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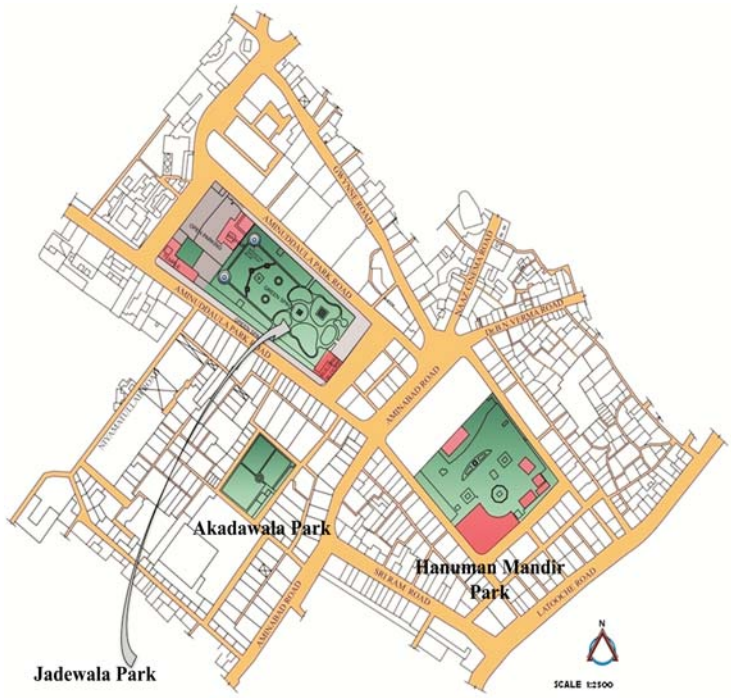

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CONTENTS

EDITORS' NOTE

This issue of JRAP includes five very interesting papers. First article questions the notion of considering cities as engines of growth. The author has emphasized the importance of citizens experience in understanding the various phenomenon and emerging complexities in cities. The narratives for review and analysis have been derived from secondary cities, situation accounts of migrations and mega projects in large urban contexts. It concludes by hinting that the city learning must be derived from multiple sources, not confined to morphological ingredients alone. The paper by Ramsha Rehman et. al. attempts to trace the trends in changing greenscape of Lahore from Mughal to present times. Building on the morphological composition of Lahore landscape – that was studded with gardens of diverse typologies – the paper excerpts from the historical developments during Mughal and British era. With a focused review of case studies, the paper concludes by outlining the challenges now experienced in the way of managing and restoring the Lahore gardens. Role of architects in establishing the localness of built form is discussed in the paper by Suneela Ahmed. It builds upon various case examples from across the sub-continent to illustrate architects work in the context of localness. Urban morphology, natural resources, social and climatic responsiveness are parameters explored in this study. Akanccha Jain's paper addresses the challenges in revitalizing the Aminabad location in Lucknow in India. Based upon the extensive exploration of influencing planning parameters, the study offers useful proposals to address the historically emanating issues in the Central Business District of the town. An interesting historiographical study of Saddar Bazar in Karachi by Hira Ovais is the topic of the fifth paper included in this volume. Comprising evidences from archival and recent survey records, the paper documents the role of different communities in the making of this vital precinct of Karachi. A meticulous analysis of building evidences add value to the narrative.

This volume includes a book review of the book titled 'Mapping Lahore' by Prof. Dr. Abdul Rehman.

Editorial Board

THINKING BEYOND 'ENGINES OF GROWTH': RE-CONCEPTUALIZATION URBAN PLANNING DISCOURSE IN PAKISTAN

*Nausheen H. Anwar**

ABSTRACT

Ring towns, twin-cities, city regions, peri-urban, intermediate cities and more, the vast nomenclature captures the unrelenting interest in secondary cities as 'engines of growth', capable of surmounting the challenges of urbanization in Pakistan. This conceptually-driven article examines the bourgeoning interest in secondary cities and proposes alternate ways of thinking about such conurbations. It underscores the need to go beyond technocratic discourse and capitalist assumptions of infinite growth and modernization as conventionally applied in regional and urban planning discourse in Pakistan. The article calls for re-orienting planning discourse in Pakistan to incorporate the substantive theme of 'urbanism', which is crucial for comprehending how citizens experience urban life across a diverse and shifting landscape, where the city fades into the countryside, or where 'urban sprawl' and 'ribbon developments' defy categorization.

Keywords: Secondary cities, Planning discourse, Urban sprawl, Globalization

INTRODUCTION

In the alpha, beta, gamma pecking order of global cities[1] understood as the command and control points of the world economy and finance capital, secondary cities tend to occupy the lower rung of a Darwinian hierarchy or fall through the cracks of a system of representation that has valorized cities in terms of modernization theories of the post-WW 2 era. Put differently, a city's success is measured in terms of its participation in globality or its ability to survive in the competition of network capitalism. The inverse or lack of such participation and failure to survive necessitates stagnation, impoverishment or even a pathological condition. Such ideas are pervasive in urban planning discourse in Pakistan where a model of development similar to the prototypical Western global city dominates (Shatkin 2007), albeit with diverse applications and outcomes. An article in a leading Pakistani journal (Shakir, 2012) summarized the priorities for a modern city, underscoring its ability to spur on the development of the hinterland through the workings of a modern state that conjures the global city "…as a catalyst for the growth of the region as a whole". The implicit assumption being if state functionaries transform key metropolitan centers into global/world cities, then the benefits of such transformation axiomatically flow across secondary cities and beyond, reviving and revitalizing the languishing hinterland. Such discourses also pivot on reductive explanations of Pakistani cities in general. They invoke the idea that the 'secret' to resolving urban problems lies in 'unlocking Pakistan's urban economy' so it can attract the 'right' human talent and appropriate capital (Dawn 2012). That such discourses materialize within the spaces of upper-middle class privilege and are aligned with neoliberal agendas is hardly questioned.

Whither then the secondary city? In recent discourse, for instance in the World Bank's influential *Urban & Local Government Strategy: Concept and Issue Note* (2009) secondary cities are understood as the driving force of urban population growth. Notwithstanding the importance of such discourse, the Bank's language of scientific/economic efficiency consigns cities' futures to a series of tips analogous to financial portfolio management: "…a portfolio of places…so as to maximize the benefits of agglomeration economies, while ensuring a smooth urban transition." Such corporatist visions of *alignments*, *overhauls*, *sector strategies* and *harnessing productivity* either deliberately overlook the critical role of political economy, colonial legacies and political struggles, or view these issues through the narrow prism of external/internal *risk mitigation*. Ash Amin (2004) has correctly asserted that such interpretations assume

* Dr. Nausheen H. Anwar, Assistant Professor of Urban Studies, Department of Social Sciences & Liberal Arts, Institute of Business Administration (IBA), Karachi and Post doctoral fellow, at Asia Research Institute, National University, Singapore.

1 I have not included in this hierarchy the 'megacity' and its critical inter-dependence with the global city. A sophisticated account of this conceptual dynamic is provided by Roy (2011) Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 35(2): 223-238.

territories can be controlled and managed and politics can be reduced to a mere case of 'cadre managerialism'.[2]

In a similar vein, in the Asian Development Bank's (ADB 2008) project report that is a commendable effort focused on 'sustainable development'[3] through upgrading urban transport, water sewage systems and solid waste management, the secondary city in Pakistan is put center-stage. By channeling investments into Sindh's cities such as Sukkur, Rohri, Shikarpur, Larkana and several others, the ADB project endeavors to address the needs of approximately six million persons residing in peripheral settlements. Such reformist interventions strive to transform secondary cities into economically vibrant nodes that are desirable destinations for finance-business capital. The implicit assumption here is that by reforming secondary conurbations new pathways will emerge to transform 'lagging' cities into 'engines of economic growth'.

A similar outlook was proposed in the Planning Commission's *Task Force Report on Urban Development 2011* wherein the primary role of towns and cities is cast as 'engines of economic growth and social change'; engines that can surmount the challenges of urbanization and are also generative of 'creative cities' and 'smart cities'. While the multipronged agendas articulated in such reports and projects correctly promote devolution processes and delineate clear roles and responsibilities in urban service delivery in secondary cities, the conceptual framework, nevertheless, is tied to an economic discourse that reifies urban planning practice in terms of scientific objectivity and political impartiality. Such economic mantra naturalizes the workings of a particular type of political-economic system (neoliberal politics, neoclassical economics) by repeatedly relating interchangeable terms such as *efficiency*, *productivity*, and *competitiveness*.

Broadly speaking, the 'secondary city' has been categorized as the nexus between rural and urban areas. Typically these are former rural villages or historic trading and administrative centers transformed into peri-urban settlements where pre-colonial administrative structures are maintained or where people continue to work on farm land but where populations have quadrupled. The development of this category of cities has been understood as a means to revitalize the economies of surrounding rural areas and to control migration into larger cities or primate cities. While in Pakistan, certain authors (Kumar 2014) emphasize the topographical and demographic forces and related factors in defining the secondary city, in this article I push for a more nuanced approach. Rather than understanding cities through the reductive lens of economics and demography or through the primate-secondary or global-secondary binaries, I believe secondary cities should be understood as heterogeneous sites in which new forms of urban life are being imagined and shaped.

In juxtaposing the discourse of the 'global/world class city' and the 'secondary city', my objective is also to underscore that these are essentially two sides of a coin buttressed by a paradigm in which a successful city is understood in terms of infinite growth and economic modernization, or through a lens that celebrates a Western modern aesthetic. My aim is not to denude the importance of secondary cities as these can play a positive role in prescriptive terms, but more so to underscore the limits of a discourse that imagines a potentially better urban future through the narrow prism of technical advancements, economic efficiency and expert administration of a system or portfolio of cities (World Bank 2009). Such conceptualizations that focus on issues of economic competitiveness elide the critical concerns of subject making, politics and human agency that are negotiated in place. Cities are more than just aggregates of economic exchange or sites locked in a perpetual competition for scarce resources put right through better *urban management capabilities* (ADB 2008) or human talent (Dawn 2012) or good governance (Kumar 2014). Cities are also producers of citizenship and enable us to imagine planning practice through alternate lenses that are not truncated by consigning futures to the limited imaginings of developmentalist or technocratic interventions. I believe the time has come for Pakistan's urban planners (I refer here to a newly emergent generation) to push the limits of their imaginations especially since the 'problem' of urban development has finally burst upon the scene from multiple directions. Pakistan is considered as having the highest rates of urbanization in South Asia, with a projected population of 335 million by 2050, and an annual urbanization rate of 3.06%. In Sindh and Punjab almost half the populations are already urbanized, while in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan the level is

2 For an excellent critique of contemporary experiments in devolution, economic localization, clusters, and assemblies, see Amin, Thrift and Massey (2003).

3 The goal of 'sustainable development' was popularized by the publication in 1987 of the Brundtland Report following which many planning authorities across the United Kingdom and Europe enthusiastically implemented policies for sustainable urban forms. For a trenchant critique of the flawed paradigm of urban sustainability see Eric Swyngedouw (2007a).

significantly lower (16.87% and 23.89%, respectively), but catching up.

