that properly conceived layout plans are

needed.” Despite the problematic nature of such surveys under and through the colonial administration, it was still almost necessary in order to ascertain the spatial and socio-economic aspects of the city. That there was no such ambitious survey undertaken only confirmed the importance of having a overall survey plan. There was no large scale urban level master plan or even a larger set of guidelines for urban development devised under the Trust during its years of operation resulting in a fragmented development of the city. This catered to very restricted requirements to the benefit of very limited segments within the city, and was unable to be consolidated into any sort of a cohesive vision for the city.⁸² Thus, where there were some successful projects implemented by the Trust, they were by no means constitutive enough to lead Lahore’s urban development as they were intended. However, schemes developed by the Trust did act as models for urban development in the city, and as such, play a major role in charting the path of Lahore’s modern urban history.

Making Lahore into an ideal city: Lahore Improvement Trust’s plans for Lahore

While Sullivan noted the importance of the built fabric in the Walled City and the need to resolve problems within that area through the recommendations in his 1928 note, his perception of the city still fell within the purview of the kind of dualistic conceptualization of the city discussed in Chapter 2. He concludes his notes with an observation on the ‘virility, wealth, and growth’ of the city, as he finds it in the Civil Station area.⁸³ It is for this area that he envisioned most of the developments when he was not explicitly talking about improvement points within the Walled City. For him,

⁸² Lahore Improvement Trust was excluded from participating in the development of the first master plan for Lahore that was developed in 1963. The provincial government which developed the plan thought both the LIT and LMC incapable of dealing with such a task.

⁸³ Sullivan, 7.

the task of making Lahore an ideal city was not too cumbersome: “Given the town planner, his civic survey, his town plan and his programme, a Board, provided by the Government with a small recurring grant, and acting with continuity of policy should be able to make Lahore into an ideal city with an expenditure of not more than Rs. 15 lakhs spread over ten years.” Despite being granted the suggested structural setup for the adapting this policy, the Trust failed, and it failed precisely because of the lack of a large holistic plan with which to work. The institutional setup it developed was expected to resolve the operational values in itself, which only provided structural clues to approaching development, but not contextual clarity.

Our first visual clue towards LIT’s vision for the city is offered in the form of a proposed zoning map for the city of Lahore. This map was published in the 1939 LIT report, and while it is just a zoning map, it offers us a clear picture of how the city was imagined spatially (and represented graphically) and how LIT proposed to approach all future developments (Figure 12).

To begin with, the Walled City is hatched to mark an excluded area of development, as were the Cantonment and the Railway land. These two areas of the city were properly developed along with the Civil Station area, and Model Town. This seems to indicate a clear motive that the Trust would focus development on those areas that it *considered* undeveloped or unsettled, even if the reality on ground was different. Also important to note here is the sharp push further South that was made in the area around Model Town. This reflects how influential Model Town was in rethinking the city’s extents. Another important thing to note is that this was probably the first map that titles the

Old City of Lahore, its environs and the Cantonment as 'Lahore'. Thus, to continue the argument made in Chapter 2, Lahore was now recognized as one urban unit. These individual entities still contributed to a hierarchized and simplified understanding of the city, by including the remaining in a general development zone. It seems to have been internalized into the general understanding of the city by considering it as a singularity.

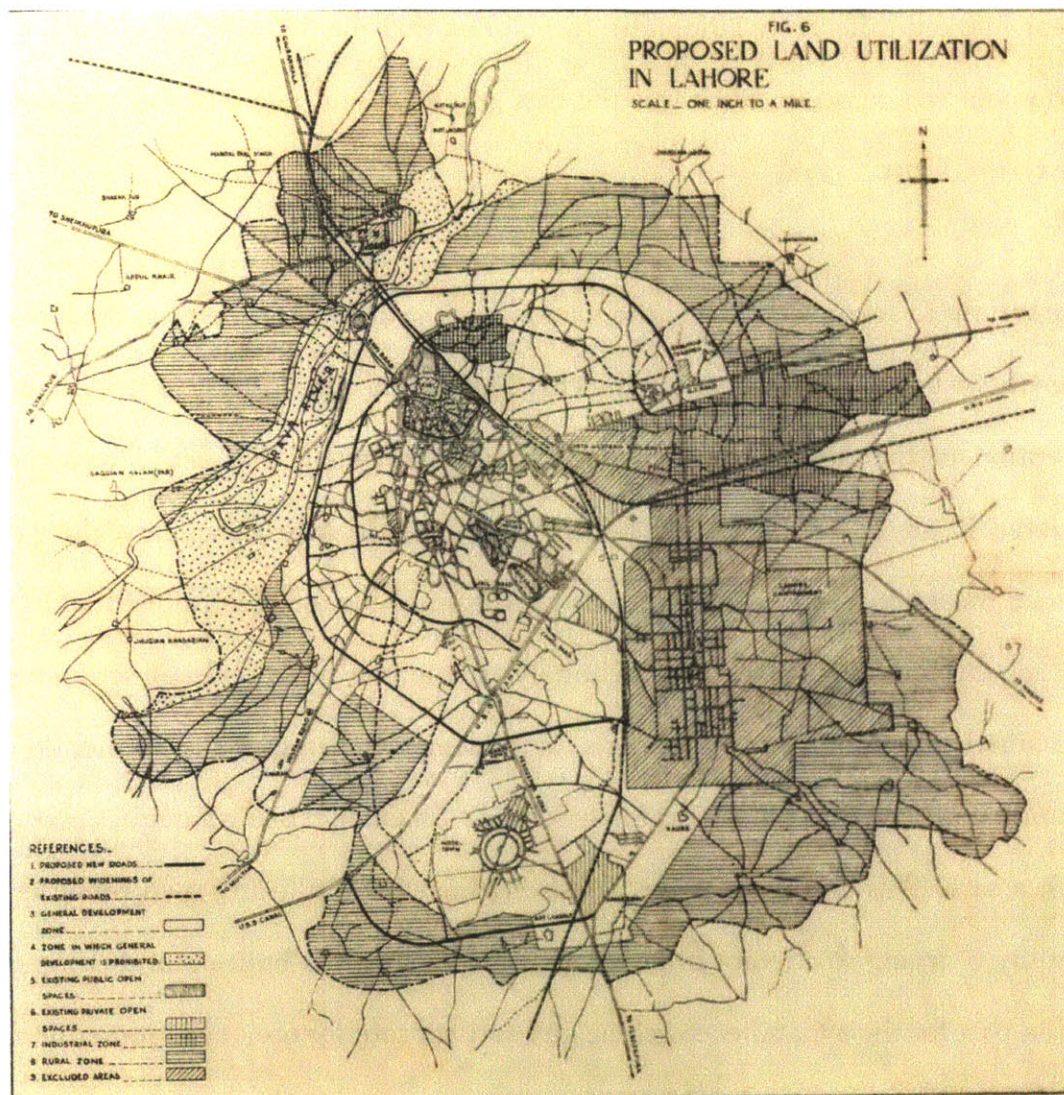


Figure 12 – Proposed Land Utilization Plan for Lahore, published in 1939 annual administration report of Lahore Improvement Trust

The proposed 'Industrial Areas' were marked in three distinct zones that lay between the Grand Trunk Road and the railway lines. The first was marked beyond the River Ravi in Shahdara, the second just north of the Walled City, and the third, north of the Railway land. Circling around these settlements, on all sides except for one minor outlet in the South around Multan Road, were marked 'Rural zones'. The fact that the proposed 'General Development Area' was left unmarked, as it was flanked on all sides by areas marked differently automatically implied that the 'leftover' area was where development was to occur. Such was the first graphic visualization of the city and its future by the Trust.

It is important to acknowledge that the mandate of the Trust was to envision, plan and execute *future* urban development in the city. The annual administration reports make no mention of the preexisting urban fabric as a precedent that could have been considered in any vision of greater plans for the city. In its earlier years, the Trust dismissed most preexisting settlements as too disorderly or too inconsequential in the larger scheme of things. This was definitely true at the meso-scale of settlements, where initial commentary and proposals for settlement schemes make no mention of surrounding urban fabric, the Misri Shah Scheme (Shadbagh) being a perfect example of such a case. This argument is further strengthened by Sullivan's own remarks on the futility of trying to attempt improvement projects within 'built-up and congested areas,' in part for their inability to accrue any sort of profit for the Trust, something he had recognized as potentially problematic earlier on.

Only large urban-scale ambitions of the Trust were embodied within this plan, with

very few references made to it in later reports. What was meant by General Development Area was left unstated, perhaps because it was not entirely clear as to what exactly would be proposed and how the Trust would go about it. This was most evident in the speculative nature of some of the projects discussed in the reports. In the 1940-41 report, it was claimed that the financial stability of the of the Trust could not be estimated until one of the building plots in one of the schemes under development was sold: "If, as the Trust believes, the public are willing to pay a fairly high price for building plots in a first-class locality, well-drained and well-roaded with complete security of title, then the Trust finances are sound enough. If there is no public demand for these things, then the finances are unsound and the Trust would become unnecessary." Such words demonstrate that there was indeed no preliminary socio-economic survey carried out by the Trust to assess the need or demand for the kind of projects they were working on; this observation can be supported by the lack of any evidence pointing towards such a survey in the reports. The Trust was taking a shot in the dark and hoping for the best. This however does not mean to imply that the Trust was not clear about the kind of projects it was proposing and why. Rather it was very clear on the task at hand. In what was a note by the Town Planner on the provision of houses for the 'less well-paid members of the community', the Town Planner dismissed the criticism presumably by the general public on the Trust's insistence on public need for improvement. The residents of the city were likened to school children and factory workers who did not understand the benefits that would have been allowed to them upon development under the Trust: "The school-leaving age was not raised because of mass agitation by school children nor Factory Acts first introduced at the behest of factory workers. Indeed both operations were performed, in the face of

some opposition from those who were to be benefited, by Governments who had faith in the justice of the cause and in the good sense of their voters to see reason before the next election.”⁸⁴ Thus, whether the public found it necessary or not, development under LIT would be carried out regardless and the public was expected to eventually see the benefit. The Trust thus had a good idea of the vision they had in mind, only that there was little substance to this desire. While the Trust perhaps found its most important role to be in terms of Positive Development, it was in the domain of Restrictive or Regulative Development where it succeeded most. Regulation and standardization were perhaps required within the city limits of Lahore. The particularities of these regulations might have been problematic, but they still attempted to address a problem that the Trust could and did somewhat resolve.⁸⁵

The point here is that this is where the argument of a strong path dependency to the point of a self-validating and self-rationalizing existence is most evident. Institutions are expected to perform a certain function for which they are instated, but late colonial institutions such as the Trust, as per my argument, were not entirely clear on the premise on which they are to operate. The structure that was employed so often for so many other purposes was adapted for bodies like the Lahore Improvement Trust, without an appraisal of the actual substance that such a setup was expected to produce and whether the system which it adapted was feasible in terms of delivery of that specific requirement. Proper urban development was indeed needed in Lahore, but the particularities were not resolved during its formation and remained unresolved as the Trust pushed forward in its development projects as chance allowed.

⁸⁴ LIT Annual Administration Report, 19xx.

⁸⁵ To be discussed later in the chapter.

The response of the public was, however, not what was expected. In the 1945 report, the Trust feebly claimed “the keen demand for building plots which existed early in 1945 had fallen off by autumn.” This argument is repeated over and over again, and late attempts were recorded to fix the situation. Disposal of plots through long term leases were proposed. A fixed amount of real estate brokers had initially been partnered with on the basis of commission for sale of plots in 1943, but their inability to perform as per expectations led the Trust to enroll all bonafide property dealers in the sale of plots in 1945-46. The Trust was therefore operating in a trial and error mode; the Trust more often than not created problems due to its developed schemes that were then resolved with quick-fix solutions. Most issues could have been avoided had there been a more nuanced understanding of the way the Trust wished to operate.

Projects timeline of LIT

One thing that the reports offer us without a doubt is the timeline of different projects undertaken by the Trust over its initial years. The development of these projects as noted in the reports mark clues about the projects that were considered, when they were conceived (and under what conditions), and how they progressed over the course of time.

Table I marks a timeline of the projects from the point of conception up until execution (or alternatively, abandonment) under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922. Work picked up expectedly after the first few years of the Trust’s formation, when it was understandably settling in and focusing on restrictive development under the

Punjab Municipal Act, 1911. 1941 saw the beginning of the war and surely, actual work on ground slowed down considerably. This is not to suggest that the Trust was not actively developing plans for their projects; land acquisition was one of their major focuses during the war years. Activities seem to have considerably picked up by 1945, which can be linked to the proposal development of schemes for land that had been acquired during the war years. Most notable in this timeline, however, is the constant presence of three major housing schemes through its earlier years and beyond Partition in to the 1950's. Additionally, there can be observed a proportional decrease in schemes under Restrictive Development as work under Positive development picked up.

Let us then consider three individual projects that the Trust undertook in its formative years: Rifle Range Scheme, Misri Shah Scheme (now Shadbagh), and Poonch Road Scheme (now Samanabad). All three were housing schemes designed for middle to upper middle classes. Plot sizes varied between 12 to 20 marlas. These were the first three projects that the Trust started work on in 1939, the year when it started considering projects under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, and occupied most attention in the annual reports. These were repeatedly touted as the flagship projects of the Trust, which would help the Trust to regulate its finances, help further clarify its objectives, and most importantly of all, bring recognition of the Trust's activities to the public and the Government, something it seems to have been struggling with for most of its formative years.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1941-42.

	1939-1940	1940-1941	1941-1942	1942-1943	1943-1944	1944-1945	1945-1946	1946-1947	1947-1948	1948-1949	1949-1950
Development Schemes											
Old Rifle Range Scheme	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	x
75 acres (north of Misri Shah) - Shadbagh	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	x
61.57 acres (adjoining Poonch Road) - Samanabad	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x
7.26 acres (north of Mayo Road in Dharampura)	x	x	x			x		x			
100.02 acres west of UET	x	x	x			x	x	x			
10 acres north of Mayo Road in Dharampura	x	x	x			x		x			
6.27 acres situated north of GT Road, and for area situated south of Ghore Shah Road, east of Ghore Shah Road				x		x	x	x		x	x
40 acres bounded on the north by Chhoani temple, on the south-east by Chotta Ravi River, and on west by abadi Qila Lachhman Singh and an area measuring 10 acres bounded on the north and south by Chotta Ravi and on the south-west by Minto Park			x	x		x	x				
6.83 acres on western side of Tajprura Road/near Haji Rahim Road		x	x								
Industrial Area near Shalimar Gardens				x		x		x		x	
New Civil Station Scheme 2575 acres					x	x	x	x			
Landa Bazar Scheme						x	x	x		x	
Shalimar Industrial Area Extension					x	x		x		x	
2000 acres on Ferozpur Road - next to new Civil Station - colleges area						x	x	x			
130 acres adjacent to Poonch Road scheme (Samanabad)						x	x	x			
Development scheme in Harbanspura						x		x			
Scheme in the revenue estates of Targarh, Jia Musa and Fatehpuri, commonly known as Baradari Garden Scheme - 400 acres						x					
Mewa Mandi Development Project							x	x		x	x
Sabzi Mandi Development Project								x			x
Scheme of abadis of devipura, kotli pir abdur rehman and fateh garh								x			
Development scheme in the East and South of Lahore Fort								x			
Council Chamber scheme								x			
Shahalami Gate Scheme										x	x
Scheme for area measuring 126 acres off Jail Road near DAV technical institute - bungalows										x	x
Street Schemes											
Qila Gujar Singh scheme	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	x
Mr. Kundan Lal - Qila Gujar Singh (road b/w Qila Gujar Singh and Abdul Karim Road)	x	x	x			x					
Street scheme for an area between Multan Road and development of the Rifle Range area		x	x								
Scheme for an approach road to Poonch Road						x					
Sccheme for an approach to Misri Shah scheme - Shadbagh						x					
Dabbi Bazaar - clearance						x	---				
Street scheme for improvement of approaches to the railway station						x	x	x		x	x
Shalimar Gardens Project							x	x			
General Improvement Schemes											
10 acres on the north-west by the Canal and on the south-west by the Mall			x			x	x	x		x	
1.65 acres west of McLeod Road at junction with Brandreth Road			x			x	x	x		x	x
Garhi Shahu 2.66 acres, slum clearance + flats construction				x		x	x	x			
Qilal Lachhman Singh Development Scheme 1 + 2					x	x		x		x	x
Scheme Landa Bazar No. 2 and 3					x	x					
Chowk Masjid Wazir Khan					x	x	---				
scheme for the area of Edgerton Road, opposite Falettis Hotel						x	---				
Grass market project							x			x	
Ring Road Project in the Poonch Road Area							x	x			
Gowalmandi Improvement Project							x	x		x	x
Baradari Project							x	x			
Kucha Shahbaz Khan Project							x	x		x	x
Housing Accomodation Scheme											
Sweepers Colony on the south-east side of the Badami Bagh Water Work, Lahore			x			x	x	x		x	x
Rehousing scheme of Land Bazar Improvement scheme displaced						x					
150 flats (working class) in Misri Shah Scheme						x					
100 flats in Poonch Road scheme						x					
32 middle class houses in Misri Shah scheme						x					
Rehousing scheme for displaced by new Civil Station scheme						x					
Kot Lakhpat Scheme - Gowalmandi scheme relocation								x			

Table I - Timeline of LIT's projects under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922

The Misri Shah Scheme, now known as Shadbagh, is most anomalous scheme in terms of its spatial layout. First proposed in 1939, it is the only residential scheme to have been proposed by the Trust, under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, that has a very distinct plan. It was undoubtedly inspired by Model Town's layout, which in turn had been heavily influenced by the Garden City model. Shaped like a horseshoe, five main streets led to the center of the scheme which, following the Model Town model, was a central park. This scheme was envisioned as a housing scheme and was connected to the main city in its South through an older settlement of Misri Shah, which is where it got its name.

The plot sizes of the Misri Shah scheme were designed to be about 16 marlas, which means they were targeted for the middle class. Plots in the older parts of the city usually ranged from 3 marlas to 10 marlas. While the Trust recognized that these schemes were designed with the hope that the public would sooner or later understand the benefits of living in a well-designed and (slightly more) spacious residential units, it still did not take into account the prevalent land pricing culture. In a culture where land was increasingly being considered a precious commodity, it was short sighted of the Trust to expect 'well designed schemes' to automatically cause a change in land values. The Trust however continued to believe so despite the fact that it had acknowledged time and time again that it was "in competition with the leading landowner and land speculators of Lahore."⁸⁷ Furthermore, the fact that the schemes the Trust advised on under the Punjab Municipal Act were still under the purview of each respective private landowner, there was little the Trust could do but hope for a

⁸⁷ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1940-41.

balance to be achieved once the Trust-developed plots were put on the market at more competitive rates. That the Trust itself was designed to be operated on a profit-yielding basis however meant that it too had to sell these plots at rates that would still make them inaccessible to a large population of the city. This is most evident in the 1955 map (Figure 13) of Lahore where the plots in the Misri Shah scheme were still empty, despite the fact the scheme plots were put on sale as early as 1945. One can count only a handful of units constructed on the plots developed by the Trust. Public response thus was very underwhelming, but still not enough to make the Trust reconsider its design values.



Figure 13 – 1955 map showing Misri Shah Scheme (Shadbagh) with apartments for low income groups constructed. Also important to note is the strikingly small number of houses constructed in the remaining plots, despite the fact that the Scheme had been one of the first to be sanctioned and implemented.

In the same map, one can however observe a row of built structures in the Misri Shah scheme. These were quarters aimed towards low-income groups that the Trust decided to construct in 1944. These quarters had not been considered until 1944 when the Trust was under pressure to find accommodation for its low-income support staff. At this point, the Trust decided to construct one and two room flats in place of a row of the regular plots in the Misri Shah scheme, which were then to be rented out at very low rates for the benefits of these workers. A review of the plan (Figure 14) shows the proposed plans of these quarters being adjusted within the larger Misri Shah scheme. This development, while plausible, highlights the randomized nature of planning and development under the Trust, which obviously was geared towards the comparatively well-off in the city; only under special circumstances were the poor catered to and that too in such compromising situations.

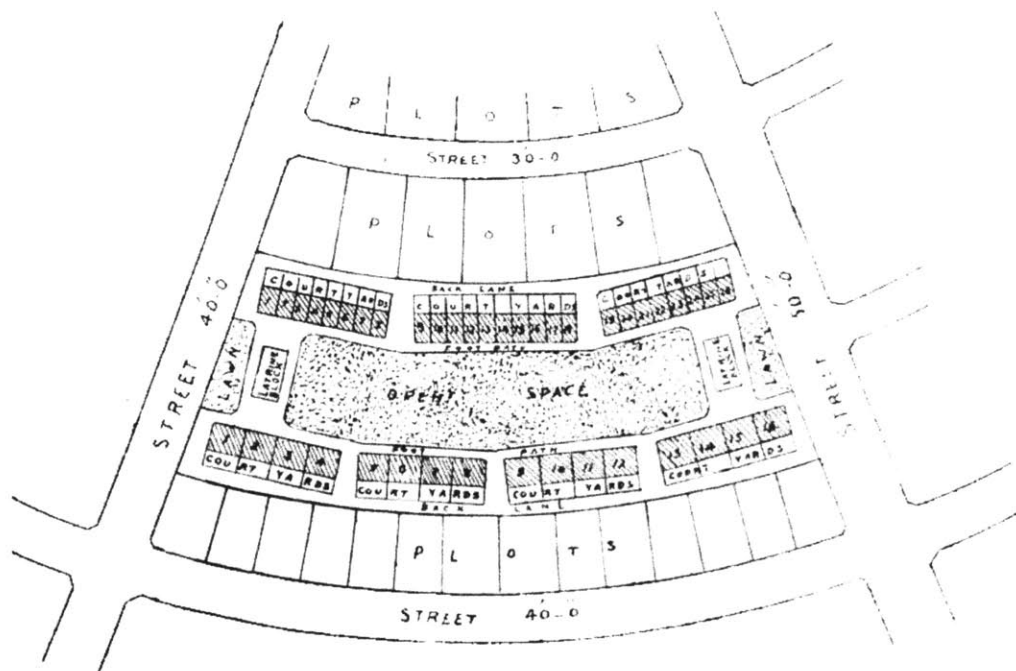


Figure 14 - Detail of one and two room flats for low income groups constructed by the Trust. Note layout which suggests that these were an afterthought in the face of a housing shortage crisis for low income groups.