In what follows I first discuss the secondary city in the context of a discourse whose genealogy can be traced to a functionalist economic paradigm prevalent in the 1970s. I then problematize this discourse through the lens of urbanism, which necessitates a sociological-anthropological understanding of cities. Though this lens, we can interrogate how cities in general produce a distinct way of life; how social and spatial patterns are maintained in the context of an urban condition; how the urban might represent a new phase of historical transition in which the city may no longer be a useful unit of analysis. I conclude this essay by revisiting the question of how we can theorize/think the role of the secondary city in Pakistan's planning discourse, or more to the point, can we re-imagine Pakistan's planning discourse beyond the 'empty signifiers' (Swyngedouw 2007a, 2007b) of world-class/creative/smart/sustainable cities or a *portfolio* of dehumanized places?

Secondary City in Modernization Discourse

In the functionalist model of regional development and planning (Johnson 1970; Berry 1972; Rondinelli & Ruddle 1978; Rondinelli & Evans 1983), of the 1970s the improvement of secondary or intermediate conurbations to counter the primate city and produce an 'optimal urban hierarchy' was a subject that received extensive scholarly attention. The discourse was firmly embedded in a prior genealogy pertaining to theories of economic polarization, central places, and modernization that had emerged in the 1950s and 1960s or in the post-WW 2 era. Since there is limited space in this article to discuss key aspects of these theories, I will underscore a general truism that attributed a positive role to public organizations and thought little of the role of politics in the development of a new urban schema. Regional development and planning found expression in two significant aspects: first through growth center and second through rural service center strategies concerned with growth in industrial production and distribution, administration, and in services. Rural centers especially were considered 'engines of growth' whose development as market and service centers would increase productive capacities and promote commercialization and agricultural specialization in the broader context of national economic development. Eventually with proper planning these rural centers would become catchments brimming with employment opportunities, a policy outcome that would also counter the exodus of migrants to primate cities. The rationale behind this conceptual/theoretical wisdom was predicated on the failure of past economic strategies whose concerns with economic growth were deemed narrow, or specifically those strategies that sought to transplant large-scale, export-oriented capital intensive industries into a limited number of centers. Subsequently, public funds were not only allocated to national but also to regional development agendas that incorporated secondary or intermediate regions. However, regions remained subordinate to national growth objectives and were understood as open systems that would eventually integrate into the national economy (Friedmann & Weaver 1979). Various countries in Africa, Latin America and in Asia implemented regional development policies that were based on the growth center strategies model. In countries such as Indonesia, Kenya and Colombia the central place model exerted considerable influence on regional planning and on the spatial restructuring of territories (Taylor 1974; Appalrayu 1976).

By the mid-1970s, the functionalist approach to understanding secondary cities in regional development had been denounced for its inattention to issues of political-economy and for the overall limited success of regional development projects. Much of this criticism emerged from the Marxist 'dependency school', which focused on the exploitative nature of capitalism and on the process through which regional development policies reinforced existing power structures. In other words, by overlooking the importance of 'vested interests' regional development policy engrossed in the morphological and economic transformation of growth centers and central places had failed to consider how these very nodes were embedded in structures of power in the developing world. Even though envisioned as dynamic growth centers, smaller conurbations continued to serve the interests of political and commercial elites at the national scale. For instance, certain authors (Schatzberg 1979) posited in countries such as Zaire it was better to have a minimal number of secondary cities as these created a negative impact on rural development. The major truism attributed capitalist expansion as a causative feature in the progressive impoverishment of peripheral towns and cities. Consequently, the potentially innovative secondary city was understood as parasitic and exploitative. This interpretation was eventually deemed as a tautological and mechanistic explanation akin to a theory of class exploitation.

In recent years scholars have acknowledged that the internal dynamics of capitalist exploitation and attendant impacts on secondary cities are considerably more complex than first imagined. Notably, research on the issue of labor mobility in Africa and South East Asia demonstrates a circular logic of rural-urban migration, a process that ensures

a portion of the drained surplus to primate centers filters back into secondary regions without exerting an adverse impact on rural development (Hugo 1982). New conceptual frameworks of regional development and the role of secondary cities now emphasize the dependency relations of different geographical scales or an 'interdependent development' or for instance the need for institutional reforms to facilitate production. Moreover, scholars have called for more empirical evidence and denuded a straightforward blueprint for regional development. This is significant as regional development policies that focus on secondary cities in an effort to limit urbanization have tended to fall flat. For instance, in the 1980s the Egyptian government built cities in the desert to ease pressure on Cairo. Fast forward two decades the new towns have managed to attract less than one million inhabitants, a figure that falls well below the projected mark of five million.

Recent empirical evidence suggests that most urban growth across the global South and over the next twenty-five years will occur in smaller cities and towns (Cohen 2004). Besides, this pattern will most likely make redundant the traditional distinction between rural and urban. An important point articulated in new research is that this growth should not be attributed solely to rural-urban migration, but also to the annexation and reclassification of agricultural land as urban. This resonates with emergent trends in Pakistan in cities like Karachi concerning the transformation of vacant agricultural land in peripheral territories such as Gadap Town. For Karachi, some urban planners posit that approximately half of the population resides more than 10 km from the city center (Qureshi 2010), and those areas may not have been counted as urban in official censuses or research, but the lives of these residents are almost certainly urban in character.

In the 1981 Census the definition of 'urban' changed, to include only areas designated as part of municipal corporations and cantonment boards. In the province of Punjab, this change in definition led to approximately 1462 communities with populations exceeding 5000 being classified as rural, when perhaps they should have been counted as urban. In cities like Lahore, new administrative boundaries did not account for contiguous small towns that enjoy strong economic and physical linkages with urban centers. If these populations had been added, Lahore's overall population estimate would have jumped from 5 to 7 million people (Ali 2003). Therefore there is arguably an under-representation of the urban, which has socio-economic and political consequences. In Pakistan, the 'urban question' remains a contentious one. This is not only due to methodological conundrums about defining the 'urban', but also such classification entails important outcomes for the national political-economy. An accurate picture of urbanization in Pakistan is unlikely, even though small towns and urbanizing rural areas are systematically misrepresented as rural. The methodology for classifying the 'urban' has important implications for the national political landscape, in terms of job quotas, electoral constituency delineations, and formal municipal governance structures.

Research on Pakistan's urban condition has posited that rural settlements are no longer isolated in the traditional sense, or as some authors (Qadeer, 2000) assert: "It is becoming difficult to differentiate urban from rural areas. The homogenizing influences of the nation-state, the industrial mode of production and the communication revolution have almost eliminated conventional differences." In the northern and central parts of Punjab, secondary /intermediate cities have emerged as industrial and service centers in the midst of agricultural regions, and in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, cities such as Peshawar have flourished as centers of smuggled goods and contraband items linked with the dynamics of the Afghan wars.

Are Pakistani cities a case of 'fragmented' or 'splintered urbanism' where upscale, planned cosmopolitan neighborhoods and shopping plazas are juxtaposed with the informal *katchi abadi* or the 'slum-dog' city? To what extent are these territorial/spatial communities connected and/or disconnected? Are these splintered spaces co-constitutive in the production of space? What mediates this relationship? How are these spaces expressions of class power? These are questions of pressing concern because they draw attention to key features of urbanism such as modes of social regulation and the production of spatial value. For instance, Roy (2005) reminds us that informality as a mode of production of space cannot be essentialized as a marker of 'backward' economies but should be understood as a capitalist mode of production. Pakistan's current urban transition and those of cities across the global South differ to some extent from the European and American experiences of the early 20th century. Notably, in comparison to Western counterparts urbanization across Pakistan is taking place at a swift pace and that too in the context of low per capita income levels. Scholars understand this as a process detached from the conventional process of economic development.

Moreover, the nature of urban change has become more complex today due to its interdependence with the global economy, for instance the emergence of a new international division of labor, transnational communications, cross-border

alliances between businesses, and new opportunities for wealth creation. There is also a growing convergence in rural-urban lifestyles that are making the traditional distinction between rural and urban a problematic. Writing on the changing nature of secondary cities in Sindh in Pakistan, certain authors (Arif & Raza, 2009; Rind, 2014) underscore that the dynamic of urban sprawl is increasingly difficult to contain through land control mechanisms. They cite the role of politics as a vital factor influencing land allocation decisions. From Tando Allayar, Shikarpur, Nawabshah to Sanghar, Mithi, Matiari, Umerkot and more, secondary cities are being subsumed by urban sprawl, and agricultural land on town fringes is being swallowed up the demand for housing. Migration to small towns is another dynamic that undergirds socio-economic change and pivots on geographical factors, climate change, historical trends and colonial interventions that have changed land ownership patterns and ecological conditions in certain parts of Sindh (SPDC 2015; Arif & Manzoor 2009).

Such challenges for cities are also fittingly emphasized by other authors (Ahmed & Altaf, 2013) who have pushed for a political-economic understanding. Still, the analytical tone in most interrogations of the urban (Kumar, 2014) remains staunchly technocratic and de-politicized. Moreover, the secondary-primate binary is shot through such discourses where the 'problem' of the secondary city is expected to be resolved through a 'balanced' set of policy measures. While it is not my intention here to take away the importance of such studies, I wish to underscore that they are representative of the dominant discourse on urban planning in Pakistan.

Within the changing rural-urban continuum in Pakistan, new networks are also emerging that extend beyond the conventional limits of secondary conurbations. What do such changes entail in terms of understanding how urban life is being re-shaped and re-imagined? In the early 20th century Ferdinand Tonnies' famous typologies of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* as two contrasting models of pre-industrial and industrial society enabled scholars to make sense of the profound changes that had swept across 19th century Europe. Tonnies was deeply pessimistic about the consequences of those changes and feared a breakdown of traditional social order, thus seeing *Gemeinschaft* as a source of stability in society. Tonnies was not referring to a mere change of physical setting but more so how our sense of place is predicated on social organization. Thus in the *Gemeinschaft* typology a sense of place was reflected in a notion of 'community[4] of blood' (kinship) and a 'community of mind' (friendship). How then should we investigate the nature of urban change in Pakistan? How can we envisage a 'living community' in the context of the divided, fragmented, splintered, and violent modern city? How should we contextualize the increasingly complex dynamic that is the rural-urban continuum? To what extent can urban planners engineer, if desirable, a sense of community in the context of larger social forces and changing social compositions? In posing these questions I wish to underscore the crucial need to push beyond the limits of conventional planning discourse that comprehends urbanization/urban development as a dysfunctional physical phenomenon put right through improved physical administration, technical progress and/or economic development. In endeavoring to understand the dynamics of urban change, it is important to also remain attentive to issues of 'urbanism', specifically as a way of life rather than just a physical, morphological, demographic and technocratic phenomenon.

Novel Agendas

Perhaps the richest and most thought provoking interventions on urbanism have emerged in Africa and Latin America where there has been considerable scholarly attention directed toward wide ranging themes on secondary cities, urban primacy, and infrastructures, new pathways of capitalist accumulation and on conditions of urban citizenship. Particularly, the richness of the emerging debate is captured through a multidisciplinary lens that applies sociological, urbanist, and anthropological approaches for comprehending the complex and at times contradictory consequences of urban change. Seventeen of the world's fastest-growing cities with populations of more than one million are situated in Africa. African cities have always been understood as distorted and parasitical spaces (Simone 2009). Nevertheless, it is in Africa where we can see not only the rapid flow of migrants into city centers but also an increased transformation of small cities that serve agricultural needs and act as service centers.

4 I acknowledge here that there is little certainty over the meaning of community whether in Tonnies' work or elsewhere. Community is a complex and inherently ideological concept. At the very least we can say that a longing for community suggests a desire for security and identity or for a 'good life'. In this sense, we approach the concept of community as a normative prescription. For an interesting treatment of this thorny subject see Setha Low's (2001) discussion on gated communities and social fragmentation, and Richard Sennett's (1997) cautionary account of communal coercion and illusion.

In his book *For the City Yet to Come,* AbdouMalik Simone (2004) places African cities as exemplars of urbanism rather than as just oddities or failed economic engines. Focusing on new quarters or secondary settlements such as Douala in Cameroon and Winterveld near Pretoria, Simone examines the daily lives of the communities and aspects of development policies. Simone's objective is to theorize in new ways the African city that has always been understood as one that 'doesn't work'. A different way of understanding necessitates that we re-consider concepts such as illegal/legal and formal/informal in an attempt to define different types of urban configurations and experiences. He asserts:

> "I attempt here to add a new dimension to urban analysis by concentrating on particular aspects of individual and collective behavior outside of the conventional contexts of household, institution and quarter. I believe that these 'outsides' are important domains and considerations for understanding African cities as more than 'failed cities'…..If the limited resources deployed for urban development in Africa are to be effective, it is important to make common cause with the daily efforts of African urban residents. This is a common cause about using the city as a generator of imagination and well-being….. the only way to make such common cause is to amplify the sensibility, creativity, and rationality of everyday practices and behaviors that either are invisible or appear strange."

Research on secondary cities (Boeck et al 2009) in Africa has examined how these 'not yet cities' generate networks and practices that extend well beyond their local limits and that too in ways that are more successful than their larger counterparts: "The secondary city obeys to a specific 'situationist' logic which often goes against the interests of the nation-state or the main urban centers that embody the state. In other words, such secondary urban centers are important laboratories for the definition of identity around religion, nation, ethnicity and locality." (Boeck et al 2009). The objective here is to highlight the 'thickening of urban articulations' and the level of agency that resides in specific urban contexts. In Latin America where there has been considerable interest in theorizing and generating empirical research on issues of urban citizenship (Holston 2010), marginality (Perlman 2010) and spatial segregation (Caldeira 2000), the overarching questions concern how the urban poor or the marginalized appropriate space and livelihood, and to what extent the recent rise of leftist populism in countries such as Brazil and Venezuela can remedy the issue of poverty in urban-rural contexts.

Latin American theorizing on the planning and development of cities (mega-city or secondary) connects with the legacy of the dependency theorists (Cardoso & Faletto 1979; Amin 1976; Frank 1970) who asserted that the persistence of poverty in the 'underdeveloped world' and the parasitic primate city were consequences of dependency through which Latin America had been coercively inserted into the world economy. Later it was Manuel Castells (1983) who catalyzed the idea of the 'dependent city' as a space of social mobilization but where the politics of patronage are endemic and often undermine political struggles.

How should we describe Pakistani cities that lie beyond the fantasies of the world city/global city? Specifically those cities that do not fit into tidy distinctions derived from western modernization and urban theories; those cities – many secondary/peripheral conurbations – that are viewed as inefficient, low technology, non-commodified and unconnected to global capitalist markets? Such cities do not merit attention as they do not fit the language used to describe the 'global city', i.e., "wonder, speed, diversity, density, verticality, innovation" (Robinson 2004). For certain scholars (Robinson, 2004) the ordinary cities or forgotten places cannot be understood on the basis of the singular binary grid of 'modern' versus 'backward'/ 'primitive' as conventional discourse has allowed. Such discourse has been criticized for an urban theorization curtailed by developmentalism, and which has produced a view of the West as modern by de?ning its 'others'; cities and people who are not viewed as modern, and therefore are excluded as potential sites for ways of understanding the urban condition.

How should we bring such cities back onto an intellectual grid that is not trapped in conceptual frameworks activated by a colonial way of thinking? In Pakistan, planning discourse has turned keenly toward the 'world city' as a benchmark of progress and development. We can see this articulated, for instance, in municipal documents like the *Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020* wherein "world cities are characterized by minimal poverty and slums" (CDGK 2007:3). We can also see this in the visions touted by the new urban planners of the 21st century, private developers like Malik Riaz and his ilk. Such visions about new urban futures are an embodiment of a speedy, seamless 21st century urbanization and globalization as measured for instance by Singapore or Dubai. The indiscriminating acceptance of such concepts suggests an underlying assumption that the aesthetic such configurations embody are in fact desirable. The desires of city governments in Karachi and Lahore and those of a certain class of citizens are aligned with a western

modern aesthetic that sees merit in engineering spaces far removed from the threat of social contact especially between persons from different classes. We can observe this aesthetic expressed in the construction of the Lyari Expressway that rides over the embankments of the Lyari River bed and bypasses decades old settlements now deemed an embarrassment and threat to Karachi's modernization.

Expressways or highway routes and new securitized (sanitized) development schemes are transient spaces meant for circulation, consumption and communication (Auge 2008). These spaces are not defined in terms of their relational or historical identity but are instead a world where we surrender to 'solitary individuality' (Auge 2008). In the words of the sociologist Richard Sennett (1990), these are spaces that embody a 'neutralised city' or one that lies within the circuits of commodity value. Hence, spaces that lie outside of the commodity aesthetic or world-class imaginations are devalorized spaces. The concept of the neutralized city can also be understood in a different way, notably through the idiom of the 'sustainable city' which "promotes a market-led, technocratic approach to 'greening' capitalism and almost completely ignores issues of social justice and the processes of social inclusion and exclusion that run through urban environments and the very technological advancements they are advocating" (Swyngedouw 2007a). Hence, the neutralized city is also one where there is silence concerning inequality. Democracy then is tantamount to an 'empty signifier' that is effortlessly attached to the diverse nomenclature of the sustainable city, the creative city, the smart city or the world class city. The smart city especially is the new utopia and in Pakistan there is increasing talk in the media concerning its arrival; the commitment to "make Karachi smart and turn it into a city of lights" (Dawn, 2015). What then of populations who live in the margins of the 'smart city' and whose experiences of everyday life pivot on technological disintegration and infrastructural disconnect? Where are their futures consigned in spatial and social terms? Such talk of smart cities signals a politics of consensus led by a public-private elite who know in advance the outcome of policymaking. Moreover, such visions show a total disregard for everyday power relations within and beyond cities.

A first step toward a critical reading of a Western-centric approach is to jettison the obsessive need to apply binary oppositions of backward-modern, global-local, rural-urban and creative-imitative that has pushed a generation of urban planners in Pakistan toward embracing a rank ordering perspective. As certain authors (Robinson, 2008) correctly assert all cities are ordinary spaces that also happen to be innovative or are parts of the same field of analysis. This does not mute difference but denudes a neat allocation in accordance with pre-given classifications. Authors also fittingly observe that we need to get away from such a perspective because it ends up justifying a range of interventions that have deep political (imperialist) implications. Moreover, such binaries encourage a way of understanding the city as a site of modernity and the rural/peripheral or secondary city as primitive. Such conceptualizations limit and conceal the diversity of spaces/places in which the modern and the traditional are mutually interdependent, or in which a series of transactions connect different economies and spaces to one another (Roy 2005). A different approach comprehends that "what is at stake is believing that all cities ought to have the right to shape distinctive futures whatever power position they hold in relation to other places" (Fraser 2006). This extends not only to the management of cities and their economies, but also to the diversity of persons that reside within.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted in this article to give some indication of the complexities of current reconsiderations of urban planning discourse as it relates to the role of secondary cities (and generally all cities) in Pakistan. I have also highlighted the modernization driven discourse on the secondary city, notably its distinctive 'functionalist' legacy that underpins the resurgent interest, especially in Pakistan where the dominant lens still remains embedded in economics. My underlying objective has been to demonstrate that the problematic of the secondary city is not just about the absence of *good governance* or weak *productivity/efficiency* and *competitiveness*, but of a modernist discourse that should be re-conceptualized to see ALL cities as active relational processes. In advocating this position, I am not against a project of devolution that is committed to the construction of regional representation and improvement of urban services in secondary cities. Rather, I have a problem with a type of thinking that assumes (a) a given geographical territory can be effectively managed and controlled, and (b) this is possible through pro-devolution institutions and technocratic managerialism. What is envisioned in such thinking is a restrictive democracy that does not fully engage with the different spatial registers of the politics of a given place.

Pakistan's dominant planning discourse is embedded in a technocratic-modernist style that is inadequate for understanding the contemporary dynamics of urban life in the 21st Century. Moreover, the absence of human agency, which is a key feature of such discourse, dehumanizes

planning practice and renders the political-economic world as a process that can be determined by self-evident economic/technocratic laws. Rather than being cast as 'failed cities' or 'ungovernable cities' waiting to be reshaped into world-class conurbations or engines of growth, a view prevalent amongst planners and government functionaries and even academics, we should endeavor to conceptualize in ways that reveal the potential of all cities in terms of their particular resources, or to understand them as places in their own right. Certain authors (Roy 2009) correctly observe that in the global South the 21st century conurbation "makes a fool of census jurisdictions, of the mappings of city and suburbs, and confounds the easy narratives of regional change, including those that emphasize agglomeration and innovation." Is the secondary city today a 'post-border city'?

A final point I wish to make is that cities everywhere are permanent cultural revolutions (in a Lefebvrian sense) and if there is a defining quality of life, then it is always in a positive sense *incomplete*. Cities are more than just 'networks of concrete becoming' (Boeck et al 2009). They are founded on the heterogeneity of cultural, institutional, social and political-economic assets and complex histories. Cities are agglomerations that go beyond material infrastructure and physical site. As Boeck posits built form may be "produced randomly in human sites as living space." (2004: 233). I conclude then with a call to rethink planning discourse in Pakistan; beyond material forms of morphological representation and conventional developmentalist/ technocratic aspirations. I invite a new generation of urban planners, young, vibrant students, future trailblazers at institutions like NED University, to inaugurate a planning discourse that expresses the particular characteristics of the city as a social institution and as a form of human agency and association, and above all as a site where the quest for social and territorial justice is permanently fixed center-stage.

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IMPACT OF CULTURAL SHIFT ON THE GREEN-SCAPE OF LAHORE, FROM MUGHALS TO PRESENT (2014)

Ramsha Rehman*
Affira Atta**
Seemin Aslam***

ABSTRACT

Lahore has a glorious history and it remained a chief cultural centre throughout the past from Ghaznavids Rule to the independence of the sub-continent in 1947. The city which was known as the City of Gardens has experienced a changing trend in garden design over a period of time, from the past to present. Initially, the changes were brought about by the immigrants or invaders, but now the trend in designing of parks is changing, faster than ever before. Lahore has had the privilege to preserve the changes brought about by design of Green-Scape. This paper discusses the changing trends in park design by mapping out the expansion of Lahore, thus recognizing the present status of its Green-scape under the growing urban development of Lahore, and the changes brought in its design and concepts, due to the cultural-shift from Mughals to contemporary times.