Furthermore, the design of the Misri Shah scheme also alludes to the fact that the Trust's focus was on individual projects without much concern for the larger picture. Let alone the question of how such a scheme would contribute to the overall urban development of the city, the self-contained layout cut off the scheme from its surrounding settlements too. Later in 1946, the Trust mentioned its plans of constructing a main road artery that would connect the Rifle Range Scheme to the Misri Shah Scheme in the form of part of a proposed ring road. In terms of establishing coherence between its implemented schemes, this strategy in itself seems problematic due to its approach to larger urban planning without consideration of other on-ground realities in the form of pre-existing settlements or even feasibility of the proposed road infrastructure.

Similar to the Misri Shah scheme, the Poonch Road scheme (which was slowly expanded over the years to include more land, and which is now known as Samanabad) and the Rifle Range scheme were developed along the same lines. While these were not designed with the same self-enclosed spatial layout, they were nevertheless still reflective of the same design values and targeted the same privileged segment of the population. Considered within themselves, these schemes were perhaps somewhat considered successful, despite the initial reluctance of the public to acquire plots in them.⁸⁸ But what they implied for Lahore's urban expansion and the details they adapted and standardized was not envisioned.

⁸⁸ Methods the Trust adapted to dispose off plots have been discussed earlier in the chapter.

Operational structure of the Lahore Improvement Trust

The Lahore Improvement Trust was comprised of two separate bodies: Trustees and Associates. The Trustees of the body were nominated by the Government, and included a Chairman (usually an ICS officer), the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, and five other affluent citizens. The Associates usually included about eight officers from different divisions, such as a Town Planner, Health Officers, Consulting Engineers, Chief Officer of Lahore Corporation, etc. These associates would mostly be working between two departments, as is evident from the war years when they were mostly involved in works in their other respective departments. U.A. Coates acted as the Town Planner for the Trust from 1939 up until 1947. From 1944 to 1947, the Trust also employed an Architect by the name of N.B. Shroff, whose primary responsibility seems to have been the design of the model houses in one of the first schemes designed and developed by the Trust under the name of Rifle Range Scheme⁸⁹. He is not mentioned in regards to any other development under the Trust.

What is most remarkable about Sullivan's 1929 note is his observation on the state of other 'top-heavy' Trusts in the subcontinent: "Such trusts have carried on, I believe, more or less blindly under a Chairman presiding over engineers, doctors and so forth, but without one properly trained town planner permanently among them to collect information, to plan, to revise plans as conditions and passage of time require, to estimate and advise."⁹⁰ This problem was also evident within the operational structure of LIT. While U A Coates acted as the Town Planner of the Trust, there seems to have been little staff to support his work. Not many associated were employed by the Trust

⁸⁹ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1945-46.

⁹⁰ Sullivan, 5.

as full-time members, due to the financial constraints as well as due to the lack of professional members available to work for the government. Most associates thus divided their time between two or more departments.

The Trust reports detailed Positive Development Projects under two different phases: Phase A for Acquisition of Land, and Phase B for execution and resale of units. This was due to the fact to unavailability of enough personnel. Schemes could not be redesigned or rethought in case of problems during the land acquisition process. The Trust report of 1941-42, for example, recognizes the problematic nature of such an approach: “The preparation of schemes in two parts in this way causes some delay as the legal requirements are that each part must be published for three months for objections after which it is sent to Government for sanction.”⁹¹ Lack of personnel and low retention of staff was attributed mostly to the preference of most employees to work for departments like the Army where they were paid better.⁹²

One of the most problematic structural issues with the Trust however was the fact that it was a Trust. This meant that it operated on behalf of the government to acquire land, develop it and resell it to the public. The funds for this would be acquired in the form of annual government loans that would have to be repaid with an interest rate of 2%, half a percent higher than the normal borrowing rate from the Government at that time.⁹³ This was after an initial cash grant of Rs. 10,000 from the government at the time of establishment in 1936. The loan interest rate seems to have increased up to 4%

⁹¹ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1941-42.

⁹² LIT Annual Administration Report, 1945-46.

⁹³ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1939-40, Appendix C.

by the time of the 1942 year report.

Under the section 68(i) of the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922, the Trust was also entitled to about 2% of the Municipality's budget for development projects. However, it was the government loans on which the main financial structure of the Trust was based. Sullivan associated this problem to the very nature of LIT being a Trust: "I do not like the word Trust as it associated with large loans and heavy spending, extravagant advertising, and claims, ending as often as not, in a 'blow-up' and general apologies all round."⁹⁴ In saying these words, he was perhaps only prophesying the future of LIT: the Trust was formed, loans were spent without recovery, claims were made which when not met, and were feebly covered by some sort of a poor excuse.

Every year the Trust had to apply for a loan which slowed down the process of development due to the annual cycle. Due to the slowing down of development work in 1942 due to the war, the Trust recommended that it be issued a credit voucher from the Government that would allow it to draw money from the Treasury in large installments as required. The Trust report, however, acknowledged that this would require an amendment in the Punjab Town Improvement Act, which was not recommended. The Trust was therefore stuck with this annual loan cycle. The problematic nature of such a deal was reflected in numerous instances over the course of the Trust's history. During the war years, owing to difficulties in implementing projects (for reasons such as non-availability of materials and personnel engagements elsewhere), the Trust made two decisions. First, it started acquiring as much land as

⁹⁴ Sullivan, 3.

was possible with the funds they had available: "...land appreciates in value without any effort on the part of the Trust and such an investment is, therefore, perfectly sound from the financial standpoint although the Trust is only doing half its work in simply acquiring land."⁹⁵ The other decision the Trust made was to invest in Treasury Bills. This it did while acknowledging the unstable method of using loans at 4% interest to invest in Treasury Bills at about 1% but, the report argued, "it is more profitable than doing nothing with the money."⁹⁶ The Trust was thus looking at means to keep some sort of cash balance while attempting to acquire whatever little profit it could, since it had still not sold any land until 1943.

The fact that the Trust was operating on a loan driven setup is important to appraise the kind of projects it undertook. A high profit yield was necessitated by such a setup, which meant that development was usually aimed at projects that would have a high return. This meant that poorer classes of the cities suffered while development projects aimed at the middle and upper middle classes flourished. The main three housing schemes, as have been discussed earlier in the chapter, were primarily designed for middle or upper-middle classes. It was only after strong demand for housing for the less well-off that some parts of these schemes were used to develop apartments for low income groups. All in all, their number was still relatively lower than the number of plots prepared for higher income groups.

It is important to acknowledge that despite being bound to develop profit yielding projects under the clauses laid down under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922,

⁹⁵ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1941-42.

⁹⁶ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1941-42.

the Trust had significant creative leeway in terms of development when it came to proposing projects under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911. That it chose not experiment with alternative options within that purview, and attempt to extend them to projects under the Improvement Act, reinforces the argument that bodies like the Trust were indeed limited by their own inherited trajectories, values, and ways of doing things.

Urban master plan or project based approach?

Besides the zoning map published in the 1939 LIT report, there were two other large urban scale maps produced in the reports. These maps are indicative of the rather arbitrary nature of the projects it pursued. An analysis of these maps allows us to conclude that LIT was by no means a proper urban development body, but rather operated in the mode of a real estate developer. Part of the reason for the lack of a larger vision could be the two different legal jurisdictions under which the Trust operated, as discussed earlier. In the map reproduced in Figure 15, the two different colors suggest the scope of projects under the two separate jurisdictions. The original map [Figure 16] highlighting the projects scope under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911 was first published in the 1941-1942. By this time, most work had been carried out under the Municipal Act due to delays in land acquisition for Positive Development. This map only included four projects under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922. Three out of these four projects were the main projects in the Trust's pre-Partition timeline that can be considered somewhat successful in terms of execution and eventual occupation.

By 1945-46, the Trust published the second map highlighting a huge shift of focus from

development under the Municipal Act towards development under Punjab Town Improvement Act. The areas highlighted include a wide range of development schemes, which included housing schemes, universities, and industrial areas. Of the three biggest chunks of developed highlighted under the Town Improvement Act, two were part of a university project (now Punjab University, New Campus) and a proposed Industrial scheme, which never materialized despite having acquired land for it.¹⁰⁰

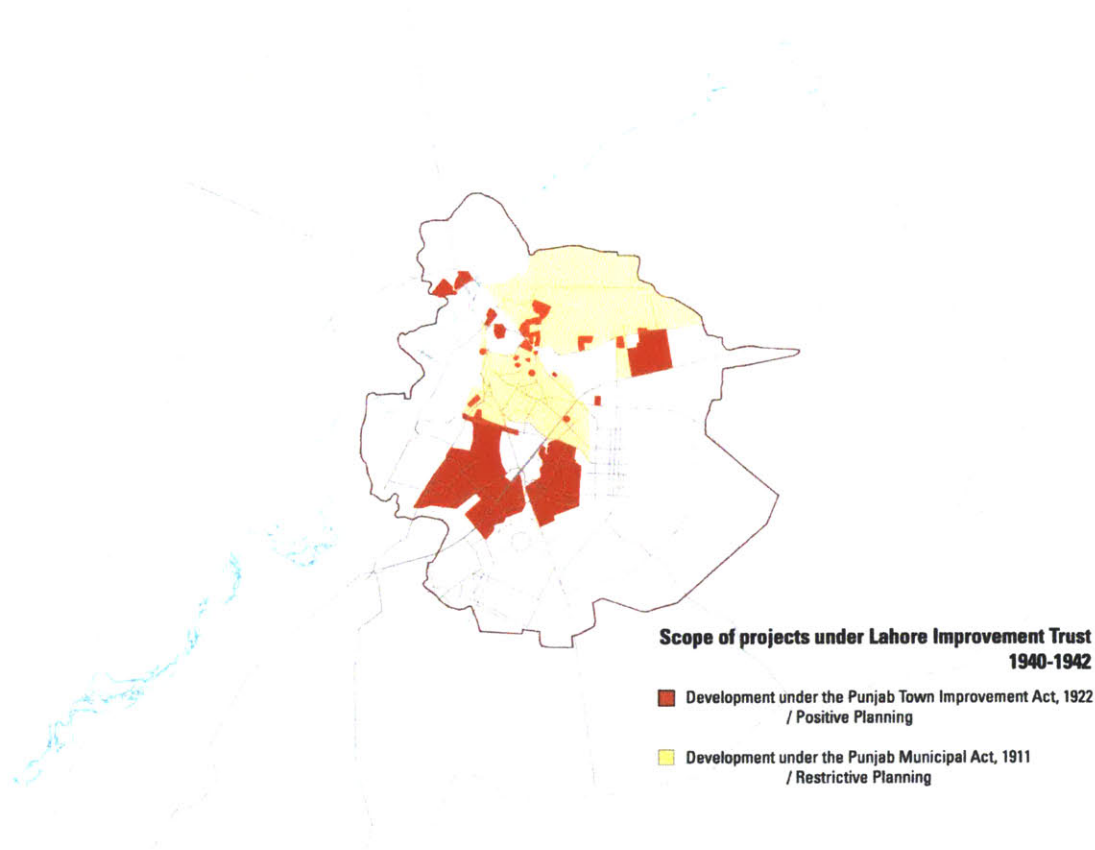


Figure 13 – Scope of projects carried out by Lahore Improvement Trust.