From past to present, the cultural change and the trends in living has influenced the design and layout of parks and gardens of the city. The Mughals brought the tradition of creating formal gardens to South Asia based on Chaharbagh; a Persian tradition. The tradition of laying out new gardens in the city remained an important part even after the decline of Mughals during Sikh period. The British also marked their name in the list of gardens in Lahore, by introducing a new concept in terms of botanical gardens. After independence until now, the gardens and parks continued to emerge on the map of Lahore, but with varied modes and shades, influenced by globalization. Currently the urban sprawl of Lahore is increasing with a faster pace than ever before, and along with it the concept behind the design and development of Green-Scape is also flourishing, bringing back the lost glory of Lahore, once called the **"CITY OF GARDENS".**

Keywords: City of Gardens, Evolution of Gardens in Lahore, Globalization and Green Scape of Lahore, Changing culture and landscape of Lahore

INTRODUCTION

Our ways of thinking regulates our ways of living, and our ways of living forms our culture and it's the culture that shapes our environment. Environment is made up of three shades of nature, Blue; the water, Grey; the built structure, and Green; the landscape. The form, shape and intensity of these three shades in our environment, brings variety in cultures, and on the other hand the differences in the culture brings variations in the landscape.

The Green-space is a part of nature that soothes our souls against the harsh climate and the grey-scape.[1] This Green-scape is an important part of human psychology that has always been present in our lives throughout history. Even in 21st century, when our lives are obsessed by technology, its importance cannot be denied, in spite of being poorly perceived as part of the city.

Alexander Garvin has demonstrated in his book "Public Parks- The key to liveable communities" that;

> "It is impossible to understand fully the functioning of cities and suburbs or plan adequately for their future without a deep appreciation of parks and the way they affect every aspect of our lives".
>
> "Public parks have become as central to contemporary life as airports, highways and all other components of world's infrastructure, they constitute assets that must be sustained" (Garvin, 2011).

* Ramsha Rehman, Architect/Student of M-Arch, Department of Architecture, University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore
** Affira Atta, Architect/Student of M-Arch, Department of Architecture, University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore
*** Seemin Aslam, Architect/Student of M-Arch, Department of Architecture, University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore

1 This is a self-generated term by author which means the built environment, the buildings, roads etc.

The Green-space can be either natural or man-made. It exists in the form of gardens or parks, and formulate the breathing space for a city. But, with urbanization the green-scape has vanished in the grey-scape. When people realized this deficiency of the soul healer, they started building up their environment, to fulfil this deficiency of the green-scape in the urban sprawl. In the case of Lahre, the target of the builders is to attract people to have residences in open, serene and green areas, while fulfilling the official requirements (the LDA bylaws) of providing 7% green spaces in a society, but the users still demand to reside in a soothing green environment.

Lahore was called "CITY OF GARDENS" on the basis of having more area as gardens as compared to the developed land. Gardens were built by different rulers in different times. The nature, typology and use of the gardens in each era was different, depending upon the culture of the era. The history of the Green-scape of Lahore started from the time of Muslim Emperors, passing through the British Rule and is now progressing in the present era. Lahore, lost its character few decades ago but is now reviving, as "The City of Green-Shacks";[2] rather than "The City of Gardens".

EVOLUTION OF GARDENS

With the urge to urbanize their living, people also started urbanizing the Green-scape, by incorporating gardens in the urban settlement. Lahore had the privilege to be the carrier of the visual timeline of evolution of gardens, representing the changing trends in the landscape design (see Figure 1).

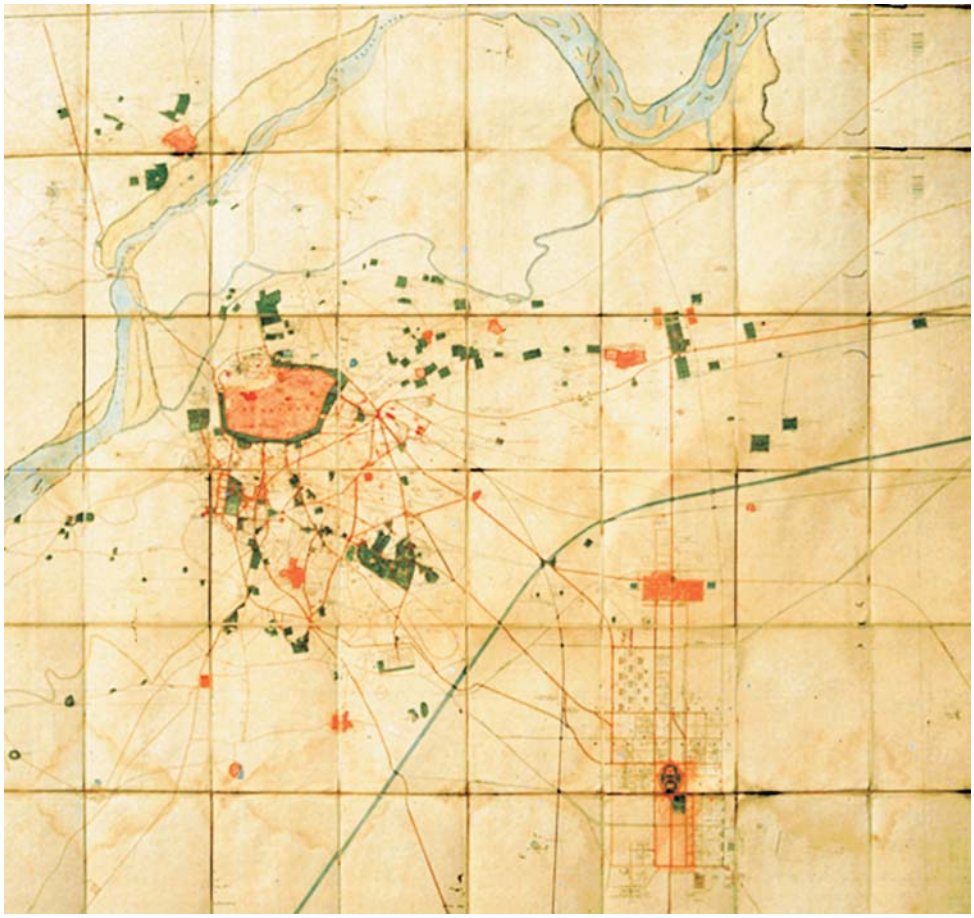

Figure-1: Map of Lahore in 1867
Source: (Rehman, 2013)

2 By the "City of Green Shacks" it means; a development which has tried saving the green scape in the form of green patches/small green pockets instead of large garden spaces.

The development of landscape in Lahore has been categorized according to its purpose, area and use. There are various classifications of numerous parks and open spaces which are involved in a typical park and open space system (American Planning Association, et al., 2012). The cultural evolution of gardens and parks from the time of Mughal till present is as follow:

- In the Mughal time there were pleasure, residential and funerary gardens.
- In the Sikh period, the trends continued with development of pleasure gardens.
- Later in the British period a new category of gardens was developed named as recreational gardens.
- This further flourished under new concepts of parks in the post-independence phase of garden development of Lahore.

These categories of gardens are explained below:

- Pleasure gardens: exclusively for the royal use
- Residential gardens: these are the gardens built in residential area. (Could be royal residence and public residence)
- Funerary gardens: gardens built around a tomb,
- Recreational gardens- meant for people from all ages and class. They incorporate attractions and activities that can be further divided as[3]:

    - Ride parks (Similar to the early amusement parks and directed towards attracting teenagers.These parks have thrill rides, like Joy Land in Fortress, Lahore),

    - Water parks (Parks where water rides and parks are the primary focus, like Sozo Water Park, Lahore),

    - Theme parks (Theme Parks where rides and other activities are based on a specific theme like Disney Land),

    - Family entertainment parks (Parks which have games, amusements and attraction for all ages like Race Course Park, Lahore),

    - Themed attraction parks (Parks, centered on a principal attraction such as a safari or a historical site and are targeted towards all ages, like Iqbal Park, Lahore),

    - Community parks (Parks established with in a residential settlement, like Model Town Park , Lahore) and

    - Road side parks (Parks along the roadside for the beautification and recreational purpose like Nawaz Sharif &Alfalah Bank Park).

A GLANCE INTO THE PAST: THE BEGINNING OF FORMAL GARDENS IN LAHORE

Mughal gardens are of Timurid Central Asian origin. Baber, the first Mughal ruler carried these influences to northern India from the valley of Ferghana, the suburbs of Samarkand and the irrigated channels of Heart, along with his own experiences of gardens at Kabul (Jr., 2015). The physical spaces in the early gardens of Mughal India were small and modest, but culturally significant in a way that the social space they envisioned was marked with royal scale and meaning. Tradition of Mughal garden was intensely rooted in this dynastic psyche. This spatial design approach took physical form in garden design and was carried further in the empire (Jr., 2015). Inspired from the earlier gardens, Mughals built their gardens on the concept of Charbaghs. The plot was divided into four parts by khyabans; “walkways” and nahr; “canals”. Each part was further divided into four parts. The running water was one of the key features of Mughal gardens. This was the solution for the harsh and hot climate of Lahore. In accordance with the culture, there was a gender separation in these gardens; separate rooms for men and women were provided (Nadiem, 2005).

Mughal gardens developed parallel to the Baroque European gardens, in which there appears to have been a cross-cultural exchange of plants, imagery and iconography. But all these shaped under the influence of local culture. The design of these gardens revolves around the royal expressions and philosophy of the constructor.

The Mughal gardens firstly appeared on the map of Lahore in the era of Mirza Kamran; a son of Emperor Babur, who had constructed two gardens on the bank of River Ravi (Anon., 1990) with features such as pavilion or baradari, water reservoir, canal and fountains. When Lahore became the seat of power under the rule of Emperor Akbar, landscape design and execution flourished.

3 The classification done on the basis of the categorization discussed in (Gothelf, et al., 2010) (Raluca & Gina, 2008)

A number of gardens were built along the River Ravi and the miniature paintings of the manuscript illustrated the garden's concept which showed continuation of Charbagh. The gardens of this era have now vanished (Rehman, 2009). During the reign of Emperor Jehangir, the concept to bring nature into the built environment was introduced. The use of water in the landscape continued, but it took a poetic expression in the gardens of Shah Jahan's era. The Persian culture was introduced in the Mughal gardens, as Jahangir married Nur Jahan, a lady of Persian origin. She laid a garden complex at Shahdra (see Figure 2). These were leisure gardens in the Emperor's lives and were resting places after their death (Rehman, 2001). Mughals have a big contribution in making Lahore a city of gardens. The gardens were mostly funerary, residential and pleasure gardens (Rehman, 1997).