¹⁰⁰ This land acquired for the Industrial area scheme was then slowly either resold to owners or auctioned to other interested buyers. This too was an interesting development under the Trust and will be discussed in detail later.

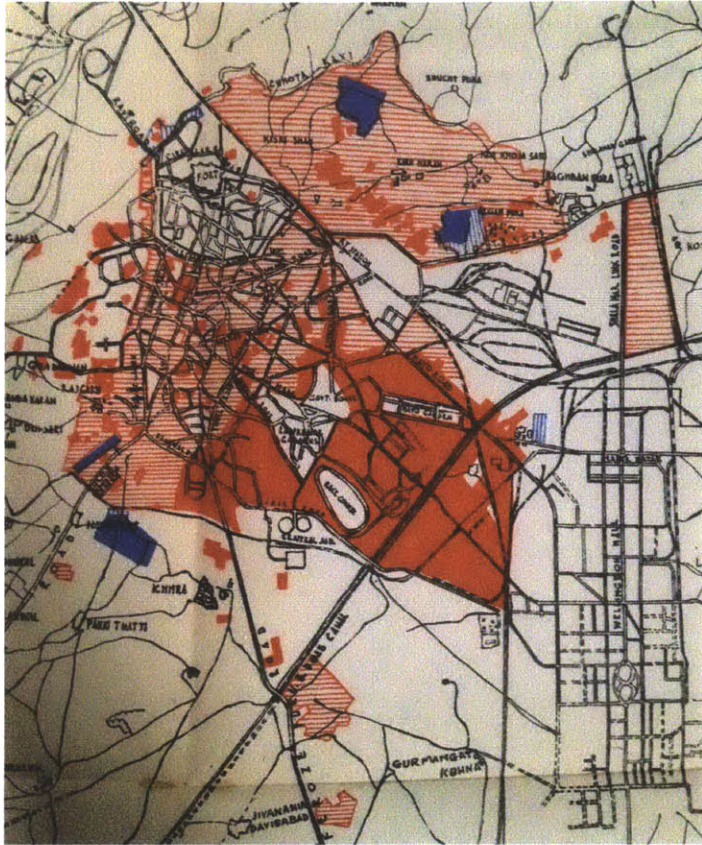


Figure 14 – 1941 plan highlighting proposed development under Punjab Municipal Act, 1911 (in red). Areas highlighted in blue mark development under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922.

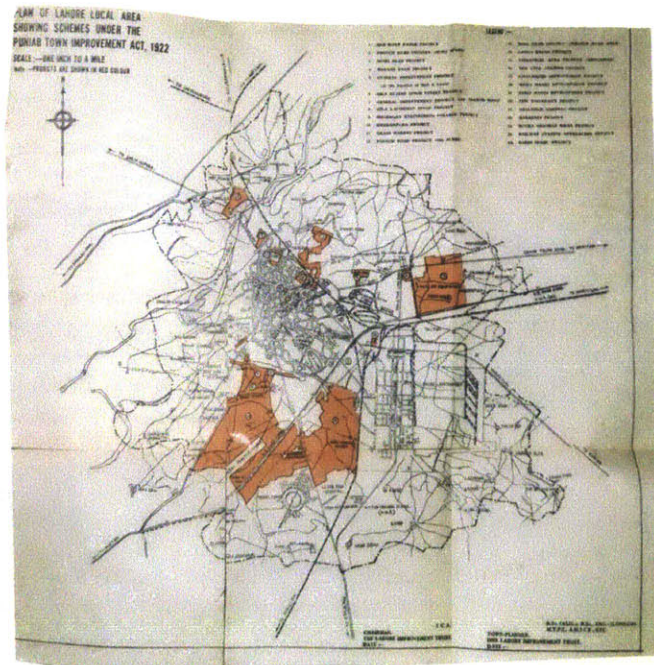


Figure 17 – 1945 plan showing major development under Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922

What is remarkable about these plans is that despite that the overall preview of their locations within the city, there seems to be no rationale explained for the choice of location and the kind of projects that were implemented. As per the nature of the Municipal Act, 1911, there was an obvious tendency to advise on private property held within the settled areas of the city, which understandably resulted in a slightly randomized response from the Trust. Even beyond work under the Municipal Act, however, the Trust reflected little far-sightedness in terms of a larger urban vision for the city, and at times it even worked against the zoning map itself, the only large scale vision drawing to have been produced by them.

Where certain projects were begun on the basis of the zoning plan published by the Trust in 1939, these too somehow were not implemented as per plan allowing for deviation even from the very basic zoning map by the Trust. One such example is that of the Shalimar Industrial Area proposed in the area on the opposite side of Shalimar Gardens opposite GT Road (Figure 18). This project was first proposed in 1942, and after extensive tracts had been acquired for that purpose under the Land Acquisition Act, the Trust started delaying the development of the Project. It isn't clear what caused the Trust to not decide to implement the project. The reports make no mention of the reason it did not choose to go through with the execution of the project. The fact that plans had been produced for the site, suggest that the Government had indeed sanctioned it and we know that land had already been acquired. Whatever the reason, the Trust chose not to go ahead with the project and instead of stating it so, one can start picking up clues of the Trust slowly beginning to rid itself of the very land it had acquired.

This is most shocking to discover, for many reasons. Land that had already been acquired for a specific purpose was slowly being either returned to owners or re-auctioned to other interested buyers, causing major tensions between the Trust and the original landowners. At least two cases have been discussed in the reports where original landowners have objected to the re-auctioning of land to other parties.¹⁰¹ Secondly, the acquisition of such a large tract of land is rather impressive on part of the Trust and suggests that land acquisition would not have been an issue in most cases had it been seriously pursued.

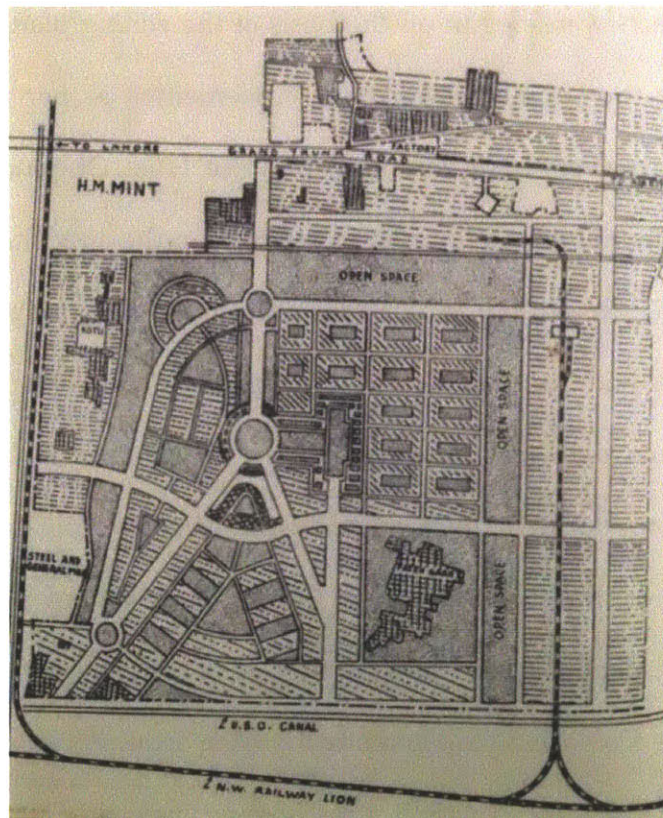


Figure 18 – Proposed Industrial Area scheme near Shalimar Gardens

¹⁰¹ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1945.

Three major schemes under the Trust, as proposed in the 1942 plan, included the proposed Shalimar Industrial Area, the new Civil Station Project (now Gulberg), and the University Area. These large schemes demonstrated the power the Trust yielded in terms of land acquisition, which was accorded to them under the Land Acquisition Act. Thus, the excuse that the Trust put forward so many times about the lack of land large enough to accommodate schemes that could have made a positive impact on the city is not valid, even if often employed. That the Trust chose to slowly rid itself of the very land it had acquired for the Shalimar Industrial area, and that it is now largely a high-density residential area, which seems to have developed very randomly over the years. That the density of this settlement is very high, certainly higher than that of the Trust's approved densities for either *abadi* or bungalow schemes, suggests that it is almost as if the Trust not only rid itself of the land but also excused itself from overseeing proper development within that area, which it could have pursued under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911. The Trust's complicity in this matter is not only almost inexplicable but also points towards the misplaced priorities of the Trust and its methods of approaching them. More importantly, it highlights the selective nature of the Trusts operations, which is problematic considering the regulatory power it also held for the entire city limits.

Standardization and regulation

How did the Trust use the language of standardization to not only further a very particular urban design paradigm but also to cement it as the normative model? This can be observed perhaps in the clauses of development as were begun to be laid out

each successive year under the LIT. Standards, within the context of colonial administration and specifically under the LIT, can be perceived as models meant to “prescribe correct form, thought or behavior.”¹⁰³ To understand development of these prescribed suggestions into ‘bye-laws’, one can consider the kinds of settlements that were proposed from the beginning to get a sense of where the Trust was deriving its standardized set of rules from. One can refer back to the previous chapters to remind oneself of the kinds of biased conceptualizations of settlements and their respective typologies were considered and which ones were preferred over the other for reasons of rationality, hygiene and better living standards.

From the very beginning, the annual administration reports suggest a very specific set of byelaws with which to approach housing schemes. These were repeated like a mantra in almost every single report from 1939 onwards, and went along these lines: “Buildings must be detached on at least three sides with a street in front, a rear open space of not less than 15 ft. along the width of the site and a side open space of 5 ft. or 10 ft. between each pair of houses so that each pair is detached on all four sides.” Over time they were made more and more elaborate, but followed the same basic framework for regulation.

It could be argued that the ultimate aim of the Trust was to bring about ‘improvement’ *through* regulation. The regulative rules for construction were however sought in numbers, figures and percentages, as demonstrated above. These numbers were meted out with scientific precision. In doing thus, experience was flattened in favor of

¹⁰³ Peter Scriver, *Rationalization, Standardization, and Control in Design* (1994), 550.

particular design values. However, this is not something only the Lahore Improvement Trust was responsible for; standards and bye-laws are supposed to do exactly that. To dismiss concern for the nature of standardization propagated by the Trust for this reason however would be to dismiss all institutional processes as such.

It is the rather arbitrary way these bye-laws that were adapted that makes the practices of standardization and regulation in Lahore under the Trust slightly problematic. What concerns drove these bye-laws to be imparted? Climatic considerations could have been one of the main variable, but if so, they were considered at the expense of other socio-economic factors that would have been relevant for a large portion of the population of the city. While it is not clear whether these bye-laws were flatly implemented across all schemes, they were definitely imparted within the Trusts developed under the Punjab Town Improvement Act. However, under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, the Trust prepared a large number of plans for the development of private land, and owing to the differentiated socio-economic nature of the city, must have meant certain different standards to be allowed. In any case, the standards implemented under the Punjab Town Improvement Trust allowed only for a very specific kind of construction to occur, the perfect example of which were the Model houses constructed in Old Rifle Range Scheme by the Trust in 1945 (Figure 19). A modern looking structure, with two houses attached to each other on one side, this model house reflects the basic characteristics of most housing typologies beyond Partition, particularly ones that catered the middle to upper middle class segments of the city. By charting this kind of a typology as a standard, other typologies were relegated to the status of being unfashionable, and over time, unsuitable for

occupation for a large portion of the population. Standardization of this sort thus brought with it a very narrow framework of housing development which has eventually led to unprecedented urban sprawl through the development of low-density suburban schemes.

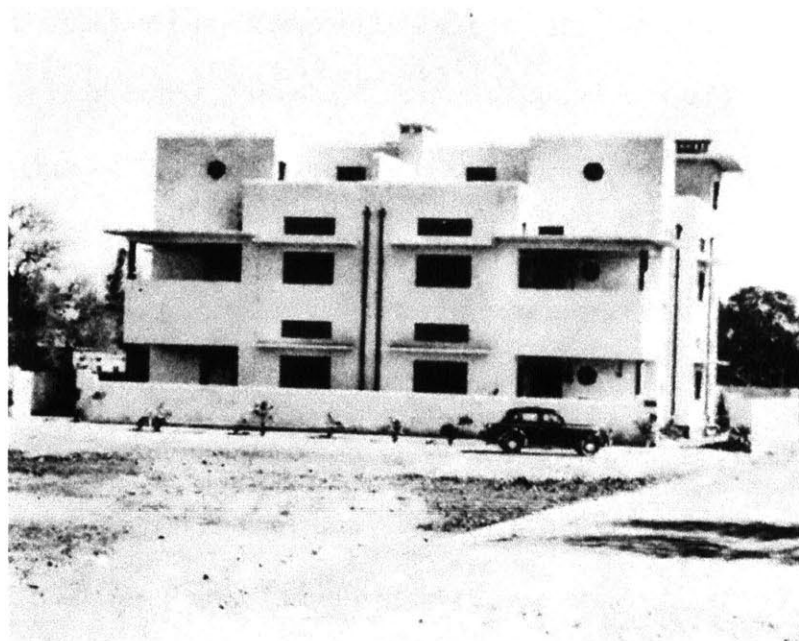


Figure 19 – Model Houses constructed in 1945 by the Lahore Improvement Trust

CONCLUSION

In analyzing the formative years of the Trust, two points stand out. An analysis of the formative years of the Trust suggest that the constitution of Lahore Improvement Trust was structured in a way to operate as an ‘efficient’ department within the larger colonial paradigm and not as a body that led the urban development of a city by responding to the immediate spatial and socio-economic context of the city. It could be argued that perhaps a body like the Lahore Improvement Trust was not even envisioned to perform that particular task; rather it was an extension of the colonial

administration into the sphere of urban development, and thus operating within that political and ideological frame. Considering however that lengthy deliberations were made on the task of such a body within the specific context of Lahore, however superficial or invented, the scope of urban development it marked out for itself can be analyzed without having to dismiss a focused analysis of the Lahore Improvement Trust in itself. In this regard, both legislation and the structural setup of the Trust contributed to the nature of development enabled by the Trust.

Second, the different themes under which the Trust has been analyzed in this chapter highlight the far-reaching consequences of the values adapted by the Trust. Criticizing the Trust for a lack of a holistic vision is not to mean the lack of a singular master plan. Rather, the main criticism is on the fact that despite not operating at that larger urban level in terms of developing guidelines for planning or urban development, major schemes proposed by the Trust had the capacity to allow consideration of how they would play out in the larger scheme of things. The schemes implemented by the Trust are closed, self-contained and fragmentized instances within the city, which were developed with no long-term plan on how exactly each would contribute to the urban condition of the city on the whole. Further, these pockets of developed schemes did contribute to the wide-scale adaptation and dissemination of design values that catered to a very specific portion of the population. That this segment of the society could adapt values that its close contact with the colonial administrative lifestyle meant that they were more readily recognized and standardized than other alternative options. These alternative options, despite existing alongside the kind of values propagated by the Trust, were overshadowed due to the dominance the values under

the Trust enjoyed.

Another major issue that comes to fore is the strong institutional path dependency that the Trust not only inherited but also appropriated very early on in its formative years. From borrowing reasons of constitution to following after previous modes of operation in different contexts, there was a clear indication of the Trust having been given the initial impetus through the full-scale adaptation of the bureaucratic system itself, rather than any larger ideological drive or even operational values derived from the specific context of Lahore. One would expect a shocking event such as the Partition to force the body to re-assess or at least check its values, but that it did not do so highlights the deeply ingrained bureaucratic setup that even the Partition could not cause to shift.

CHAPTER 5

LIT In The Face Of A Crisis

Responding to the shock of Partition and its aftermath

Communal riots and Partition in 1947

Upon termination of British rule in the Indian subcontinent in August 1947, it was partitioned into two countries, India and Pakistan, the latter to serve as a Muslim majority nation-state. In drawing these international borders between the two newly created countries, the British used the established pre-Partition provincial lines as a reference for demarcation. However, due to political reasons that do not fall under the purview of this study, two provinces were divided into two – Punjab and Bengal. Partitioning provinces that had historically formed part of a singular ethnic identity were replaced with heightened religious affinities and caused tensions between religious groups to intensify. Communal riots within the context of the impending Partition were thus inevitable. In Punjab, these riots had started to break out amongst Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as early as March 1947.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957* (Karachi, 2006), 36.

In his book, *Divided Cities*, Ian Talbot offers us the most comprehensive analysis of the event of Partition through a comparative study between Amritsar and Lahore in the context of Partition, two cities that found themselves on the opposite sides of the international border drawn up in 1947. He traces the histories of these two cities in a chronological sequence that assess them as Colonial cities, Riot-torn cities (1947), Border cities and finally as Redeveloped Cities. In the context of Partition of Punjab, this book offers us much material to analyze the nature and spatiality of the riots that broke out in the two cities, and offers us a chance to contrast it with the actions taken by the Lahore Improvement Trust in the aftermath of Partition.

One of the most profound observations Talbot made in his book, especially in reference to this study, is the 'localized' nature of riots within the two cities. Contrary to the popular notion that the entire cities were 'in flames' during the period of Partition, Talbot demonstrated that violence was indeed restricted to specific areas within the city. In Lahore, the Walled City area and the neighborhoods in its immediate surroundings were worst affected. Within the Walled City, the area of Shahalmi, which was an established Hindu majority neighborhood, suffered the worst fate. Following riots that broke out in the aftermath of bomb attack in Sabzi Mandi conducted allegedly by Hindus in June 1947, Shahalmi was completely burnt down to the ground (Figure 20 and 21). Talbot quotes Mohammad Saeed's description of Shahalmi following the attack on it: "Shahalmi presented the look of a city that had just been subjected to a blitzkrieg, heaps of bricks, twisted girders, roofless blackened walls and a deep mournful silence! Some of the lonely walls jutting out of the

wreckage and exposed to general view displayed typical Hindu decorations and mythological locales. Some were licked by the fire, others washed away by the rain.”¹⁰⁵



Figure 20 – A group of refugees amidst rubble of destroyed buildings (source: Citizens Archive of Pakistan, F. E. Chaudhry collection)



Figure 21 - A group of refugees amidst rubble of destroyed buildings (source: Citizens Archive of Pakistan, F. E. Chaudhry collection)

¹⁰⁵ Talbot, 44.

This incident established the dominance of the Muslim population over the non-Muslim population of the city before the Punjab Boundary Commission even decided on Lahore's fate, and according to Talbot, instigated 'anticipatory flight' to what would be East Punjab by those who could afford to. The poor, on the other hand, had no means to do so and had to suffer or resist until August 1947, when majority of migrants were forced to moved across the borders.

Beyond Shahalmi, areas in the immediate vicinity of the Walled City, neighborhoods such as Krishanagar and Santnagar, which were essentially lower middle-class settlements settled in the last thirty to forty years, also contributed to the heightening communal tensions.¹⁰⁶ Their proximity to the Walled City could have been the most influencing factor, and the names of the areas suggest that these were indeed Hindu neighborhoods.¹⁰⁷ Violence was imparted on and instigated from within the traditional settlements of the city, that is the Walled City and the newer indigenous settlements that had been developed in the previous half century respectively. This marks the fact that there was indeed two kinds of social dynamics prevalent within the city: those still operating and living in the traditional social patterns were the ones who moved between ethnic and religious identification; those who had moved to the colonial enabled social patterns of living now operated on class distinctions.

¹⁰⁶ Talbot, 51.

¹⁰⁷ In 1992, both Santnagar and Krishanagar were merged and renamed Islampura. All street names, which originally referred to Hindu personalities, were renamed to reflect Muslim personalities. These were announced on a large board that has been erected in a prominent location on a main street in what is now called Islampura. The original name of Krishanagar is crossed over with a red X, and is placed right next to the new name in a larger font.

Spaces like the Civil Station and Model Town, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, acted as mediators to bring over a distinct modern spatial conceptualization to the local population, or at least *for* the local population, even if still essentially limited to a specific privileged class. Physical spaces and elements that traditionally acted as “visible foci of Hindu and Sikh economic and ritual life” had been replaced by spaces and typologies that reflected no particular identity, besides that of a modern rational lifestyle. Their neutralization of urban space that hitherto reflected cultural, social and religious values highlighted the changing nature of the city too. While Shahalmi was burning, life in the Civil Station and Model Town almost continued normally, and the departure of Hindu and Sikh families from these parts of the town was more gradual and comparatively smoother than that of areas such as Shahalmi. Talbot quotes prominent writer Khushwant Singh on the situation in the Civil Station while the old city was engulfed in riots: “We went about in our cars to our offices, spent evenings playing tennis at the Cosmpolitan or Gymkhana Club, had dinner parties where Scotch which cost Rs 11 per bottle flowed like the River Ravi.”¹⁰⁸

Influx of migrants and the post-Partition housing shortage

These intense riots in the cities of Punjab between the period of March and August 1947 forced a large number of people from the wrong faith on the wrong side of the border to migrate over to the other side. With a total number of over 10 million people that migrated between the borders of Punjab and Bengal in 1947, this marks one of the largest forced migrations in the history of mankind (Figure 22 and 23) . Of this figure, it is estimated that a total number of 4.6 million people migrated across the border of

¹⁰⁸ Talbot, 49.