The Shalimar Garden (June, 1641- Dec, 1642) which took its inspiration from the Shalimar Garden of Kashmir, was planned on the concept of pleasure garden (Nadiem, 2005). There is an amalgamation of the natural features like running water, trees and flowers, with singing birds. The manmade substances are in perfect harmony, where sun, moon and stars reflect the beauty of the garden, reaching new heights. The site selection took the following points in consideration; availability of a sustainable water source, site contours to allow terrace levels, waterfalls, canals and fountains. It is an enclosed garden with three terraces. The upper most rectangular terrace was named Bagh-e-Farah Bakhsh "pleasure bestower", and the middle and lower square terraces were named Bagh-e-Faiz Bakhsh "bounty bestower" (see Figures 3 and 4).

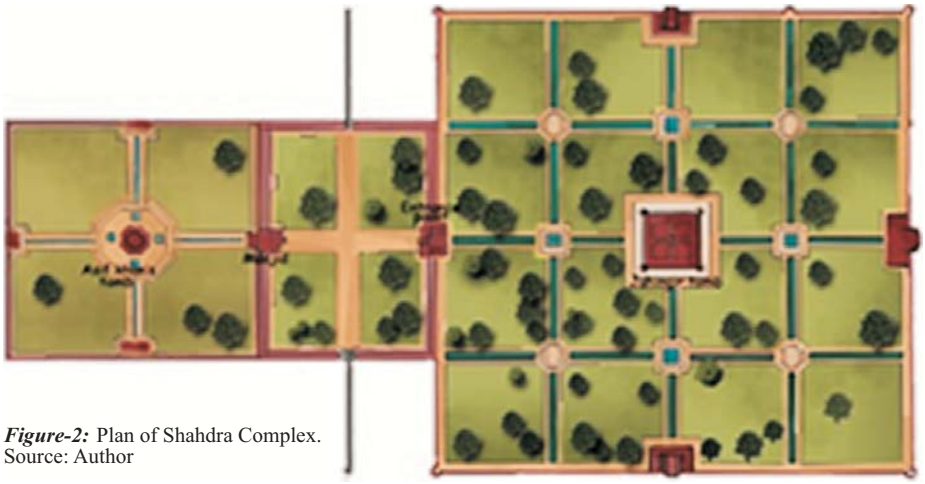

Figure-2: Plan of Shahdra Complex.
Source: Author

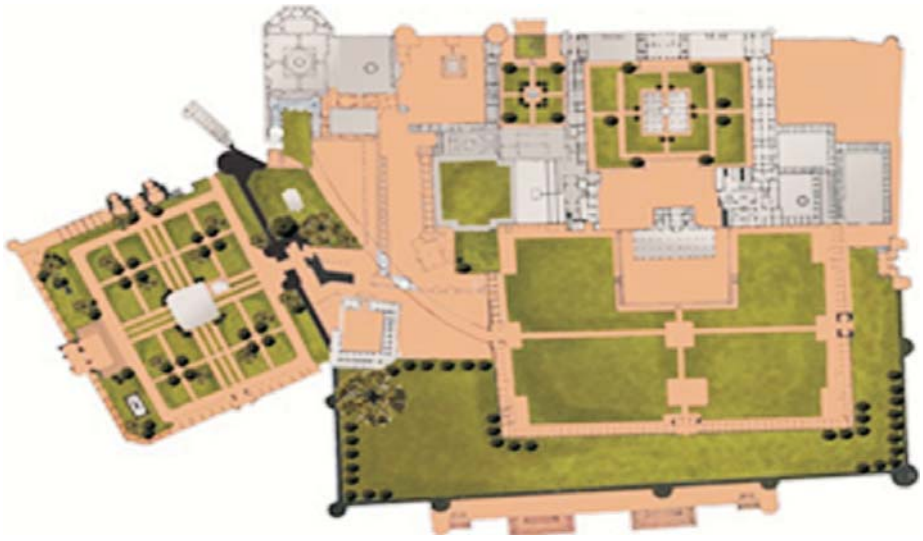

Figure-3: Master plan of Lahore Fort
Source: Author

The garden had a variety of fruit trees and flowers. The main entrance was on lower terrace; open to noblemen and on some occasion to the general public. The middle terrace was the emperor's garden and had the most elaborate water system. The water from the canals and fountains fell on the cascade and was collected in the hauz (water tank); with a central seating platform for the emperor present in front of the marble cascade (see Figure 4) (Rehman, 2009). The Shalimar Garden based on the concept of an earthly paradise was a source of motivation for the city development and a large number of gardens were built on its east and southeast sides. Some other pleasure gardens were also constructed during this period namely; Gulabibagh, Wazir Khan, Chauburji on the concept of Charbaghs (Rehman, 2009). The Mughal's design concepts continued its practice in the Sikh period. And today these gardens are largely perceived by public as places to relax, walk, and picnic with family and friends.

BRITISH CONTRIBUTION 1847-1947- A GATEWAY FOR PUBLIC PARKS

The British, after taking control of India setup new trends in the urban landscape. The imperial allusion in terms of spatial scale was lost and regained through enhanced intimacy and taste (Jr., 2015). William Carey founded the Agri-horticultural Society in 1820, in Calcutta (Smith, 1909) which made a flower garden, a greenhouse, a research lab and a library. British interest was more in horticulture, so they laid out many botanical gardens. Plants were imported from different parts of India and other European lands. The British also constructed race courses, parade grounds, polo and cricket pitches and tennis courts in Lahore (Rehman, 2009).

Figure-4: Plan of Shalimar Garden
Source: Author

The major contribution of the British in Lahore's Green scape is the Lawrence Garden, laid out as a botanical garden, based on the concept of Kew Gardens in Europe. In 1860, a part from its western side was used as public pleasure garden for archery, badminton and cricket (see Figure 5) (Rehman, 2009).

The British brought a new shift in the usage of parks which inclined towards the public. This is because in 1840 Britain's society experienced a change in its culture. There was a growing interest in horticulture and gardening among the middle class, having sufficient money and leisure time to utilize (Basde, 2013). This blended with the prevailing nineteenth-century ideas of engaging in what was known as 'rational recreation'. Along with the public city parks, the Royal Botanical Gardens in Europe was established to benefit people through the findings of natural sciences. Thus, from the outset the gardens role as a place of rational recreation[4] was popular with the public.

Figure-5: Plan of Jinnah Garden
Source: Author

4 Rational recreation is a form of physical recreation which began to emerge in Britain around the 1850's. It involves the leisure time to be spent in a constructive way.

The British continued this concept in India as well, but with a different perspective. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Lawrence Garden became a centre of botanical and horticulture interest, where it not only grew plants but also sold them to the general public. The development of horticulture concept was to promote improved horticulture plants and vegetables for the people. Lawrence Botanic Garden was indeed a help in making Botany a serious subject in Lahore, which further strengthened with the establishment of GC and PU in 1864 and 1870 respectively (Rehman, 2009). The garden was designed for the British elite; it became the first public park in Lahore (see Figure 6) with access allowed for the people from the two old settlements of Mozang and Ichra (Rehman, 2009). The two mounds were used for recreational purposes. According to Kholsa, they had been turned into terraced garden with huge plain on the top, where scores of people sat in the evening to rest for a while (Din, 2003).

The British brought different lifestyles to Punjab which also reflected in their landscape and architectural projects. Based on the socio-economic and their cultural setups they introduced garden trends which were different form the Mughals, to show their dominant ruling power as observed by C.M. Villiers Stuart:

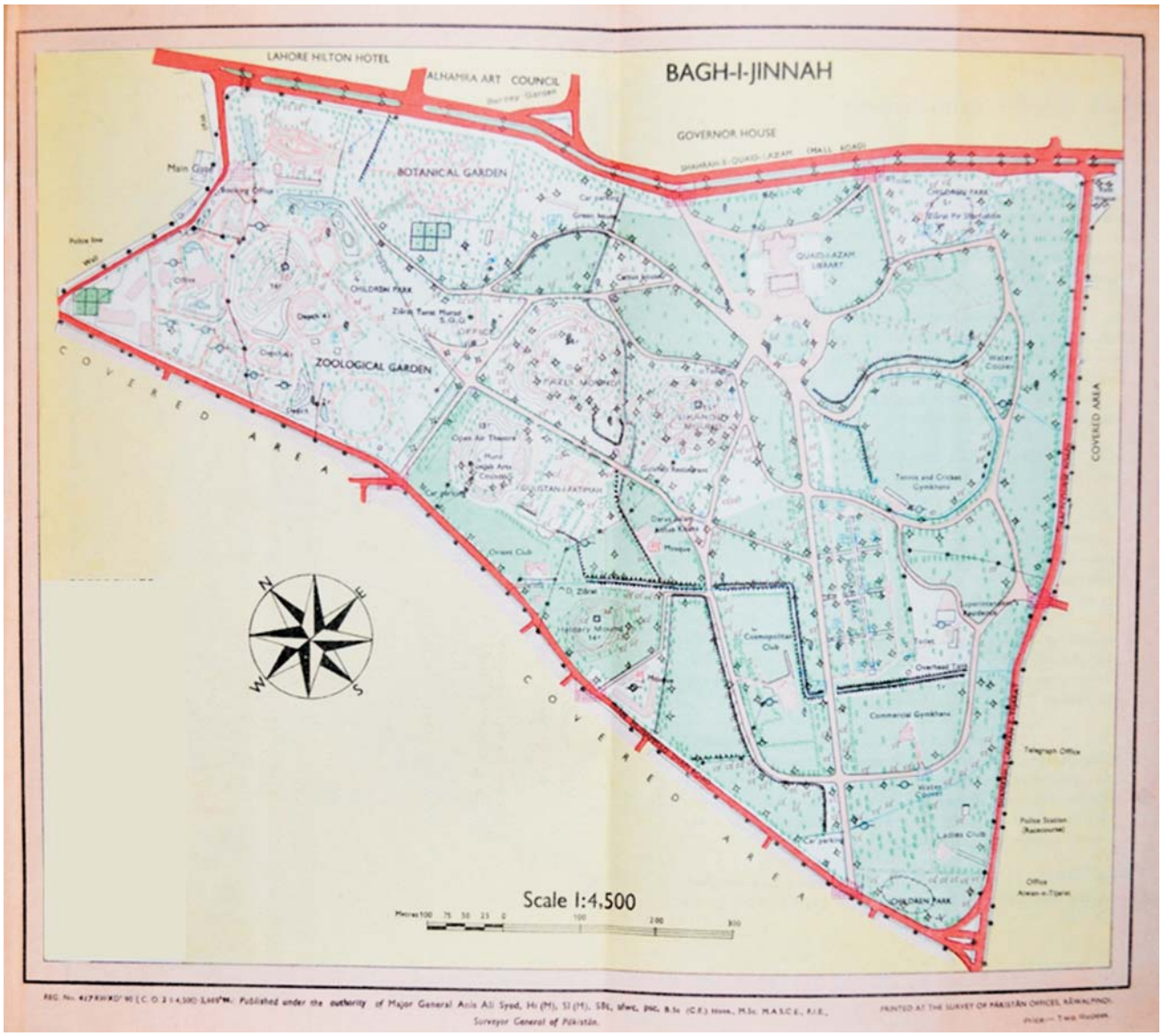

Figure-6: Survey Plan of Lawrence Garden; Bagh-e- Jinnah
Source: (Anon., 1990)

> "It is easy to picture the change; the exposed private garden, a contradiction in its very terms; the public parks with their bare acres of unhappy-looking grass, their ugly band stands, hideous iron railings, and furlon European statues; their wide objectless roads, scattered flower beds and solitary tress and worst of all in a hot country, their lack of fountains and running water" (Staurtpp, 1913).

Gardens were featured with radiating avenues from gate ways, connected by curvilinear paths and encircling the mound. The planning concept was inspired by long avenues, grand vistas of lawns; dominating the British gardens of that period, although the use of water was excluded.

Geometrical patterns were now replaced by grass, trees were planted in clusters rather than in straight lines which was a completely different approach from the Mughals. On 15th April 1885 it appeared to Lady Dufferin that there was no town in Lahore, but avenues of trees, luxuriant foliage and nurseries of foliage growing in incredible profusion (Rehman, 2009). With this Lahore sustained its repute as a City of Garden.

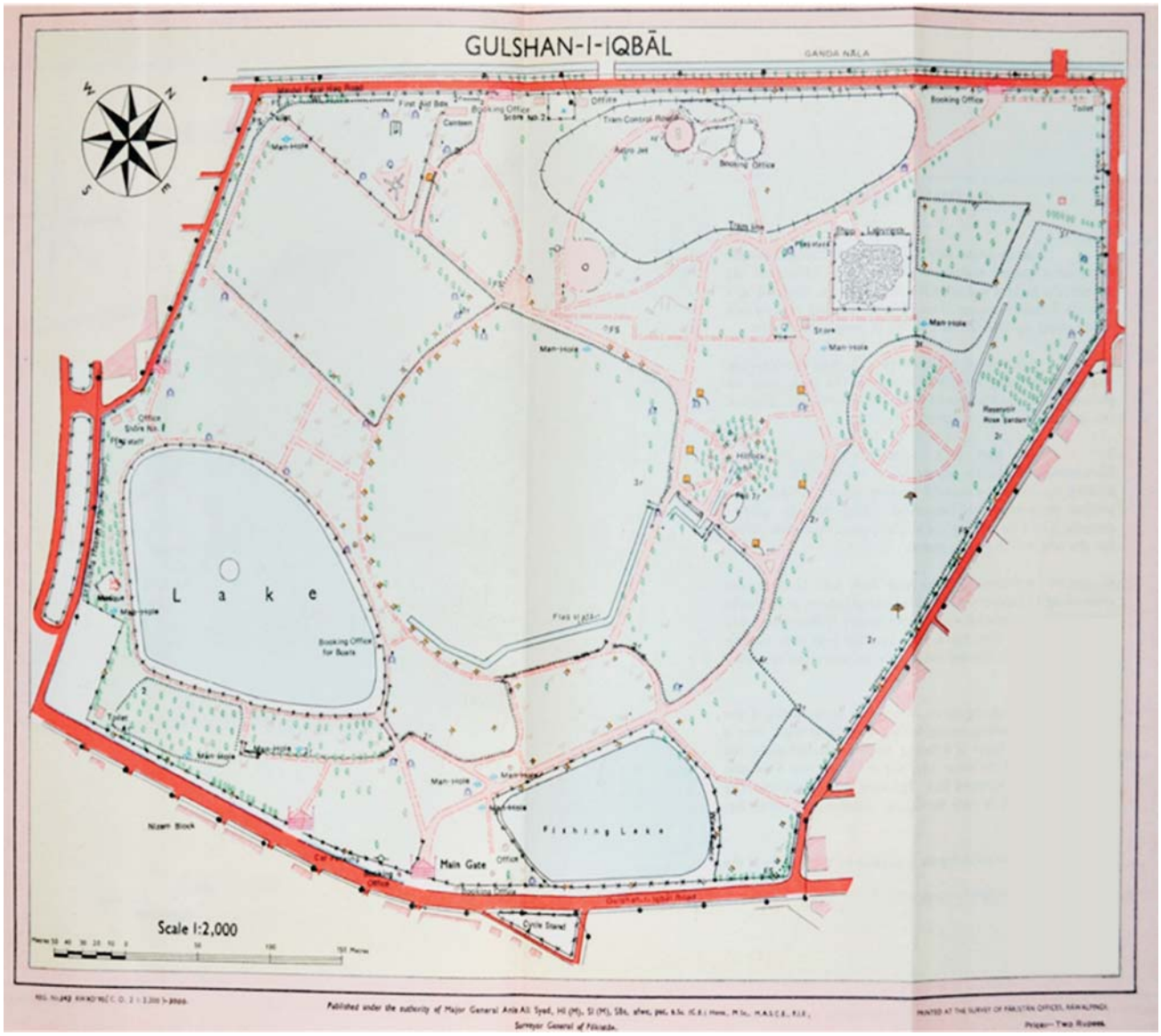

Figure-7: Survey Plan of Gulshan-e-Iqbal
Source: (Anon., 1990)

GREEN SCAPE OF 1947-2014- A PUBLIC REALM

After independence, the green scape of Lahore was not confined to the decisions of a particular monarch or some elites, but a wave of democracy played a role in moulding and designing of the green scape. The usage now shifted towards common man and the general public. As the population grew, the old green areas were taken up for construction like Chuburgi and Model Town extension. Thus, the number of existing parks became less and the green areas were compromised. After realizing this deficiency in urban development, later on new parks were generated with a different approach. Here the driving force was the interest of the general public and so the designing of the parks restarted. The most prominent is the Minar-i-Pakistan Park (1970s) and Gulshan Iqbal Park (1980s) (see Figure 7), Race Course Park (modern Gillani Park); (see Figure 8) and model Town Park (remodelled) (see Figure 9) (Rehman, 2009).

Figure-8: Plan of Race Course Park
Source: Author

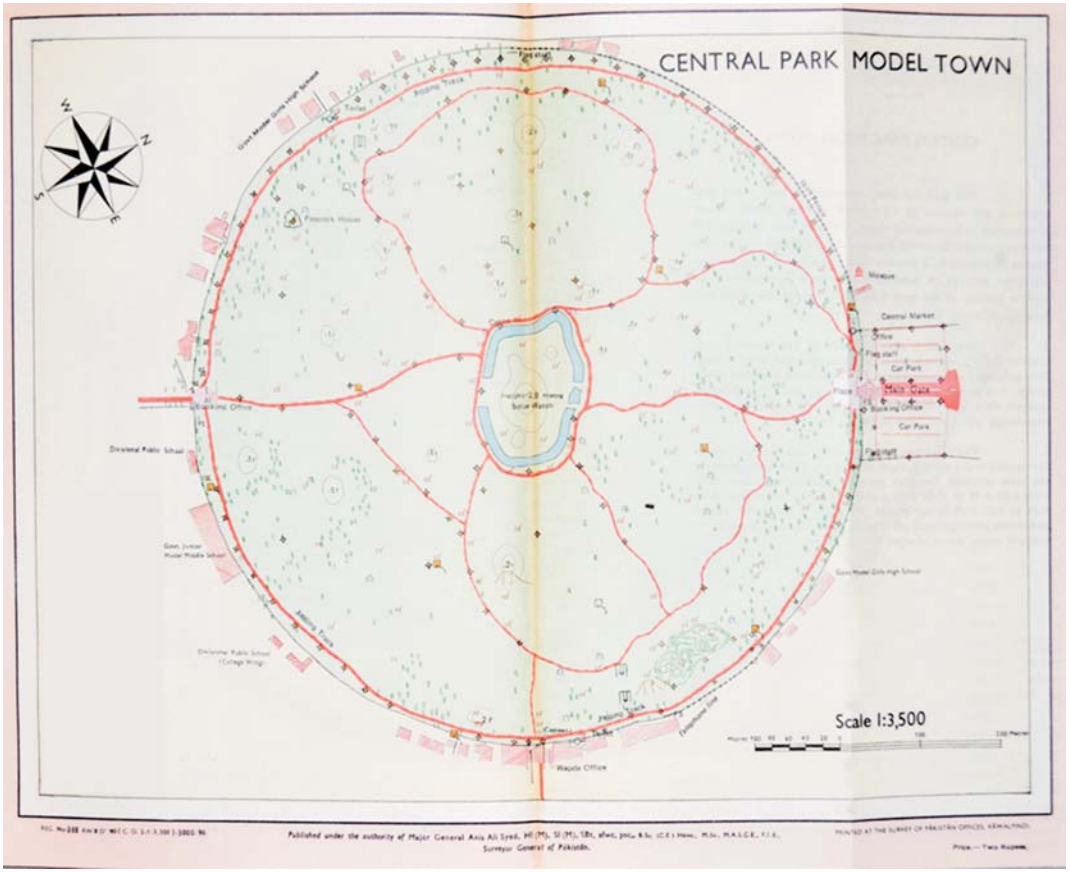

Figure-9: Survey Plan of Model Town
Source: (Anon., 1990)

As these parks were designed for the citizens therefore, activities for recreation were made part of the green-scape. These included boating, waterfalls, zoo, curvilinear walkways which divide the park into several lawns and jogging tracks. The use of water was sustained and provided link with the Mughal gardens. The different activities were well represented in the form of montages. There was however a shift in the placement of trees in three eras of the parks in Lahore. In Minar-e-Pakistan Park, to avoid obscuring the view of the Minar, trees were not planted and in the later parks they either existed on the periphery or along the walkways. These gardens had features similar to previous parks, like the botanical garden and mounts. New features were also included in these parks which was the result of global influences.

The uniqueness associated with these parks, which were developed after independence, was the impact of globalization. The prevailing concepts of urbanization along with the state of confusion (about revitalizing the historic parks or bringing a different idea on ground) in the west, was the base of this changing green culture in Pakistan (Waldheim, 2002). This change remoulded the definition of pleasure and recreation. People of today, expect something new to be experienced in the formed of recreation, that is different from previous designs. Moreover the nuclear family system adopted from the west also plays a role in the changing demand of recreation (Botteriell, 1997). In response to this, the demand of recreation is fulfilled by the addition of rides in the parks. These rides were initially meant for family entertainment and were installed within the green-scape. But later they flourished as separate rides parks, which were developed, like Joy Land. Rides were categorized according to age group. This was the era when the culture was moving from joint family living to independent living. Hence, to keep the parks alive multiple attractions were added. Gulshan Iqbal Park had family entertainment facility; train trip and dodgem cars, but later on new rides were added to the north of the park (see Figure 7). Similarly Racecourse Park, (see Figure 10) had botanical garden; children play facility, avenues of trees, leisure walk, and waterfall, which is an example of a late 20th century pleasure garden.

Figure-10: Montage of Race Course Park
Source: Author

Figure-11: Montage of Safari Park
Source: Author

The design trends of parks keep changing as new concepts are triggered worldwide with the advancement of technology, and result in the development of parks like Woodland Wild Life Park - Safari (see Figure 11), Sozo Water Park (see Figure 12), Polo Ground (see Figure 13), Sky Land Water Park, and Pakistan Park. These developments are based on a highlighted activity. Like in Sozo Water Park the highlighted activity is the use of water in rides, similarly in Safari Park, safari is the highlighted activity, and so on.