Figure 22 – Refugees arriving in Lahore. (source: Citizens Archive of Pakistan, F. E. Chaudhry collection)



Figure 23 – A large encampment of refugees at Walton, Lahore in 1947. (source: Citizens Archive of Pakistan, F. E. Chaudhry collection)

After all the rioting that caused major damage to the built fabric of the city, and eventual migration of hundreds of thousands of people into the city from different parts of East Punjab, the housing shortage problem in Lahore increased immensely.

¹⁰⁹ Talbot, xxxii.

This only added to the problem of increasing population in the city that had already been experiencing major growth in the post-war years. The population of the city had doubled in number of that in 1941 by 1950.

The 1941 annual administration report of Lahore Improvement Trust had already registered a housing shortage of about 30,000-40,000 houses in the city.¹¹⁰ This shortage was exacerbated in the aftermath of the Partition riots. Approximately 4000 houses were damaged in the Walled City area alone during these riots. A further 2000 houses that had been severely damaged in the riots had to be pulled down over the next couple of years by the Trust.¹¹¹ All in all, there was more housing shortage in the city that any able municipal or regulatory body could have been able to deal with sufficiently. In that sense, the Lahore Improvement Trust had an immense task to fulfill, but the annual reports immediately following Partition suggest a weak response to this particular issue.

The Trust's incapability to deal with the housing shortage immediately, coupled with the demolitions that had to be carried out, caused major agitation between the Trust and the residents and migrants. It also put the Trust in a no-win situation. In August 1948, a year after Partition, 18 people died after the house they were living in within the Walled City collapsed due to heavy monsoon rains bearing on an already fragile structure. Following this incident, 2000 refugees stormed the Municipality and Trust offices to register protest. Likewise, the decision to evacuate migrants to demolish weak structures was not received very well, since there was little the Trust did to house

¹¹⁰ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1941-1942.

¹¹¹ Talbot, 121.

the large number of migrants that had arrived in the city. Talbot has noted that the Lahore Improvement Trust was still struggling with coping with the housing shortage even six years after the Partition.

Institutional inertia in the face of a crisis

The Trust exhibited institutional inertia well beyond the Partition in its mode of operating, which explains the weak progress it made and perhaps also explains the rather understudied nature of the body itself in terms of Lahore's modern urban history. The reports available for this study terminate at the year of 1950, just three years after Partition. However, they still provide enough evidence for establishing the nature and scope of the kind of projects the Trust initiated, and how it addressed the housing shortage problem and the repair of the damaged areas in the city.

Looking at the reports, there is very little evidence of an alarming situation within the city. The reports retain their normative format, and there seems to be little sense of urgency noted in the way the developments over the years described. The 1946-47 report signs off at August 16, 1947, which means a lot of physical damage had already been imparted on to the city's fabric, but the only indication to the turmoil in the city is included in the concluding general remarks: "The political disturbances during the year especially at Lahore went a long way to upset most of the Trust's programme."¹¹² The 1948 report picks up similarly, with only passing references made to the emergency situation in the city. In that year, one special committee, out of a total of six, was formed to oversee reconstruction of damaged areas, but it only held one meeting. Details of that

¹¹² LIT Annual Administration Report, 1946-1947, 15.

meeting were not described explicitly. However, the report discusses in detail the Shahalmi Gate Scheme, which might have been the focus of the aforementioned committee.

The Shahalami neighborhood, which was a predominantly Hindu neighborhood was one of the areas worse affected by Partition riots. Most houses and shops in the neighborhood were damaged in the riots and most structures in the area were pulled down by the Trust by 1948. The Trust however saw this destruction as “an opportunity to transform” what had once been an area that the Trust had considered unfit for modern human habitation.

A scheme was proposed and initiated on the development of Shahalmi Gate as early as 1948. It converted an area that had previously been a traditional neighborhood with multi-storeyed live-work units into an exclusively commercial area. This development in Shahalmi area was essentially what kick started the takeover of commercial and trade activities within the older quarters of the city, thus putting more strain on already dense residential settlements nearby. The effects of such a decision are keenly felt today where the spread of trade and commercial activities within the Walled City is now beyond any body’s control.

An excerpt from the 1949 report provides an insight into how the Trust was presenting these projects and to what benefit, despite the extremely pressing problem of housing shortage they had to deal with at the same time: “Timely advantage was taken of the West Punjab Damaged Area (Development) Ordinance, 1948, for the development of

the damaged areas... between Shahalmi Gate and the Baoli Sahib. The scheme for this area provides for the construction of dual carriage-way roads, 80' in width, with cypress trees planted all along at suitable distances and green open spaces, including a mount and a fountain in an area of 11.67 acres. It is proposed to erect a suitable monument in place of the old Shahalmi gate, which being in a dilapidated condition, had to be pulled down. It is hoped that the area, when developed, will be one of the busiest business centers in Lahore."¹¹³ What is most striking here is the completely misplaced priorities of the Trust; monuments and fountains were being planned for the exact site where hundreds of thousands of houses had been burnt down, and while a great population was still struggling to find decent housing.

The West Punjab Damaged Area Ordinance accorded even more power to the Trust for the acquisition of land and its use for other purposes that was used before, which provided the Trust with an 'advantage' to pursue development in line with its pre-Partition design values and aims. Instances where individuals or communities made objections to schemes proposed by the Trust under the Punjab Town Improvement Act, were then implemented under the West Punjab Damaged Areas (Development) Ordinance, 1948. One such example has been recorded in the 1948-49 report, where a general improvement scheme for an area in Akbari Mandi was 'dealt with' under the Damaged Areaa Ordinance for its implementation after objections were raised to the original proposal under the Town Improvement Act.

This example of gross commercialization of the Walled City continued beyond that of

¹¹³ LIT Annual Administration Report, 1949-1950.

the Shahalmi scheme. In 1952, land was acquired by the Trust to be leased to the Cloth Market Association of Lahore, in an area around the Wazir Khan Mosque in the Walled City. This area had also been damaged by the Partition riots, and was predominantly residential with live-work units much like most areas in the Walled City (Figure 24).



Figure 24 - Damaged area after Partition riots (source: Citizens Archive of Pakistan)

Later this was to be developed as a site for two major cloth markets, which to this day are the hub of cloth trading in the country. Figure 25 highlights one example of the dense commercial fabric that replaced the traditional settlement patterns in these areas. The situation has only worsened from this time onwards, and current studies highlight the alarming rate with which commercial and trade activities are usurping the built fabric of the Walled City.



Figure 25 – Shahalmi area replaced by commercial centers.

Within the areas that were affected most by the riots thus, the major schemes proposed and implemented focused on revitalizing the economy through commercial spaces. It is acknowledged that economic revitalization must have been a major concern for the local government too, especially considering that most commercial and trade holdings in the city before Partition were predominantly run by the Hindu and Sikh population that had migrated to East Punjab. It was however done in a manner that completely changed the nature of land use in areas that were otherwise a mix of commercial and residential settlements. This institutional tendency to discard all previous socioeconomic patterns of living in order to implement design values that had been carried through from colonial reforms and eventual institutionalization is all

the more startling in the face of such a huge crisis.

New Civil Station as the solution to the housing shortage

Another striking aspect of this institutional inertia was the Trust's focus on the development of the New Civil Station scheme immediately following Partition. This scheme was one of the major projects under the Trust in the early post-Partition years and was modeled on the original Civil Station. This scheme was aimed at the upper middle class, and was thus developed at the expense of housing for the poor in times when most attention was required towards the housing issue. It was first proposed and sanctioned in 1947, and work finally began in 1952, possibly after the Government's grant of a 70 lakh Rupees loan to the Trust.¹¹⁴

The Poonch Road Scheme (or Samanabad, as it is now known) was also expanded upon in the early post-Partition years. The fact that these two major schemes catered to the middle and upper middle class offer to us an idea about the kind of inertia within which the Trust was operating. It cannot be denied that the housing shortage problem ran across classes, but the fact that most attempts at resolution of the crisis were made for a particular privileged class, seems unjustifiable in the context of Partition. Further, as has been discussed earlier in the chapter, most upper class residential areas such as Model Town and neighborhoods in and around the Civil Station were least affected by Partition riots, and as such point towards a much more smoother transition between outgoing residents and incoming residents of the same class.

¹¹⁴ Talbot, 116.

In his thesis study at MIT in 1983, Masood Khan offers us a statistical overview of housing in the city under the Trust.¹¹⁵ From 1947 up until 1975, when the Trust was dissolved, the Lahore Improvement Trust had developed 8469 plots for occupation. Of these, about 85% plots ranged from sizes between an acre to about 2250 square feet. These were clearly meant to house detached or semi-detached houses, much like the bungalow typology introduced by the colonial administration. Khan then continues to compare with the population growth of the city between 1951 and 1975, which increased by 200% during that time period: “This meant that, with an average family size of 6 persons, there was an increase of 275,000 households during that time period. A comparison with the 8469 plots provided by the Trust over the period 1947-1975 indicates the general ethical and social trends of those years. The remaining 266,500 households were either absorbed into the city's fabric by a densification process utilizing unused land or old houses within the city, or settled in privately parcelled, unserviced or partially serviced, land in areas of the city less favored by the elite-oriented planning agencies.”¹¹⁶

Qila Lachman Singh, as highlighted in Figure 26, is just one of the area north of the Walled City that had to absorb these households. The extremely high-density settlement patterns that it now reflects was perhaps first enabled by the push factor of the commercialization of the Walled City areas along with the low-density expansive development occurring on the edges of the city.

¹¹⁵ Masood Khan, "Informal" architecture: an examination of some adaptive processes in architectural traditions (MS thesis, MIT, 1983), 94.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

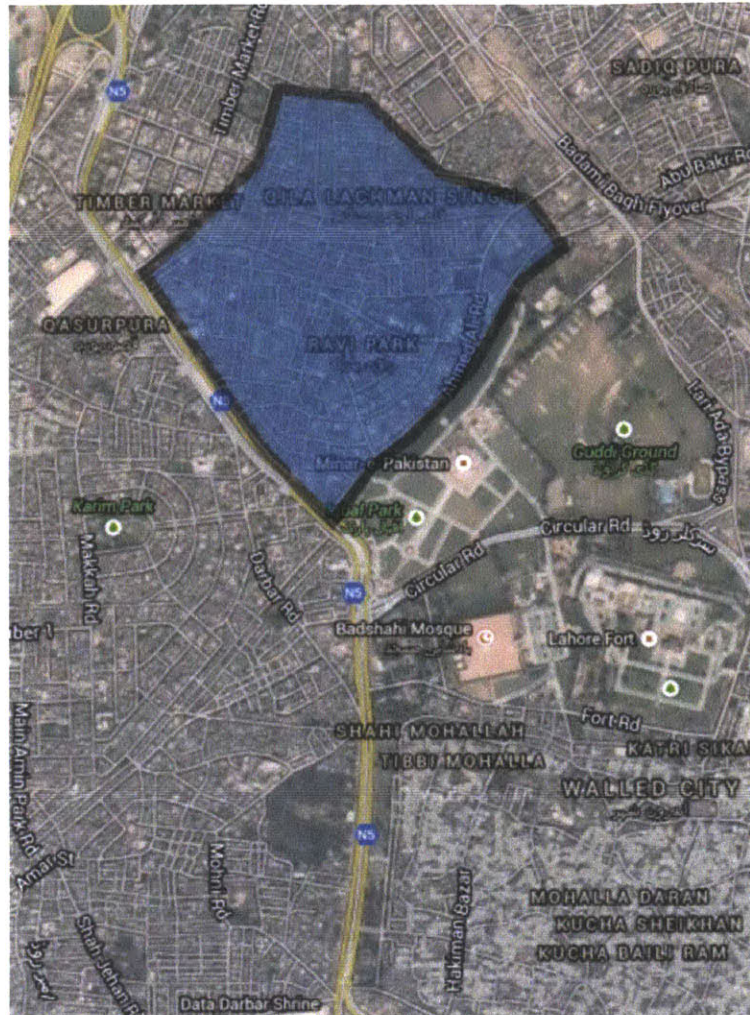


Figure 26 – Qila Lachman Singh, to the north of the Walled City.