At present, theme parks are the latest demand in recreation. People want to experience a world of fantasy. The cause of this demand is well explained in Botteriell, 1997 by noting the influence of industrialization over general perceptions. The pre-fabricated culture has changed the amusement

Figure-12: Montage of Sozo Water Park
Source: Author

market and theme parks have emerged (Botteriell, 1997). This change in the cultural demand and urbanization has made the park industry flourish towards commercialization. People pay to be entertained via the thrill rides. This psychological demand of the humans is also a post war response (Botteriell, 1997). After a study of two decades, Glenn Sparks, describes it as:

> "Some people have a need to expose themselves to sensations that are different from the routine,"

And this latest demand is no more a fantasy for the people of Lahore. The development of Mini Disney Land in Nishtar Block, Bahria Town fulfills this demand for Lahore. The main feature that differentiates the theme parks from other kind of parks are their character of offering everything in one place, themed around a fantasy world and based on a high capital investment (Raluca & Gina, 2008). The concept of commercialization is engulfed in these parks as well. The theme parks are defined in Economics Research Associates (ERA) as:

> "A gated attraction that contains rides and/or shows in a themed environment, offers a pay-one-price ticket for its guests and attracts at least 500,000 annual visits" (Groote, 2009).

Globalization has made these ideas floating in the west so much influential that it dominats the concept of green environment. Lahore kept on expanding under the idea of urbanization but the development of green-scape was lost in the evolution of parks with the advancement in technology and globalization. The latest concepts of recreation like Joy Land (see Figure 14), Disney Land (see Figure 15) have hard landscape, and are not developed as green parks. The urban sprawl in Lahore keeps increasing and the gardens of the past are being encroached upon, converting the Garden City into Grey City.The feature of the green space has lost its importance as a soul healer.

The calmness, relaxation and the cool breath one can have in a garden full of nature and greenery has no comparison with any alternatives. This was the reason that all the attraction of technology failed to keep humans away from the very need of greenery and there came another shift in the green-scape of Lahore. It neither stopped Lahore from expanding nor did it change the existing trend of entertainment parks, infact it started to develop as green pockets in the grey-scape, which became a cause of the development of the community parks in societies. The new societies are now developing with good amount of area designated for the

Figure-13: Montage of Polo Ground
Source: Author

Figure-14: Montage of Joy Land
Source: Author

Figure-15: Montage of Disney Land
Source: Author

green-scape as community parks and parks within blocks. New small and large parks continue to develop as a response to the idea of landscape urbanism, which not only provides entertainment but also beautifies the city, thus providing green ambiance in the urban sprawl (see Figure 16).

CONCLUSION

Developments are made on the basis of human needs, and so is the development of landscape. From the time of Mughals to date (2014), the green-scape keeps on changing and flourishing, leaving a mark on the map of Lahore. And by studying this evolution of green-scape with reference to culture, there is seen a shift from royal to public gardens, rigid to flexible design, straight to curvilinear tracks, from pleasure to recreation and finally the jump into fantasy. The vibrant vibes Lahore has witnessed, has left an impact in many ways, out of which landscape is an important one. The landscape of Lahore kept on changing with time and once called the City of Gardens is now reviving itself as city of Green shacks, by the incorporation of community / society parks in the new developments.

By analysing the current map of Lahore, it is evident that southern Lahore has more green pockets as compared to northern Lahore, with a ratio of 30:70 **(**see Figure 16). This shows the eating up of old gardens for development in the north Lahore and awareness of green-scape as a breathing lung in newer developments in southern Lahore. This imbalance though, doesn't fulfill the demand of the green-scape, but has somehow prevented the urban growth of Lahore from completely loosing the green-scape. Lahore may not be called the "City of Gardens" anymore, but can still be labelled as the "City of Green Shacks".

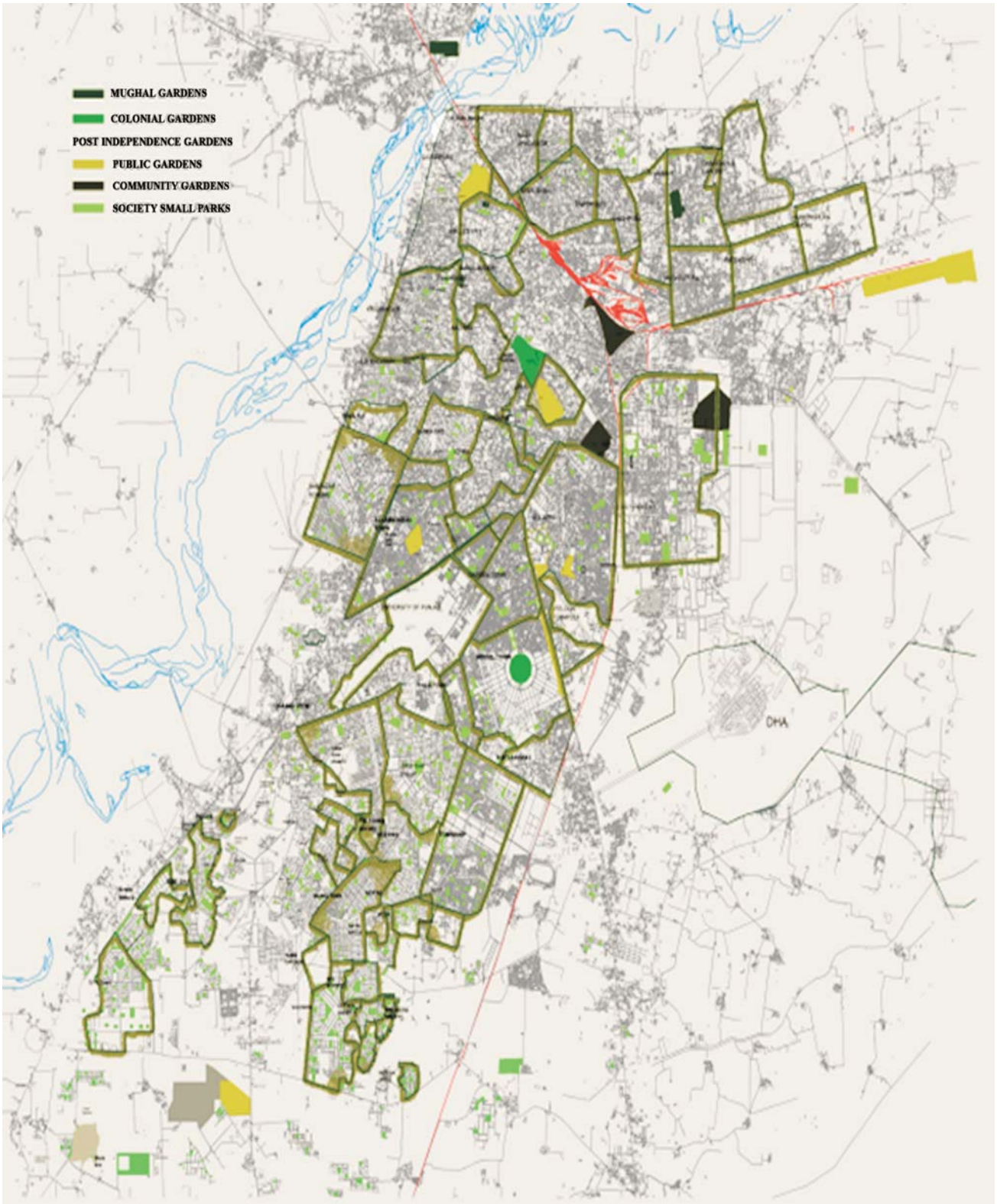

Figure-16: Lahore Map 2014
Source: Author

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ROLE OF ARCHITECTS AND LOCALNESS OF THE GLOBAL CITY: DISCUSSION OF OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY THEORIES FOR UNDERSTANDING THE NOTIONS OF LOCALNESS IN BUILT FORM

Suneela Ahmed*

ABSTRACT

This paper reviews at the urban and architectural case studies from India and Malaysia, where built form elements that highlight local advantage have been identified and articulated and have helped in cities to compete in the global paradigm. This paper analysis works of architects who have been labelled as Critical Regionalist architects from India and Malaysia. The objective is to tease out the design components addressed by these architects in their projects which connect to the local. The architects whose work has been addressed are Charles Correa and Balkrishna Doshi from India and Ken Yeang and Jimmy Lim from Malaysia. The analysis covers the following objectives:

a) To understand the design methodology and values of these designers and their contribution, if any, towards the development of localness in built form within their contexts.

b) To understand the scale at which each of the projects falls within different theoretical realms.

c) To analyse works of these designers with respect to the components that contribute to localness in built form and assess priority given to each of these components by the designers in their work.

This paper is part of an ongoing PhD research entitled 'A conceptual framework for evaluating localness through the design of built form: case of Karachi, Pakistan' being undertaken at Oxford Brookes University, UK. The research methodology for this paper is largely based on literature review and personal visits to the buildings in India.

Keywords: Localness, Global City, Globalization, Critical Regionalist

INTRODUCTION

All the architects reviewed are professionally trained people from the southern hemisphere and they started their practice when the modernist paradigm (1960-70) was in full swing. Many of them were influenced by the design philosophies of Architects from the west mainly Le-Corbusier and Louis Kahn.

Another aspect which these designers have in common is their practice in countries which experienced colonisation. They clearly understood the difference between colonisation and modernism and shunning the adaptation of the international style, which was the outcome of modernism, they opted for the sustainability paradigm which rejected commercialisation of the built form and opted for retaining localness. In the case of India this was supported by the policies of the then prime minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru (Belluardo, 1998) who encouraged the designers to come up with indigenous solutions which connected to the local context.

In colonialism, two cultures co-existed side by side and produced amalgamated built forms, but as an outcome of International style, modernism was dominating and eradicating indigenous cultures (Abel, 2000). Thus, these architects accepted colonialism as historical heritage of their countries, incorporating lessons learnt from the hybrid forms produced during colonial rule into their practice and rejected the international style, which was an outcome of modern movement and paid no respect to history of a place.

For the purpose of this paper localness of the built form has been defined as the incorporation of indigenous social and environmental values and processes into the built form within the contemporary global paradigm based on literature reviewed. The literature reviewed falls in three categories

* Suneela Ahmed, Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology, Karachi.

and only a concise summary has been included here. The first group of literature is based on global cities where the local distinctiveness of the metropolis has been emphasized and the conclusions point towards the new metropolis being more local than the old one. These theories emphasise that globalness is a determinant of the local construct (Jencks, 2007; Sassen, 2001; Vale, 1992). The second set of the literature provides an overview of the theories that deal with the local distinctiveness of urban space and urban built form. These are theories of place making (Knox, 2011; Unwin, 2009; Watson and Bentley, 2007; Lynch, 1972; Alexander, 1977 and Jacobs, 1961), place identity (Relph,1976 and 1987), regionalism (King, 2004; Abel, 2000) and critical regionalism (Tzonis and Lefaivre, 2012; Frampton, 1983;Ricouer 1983). The theories on place identity and place have limited empirical application but they are useful in understanding the concept of the local and in resolving the contradictions between the global and the vernacular. The built form that is produced as an application of the theories of regionalism and critical regionalism is criticized as lacking the ability to change and evolve with time. The third sub section of the literature review summarises the theories on vernacular architecture (Asquith and Vellinga, 2006; Oliver, 1997) which highlight the lessons that can be learnt from the vernacular built form and its validity for the modern built form. According to the literature built form tries to connect to the local in theories of vernacular, place making, critical regionalism and regionalism. Each of these theories deal with different scale and typology of the built form. Theories on vernacular built form deal with the rural built form or form on the periphery of an urban settlement, theory on critical regionalism and regionalism are concerned with dominant architecture within a city where professional architects get involved. Theories on place making and place identity address neighbourhoods and the dialogue between built and open spaces within a defined block. Traditional architecture's emphasis is on different typologies of the built form but its connect to the present design profession is non existent and its stance is to revive the historical vocabulary of the built form. It does not necessarily promote innovation and modernism.