Over time, the New Civil Station scheme, which is now known as Gulberg (Figure 27), grew to become one of the largest residential schemes in the city for a long time, up until the Trust’s tenure that ended in 1975 with its transition into Lahore Development Authority. This is the time period when development began in the extreme outskirts of the city under private and military development bodies. By this time, however, schemes such as Gulberg, Samanabad and Shadbagh had set the pattern for development within the city, which in turn had itself been influenced by all factors

discussed in the thesis that were manifested in the language of design standardization enabled by the Lahore Improvement Trust.

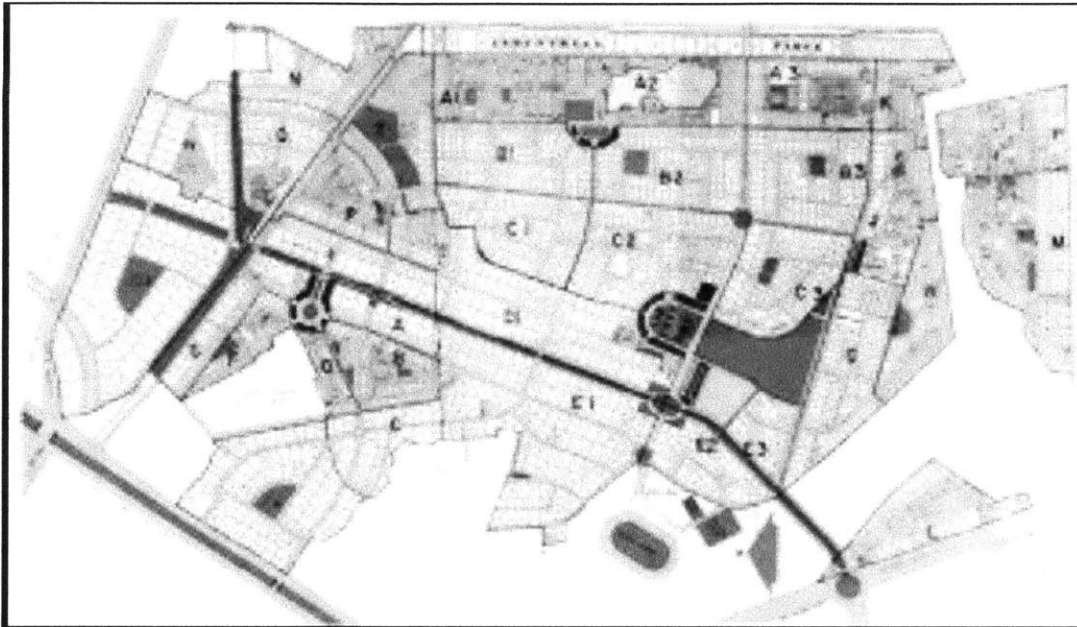


Figure 27 – Layout of Gulberg as it stands today.

The somewhat close proximity of schemes such as Gulberg, Model Town, Cantonment, and, to a certain extent, Samanabad, that were all located on the South and East sides of the city, restricted the development of low-income high-density areas to the Northern and Western edge of the city along Ravi, where the Walled City acted a pivot between these two axes. Thus, while Lahore's metropolitan area increased and was developed over the years following Partition, it still limited low-income classes within a very restricted area. Over time, Lahore's lower classes have found themselves expanding on the Western edge of the city, which keeps pushing to the South very linearly due to the restriction of River Ravi on its left. Further, development that was initiated in the form of projects like the Shahalmi scheme introduced land use in areas

that were not designed or even feasible to accommodate them. A complete surgical operation within those areas to replace them entirely with the kind of development that the Trust introduced in the years following Partition would probably have been a better solution, even if extremely damaging in terms of heritage protection. Unfortunately, haphazard and near-sighted efforts under the Trust created a mess of a situation within the older parts of the City. Proper urban development, or at least a major sizeable portion of it, was directed towards trends that favored the well-off classes of the city.

Beginning with the institutionalization of urban ways of living, which translated themselves on the physical morphology of the city, by way of sanitary reforms, in the form of anti-poor development, these design values were carried on to the operating structure of Lahore Improvement Trust. This was most evident in the imposition and widespread adaptation of the land development revenue model, particularly noticeable in the post-Partition years. The post-Partition institutional response as demonstrated in this chapter confirm the extent to which the design and operational values were decided in part before the Trust's formation, but also how the revenue driven model further contributed to a very particular kind of urban development that led the direction of Lahore's urban development in the mid-twentieth century.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

To close with a declaration that the Trust in itself was a failure would be too simplistic a conclusion. Rather, by analyzing the formative years of the Trust, it can be claimed that the Trust did indeed deliver, but it was not what was mandated of it. Within this fact does not lie what could be termed 'failure', but that the Trust enabled development of a kind that did not consider the resolution of issues that were the basis of the formation of the Trust. By primarily focusing on the development of individual schemes, the Trust neglected issues such as the improvement of existing built up areas that were deemed insanitary, provision of "housing accommodation for the poor classes and those dispossessed", and, development of guidelines for town planning beyond just model clauses for housing. All of these were specific tasks that the Trust was formed to resolve. The post-Partition response of the Trust shows that the neglect of these very issues was what marked the institutional inertia that became the reason the Trust enabled a very specific kind of urban development paradigm.

Thus, while most projects implemented by the Trust were moderately successful in their own individual terms, the lack of a holistic set of adaptive guidelines and urban spatial and socio-economic understanding of the city, a result of both internal (structural) and external (situational) problems, was where the Trust failed to deliver. Further, as has been established, the poorer classes of the society suffered due to the design values adapted by the Trust. Lahore's 1966 land use map (Figure 28) is indicative of the kind of problematic urban development under the Trust. Note the pushing of residential settlements for low-income people to the northern edges of the city, which is a former floodplain that has been partially protected by an embankment (and most recently, by the Ring Road). Figure 29 further reflects that these areas are the densest portions of the city, a condition enabled by the extremely low-density settlements constructed in the Southern suburbs of the city, as discussed in Chapter 5.

This study visualizes for us a cautionary tale for cities with Improvement Trusts that transitioned into Development Authorities and generally for post-colonial cities still under the purview of path dependent institutions, such as the LIT. Despite being intrinsically flawed by design, the Lahore Improvement Trust still had some leeway for creative application and reassessment of values under the regulatory powers that were accorded to it. It however still chose to operate within the specific trajectory that it had inherited. Thus, in terms of urban development, this study highlights the structural problems that can exist within such bodies and the limitations they can impose onto the kind of development they initiate.

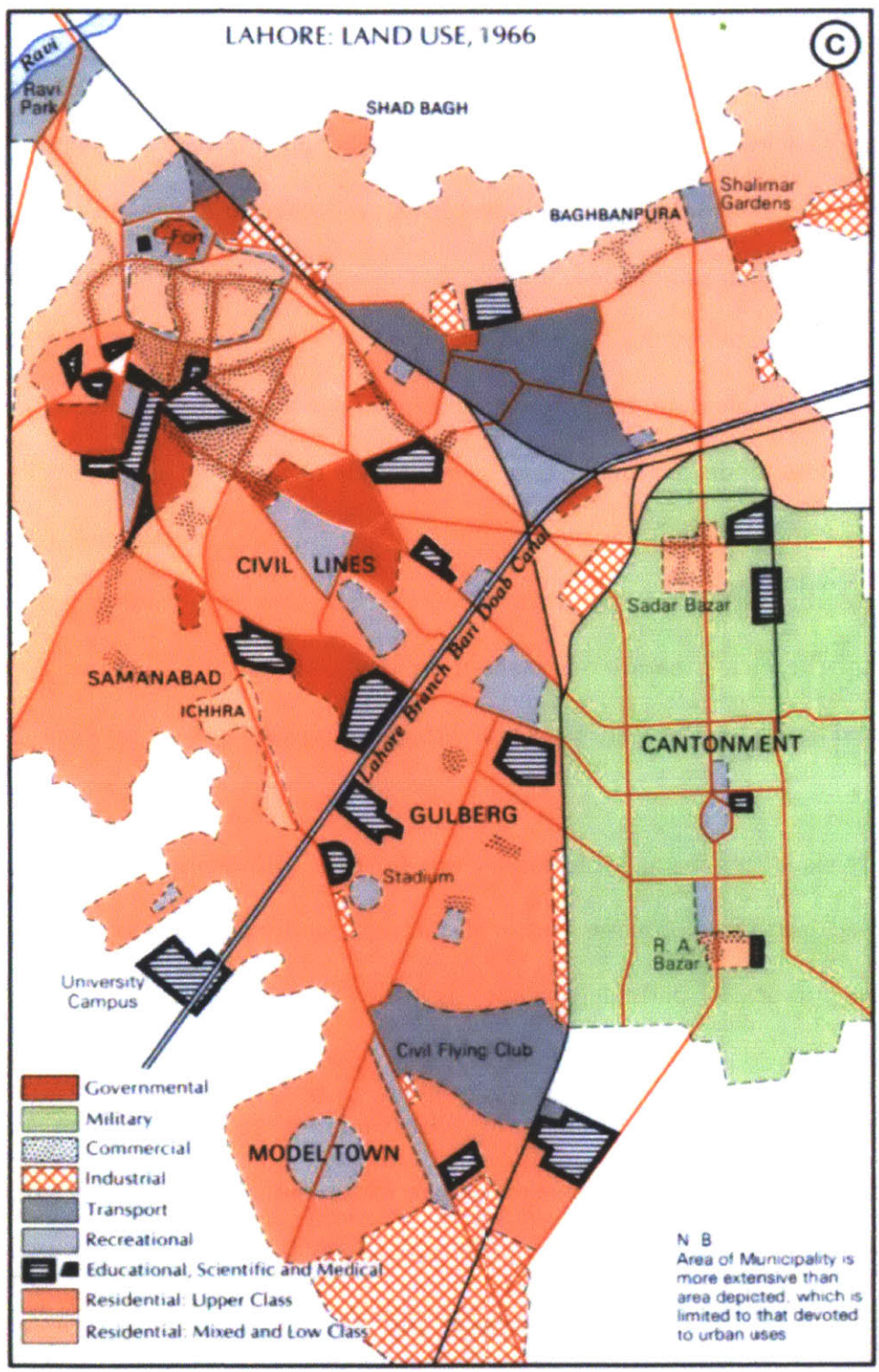


Figure 28 – Lahore’s land use in 1966.

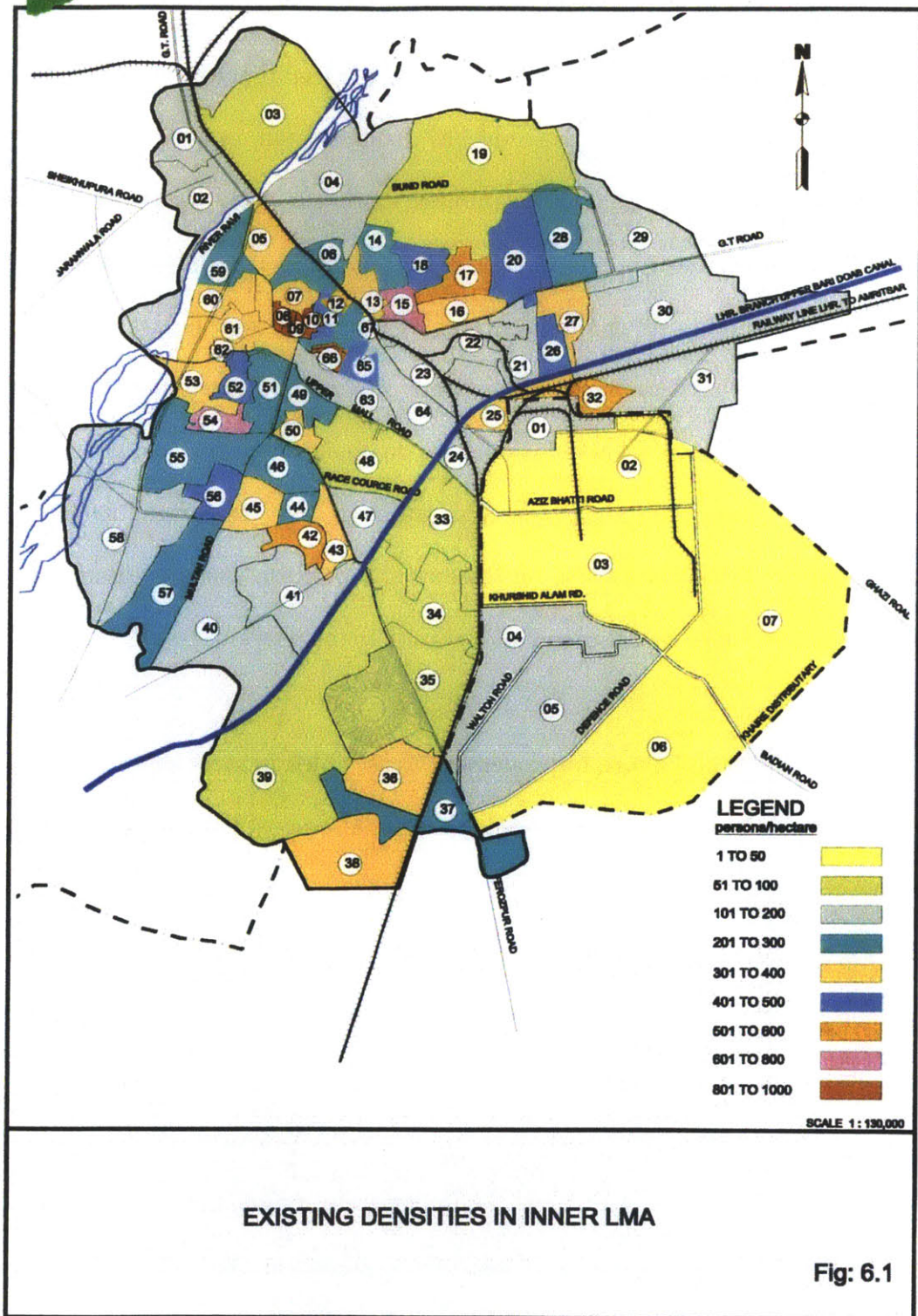


Figure 29 – Existing Densities in Lahore’s Municipal Area.

Further, through the study of Lahore Improvement Trust, we are able to connect the dots on a number of developments that are well recognized in the city even to this day, but not as well understood. As this study has demonstrated, in between the historic city of Lahore and the colonial interventions, there was little focus on the urban development directed towards catering to the local population of the city. Model Town was the only exception, due to the nature of its formation and its large footprint as compared to the Walled City. Because they were projects implemented by the Trust, it is through its study that we are able to acquire a much more nuanced understanding of areas such as Samanabad, Shadbagh and Gulberg. It is important to have this knowledge especially because these settlements still perform as major spatial entities within the city despite its rapid spread to the South in the previous two decades.

Despite the fact that the Lahore Improvement Trust failed in most aspects, the model of LIT (which itself was based on a colonial model) was still reproduced in many variations throughout the country. This is reflective of the kind of planning misconceptions that the Trust had inherited and had further enabled and strengthened. The Karachi Improvement Trust was set up in 1950 following the model of the Lahore Improvement Trust. In (West) Punjab, the Trusts model was deployed in the development of Satellite Towns all over cities that also received a relatively large number of refugees after Partition. These include Faisalabad, Sahiwal, Jhang, Sargodha, Multan, and Gujranwala.¹¹⁷ As such, Lahore Improvement Trust's design rationale had far more extensive implications than just enabling Lahore's urban development in the mid-twentieth century.

¹¹⁷ Talbot, 122.

From Improvement Trust to Development Authority

Lahore Improvement Trust was transitioned into Lahore Development Authority in 1975. This is when the Punjab Town Improvement Act of 1922 was repealed and replaced by the Lahore Development Authority Act of 1975. While there is no literature that refers to the moment of this transition and the reason behind it, some developments in the city can be observed around that time that probably led to the Trusts dissolution. In 1966, the first master plan for Lahore was developed by the Punjab government under the recommendations of the Second Five Year Plan (1960-1965). Interestingly enough, the Lahore Improvement Trust had nothing to do with the preparation of this plan. The Chairman of the master plan noted in the foreword of the report that neither the Lahore Improvement Trust nor the Lahore Municipal Corporation were equipped to perform this job.¹¹⁸ By the 60's, thus, the Trust was almost considered defunct. The master plan recognized the problematic nature of having multiple regulatory bodies operating in the city (Lahore Improvement Trust and Lahore Municipal Corporation) and "emphasized on the creation of single planning authority... to manage and guide the development of city and act custodian of the Plan."¹¹⁹ This eventually resulted in the creation of Lahore Development Authority to replace the Trust. However, confusion regarding implementing power still remained.

¹¹⁸ Government of Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning Department, *Master Plan for Greater Lahore* (Lahore, 1973).

¹¹⁹ Hameed, R. , Nadeem, O.. "Challenges of Implementing Urban Master Plans: The Lahore Experience". *World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology, International Science Index* 24 (2008), 2(12), 827-834.

The Lahore Municipal Corporation continued to operate without consideration for the master plan, while the Lahore Development Authority struggled to upgrade the plan and implement it. The situation of two separate bodies working with different agendas is reflective of a similar paradox faced by the Lahore Improvement Trust, when it had to operate under two separate legal jurisdictions in its formative years. Thirty years later, the urban development paradigm of Lahore came a full circle and struggled with the same institutional errors it did before Partition as a colonial institution.

Ways forward

This study is neither an exhaustive analysis of the Lahore Improvement Trust itself nor representative of the entire Improvement Trust network in the Indian subcontinent. Within the specific context of Lahore, it is important to recognize that while the Trust acted as the main regulatory body for urban development in the city, the city was also growing adjacently in many ways that have not been fully nuanced in this city due to the brevity of this study. Informal development for a city that was still not majorly commanded under the control of a regulatory body meant there were developments that were almost exclusive to the paradigm of development being furthered by the Trust. The Trust however did lead the discourse on urban design values and thus exuded more dominance in the entire narrative. Regardless, with the availability of a much stronger archive of primary sources on the other side of the story, that is responses on behalf of individuals, communities and other formal and informal non-state groups, there can be a much more nuanced appraisal of the city as it developed in the mid-twentieth century.

Further, there is much more that the study of Improvement Trusts can offer in terms of expanding on the path dependency argument itself. As a colonial network of bodies dealing with urban development, one can conduct an in-depth comparative study to ascertain how such institutions came about and the overall effect on the discourse on urban development in Indian cities it enabled. The study of Improvement Trusts as colonial institutions can perhaps be isolated from their post-Partition manifestation especially since there were many Improvement Trusts set up in both India and Pakistan after Partition. This can be particularly informative for a postcolonial historical perspective on the nature of cities as they developed under colonialism in the Indian subcontinent. Most studies on Improvement Trusts in the subcontinent have understandably focused on a specific Trust¹²⁰; there may be however many lessons to draw from the overall study of the network.

There can a comparative study of how most of the Improvement Trusts that were set up under the colonial administration transitioned into Development Authorities over time. While some Improvement Trusts were dissolved very early on in the post-Partition years, some lasted for a long time, much like the Lahore Improvement Trust which lasted until 1975. On the other hand, some Improvement Trusts have continued to operate, even if in a very limited capacity. The Amritsar Improvement Trust is one such example, which continues to operate alongside other regulatory bodies such as the Amritsar Development Authority. Analysis of such situations will further enhance our understanding of the structural framework of urban development, especially when

¹²⁰ See: Kidambi (2007), Hosagrahar (2005), Talbot (2006).

considering the long history of Improvement Trusts in India. Further, in considering the transition (or even survival) trajectory, the common or divergent paths of each Improvement Trust can be mapped to ascertain certain trends within these bodies. Perhaps, one can even consider this network in the Indian subcontinent with that of other similar models introduced by the British Empire in other places it colonized to compare how the context of each region contributed to each manifestation of this model.

Alternatively, Improvement Trusts set up after Partition in both India and Pakistan can be studied on their own to understand the transfer of colonial legacies on to the respective new nation states. As mentioned earlier, Karachi Improvement Trust was set up in 1950 to deal with the high rate of population growth in the city owing to a large refugee influx. It however, survived for only seven years before it was replaced by the Karachi Development Authority. There are many reasons that can be attributed for this quick transition, the strongest of which was the nationalist discourse that Ayub Khan attempted to develop in the late 1950's, which called for a rethinking of how urban development could be used by the state for its own specific purposes. This interesting case is just one example of the differentiated nature of Improvement Trusts set up after Partition.

Most importantly, however, this study points us towards the crucial need to approach the critical analysis of the modern built environment in relation to the institutional histories of each geographic context. Studies of the built environment in relation to its many aspects such as formal morphological quality, recorded history, proposed policy

and its implementation, sociological impact, etc. need to necessarily consider the institutional impetus provided or inhibited by their presence. As this thesis hopefully demonstrated, this can unfold a deep understanding of the historical processes that go behind any urban development.

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