Based on the literature reviewed it is concluded that localness of built form has two aspects i) indigenous / vernacular, where pace of development is slow and is of adaptive nature with external influences being absorbed and created as part of tradition. ii) Secondly, cities in their aspiration to adopt a global image have to race against time thus they skip the phase of adoption and adapt an image. This adaption is influenced and modified by the local economy, technology and culture and what results is a hybrid built form. The question then is why are these choices made, and how do the key actors and agencies justify to themselves and to others in the development process and where does the idea of the traditional and local sit within this decision making milieu? These are some of the questions which are explored in this section with respect to works of Indian and Malaysian architect and the theories of global city, place making, place identity, regionalism, critical regionalism and vernacular.

INDIAN ARCHITECTS: CHARLES CORREA AND BALKRISHNA DOSHI

Works of two Indian architects, namely Charles Correa and Balkrishna Doshi have been analysed here to understand the design approach of these architects, their interpretation of the local and how dimensions of localness become indicators in their design approach. Their works have been looked at in response to local connection in terms of urban morphology, respect for natural resources, socially, economically and climatically responsive, incorporation of local materials, technology and crafts and flexibility.

In terms of larger theories their works have been looked at as Critical regionalist architects as they have been identified in the literature reviewed (Belluardo, 1998; Frampton, 1997; Curtis, 1987). Their design methodology towards place making and vernacular and traditional architecture is also addressed to understand their interpretation of localness in architecture and urban design.

Balkrishna Doshi, an Ahmedabad based Indian architect has overseen the execution of projects by both Le Corbusier and Louis Kahn in Ahmedabad, India. Charles Correa also started professional practice when Modernism was in full swing as a movement. With time modernism in architecture was criticized as insensitive to individuality of a region (Tzonis and Lefaivre, 2012 and Abel, 2000). One of its outcomes is the international style in which universal formulas were being applied to build form and places lost their individuality (Tzonis and Lefaivre, 2012 and Abel, 1986). Local architects of the sub-continent had to choose between adopting the international style or to manoeuvre it to respond to the local context. Doshi and Correa are two architects from India who having learnt the principles of International style tried to steer it in a direction where it responded to the local social, cultural and climatic requirements and yet remained progressive in its outlook.

The Urban Connection of the Built Form with a Critical Regionalist Approach

Charles Correa, started his practice in 1958 in Mumbai, India. He has various architectural, urban design and urban planning projects to his credit. Correa's earlier works shows influences of Le Corbusier by use of striking concrete forms (Frampton, 1997). He advocates the viability of 'low-rise, high density housing as a normative form of ecological development' for the Indian context (Frampton, 1998: 11). This particular type of development, according to him, suits the social and economic requirement of majority of Indians who belong to the middle class, have joint family setups and have the requirement of incrementally developing their houses. In his urban design projects he respects the existing morphological setups and takes lead from precedence on ground. For instance, he has designed the Jawahar Kala Kendra Museum in Jaipur India on 9 square mandala plan based on the precedence of the plan of the city of Jaipur which is also designed on a nine square mandala plan (see Figures 1-3). Thus the museum becomes a miniature representation of the city of Jaipur. Thus by learning from and respecting the urban morphology of a place Correa creates a local connection both in terms of concept and physicality (see Figures 4-5).

In an interview at the Royal Institute of British Architects, Correa stated in 2013 'We have all come too far away from the fundamentals,' says Correa. 'We have surrendered more and more to engineers, who manage to prop up any design and manage to heat and cool any kind of shape. Ultimately we are the losers: everything has left architecture, except whimsy and fashion.'

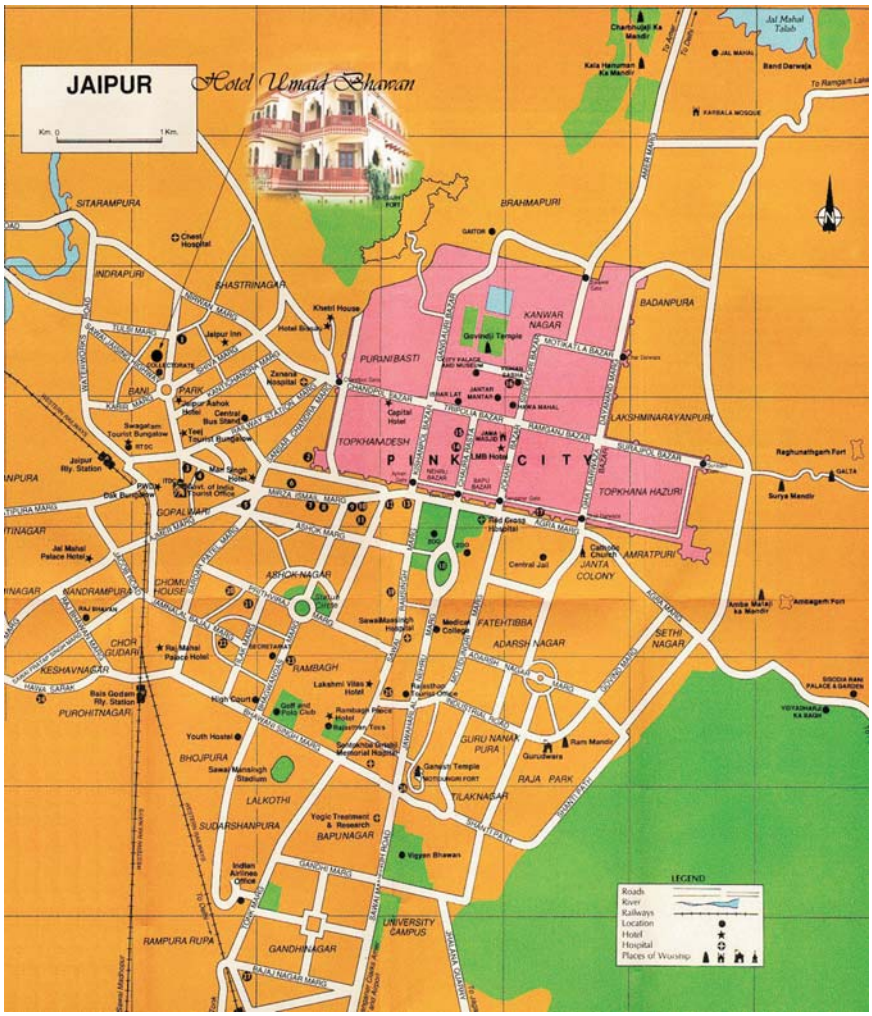


Figure 1: Map of Jaipur showing the 9 square original mandala plan
Source: http://www.jaipurpulse.com/2011/05/jaipur-city-road-map.html accessed 16-4-13

Figure 2: Google map of Jaipur, India- based on 9 square mandala plan
Source: www.googlearth.com accessed 15-1-2014

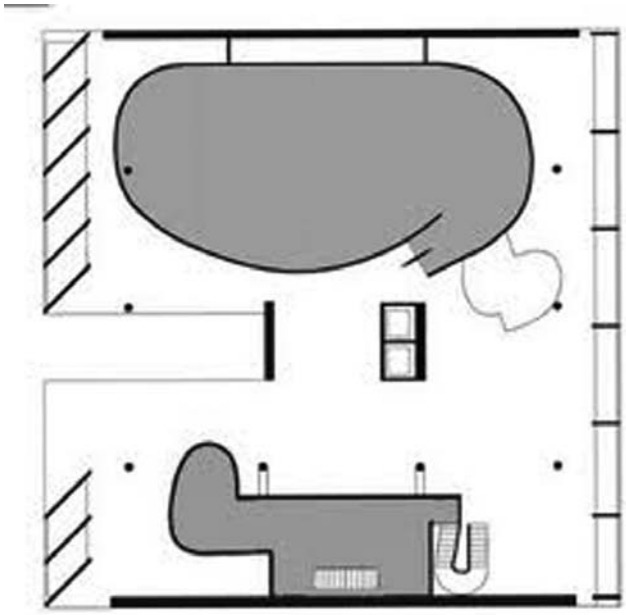
Figure 3: Google map of Jawaharkala Kendra Museum, Jaipur, India- based on 9 square mandala plan
Source: www.googlearth.com accessed 15-1-2014

Figures 4-5: Views of Jawaharkala Kendra Museum, Jaipur, India
Source: www.googleimages.com accessed 15-1-2014

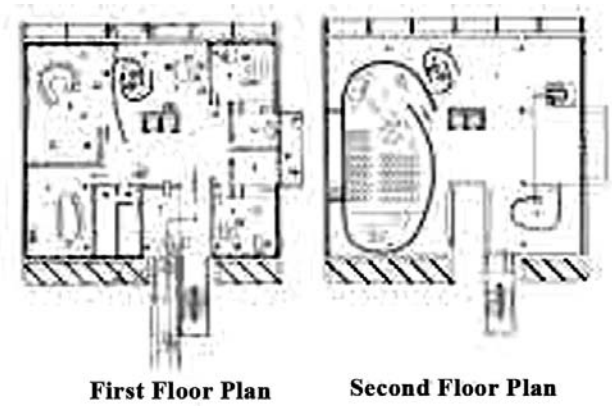
He further adds 'making housing is like a bird building its nest,' says Correa. 'You start with a basic house, but you have to let people change it to their own needs.' Thus the concept of flexibility in the urban morphological evolution, according to Correa, becomes an important element of urban plan.

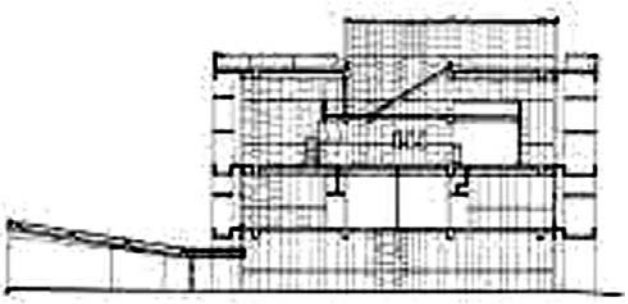
Balkrishna Doshi, started his own practice in Ahmedabad, India in 1956 and has worked with the philosophy and application of combining prefabrication and local craft in the urban context. Early in his career Doshi interned at Le-Corbusier's office for a period of four years and was later appointed as chief architect for execution of Le-Corbusier's projects in Chandigarh and later for Le-Corbusier's Mill Owners Association building in Ahmedabad (see Figures 6-13).

Figures 6-9: Images for Le Corbusier's Mill Owners Association building, Ahmedabad
Source: www.googleimages.com accessed 23-4-2013



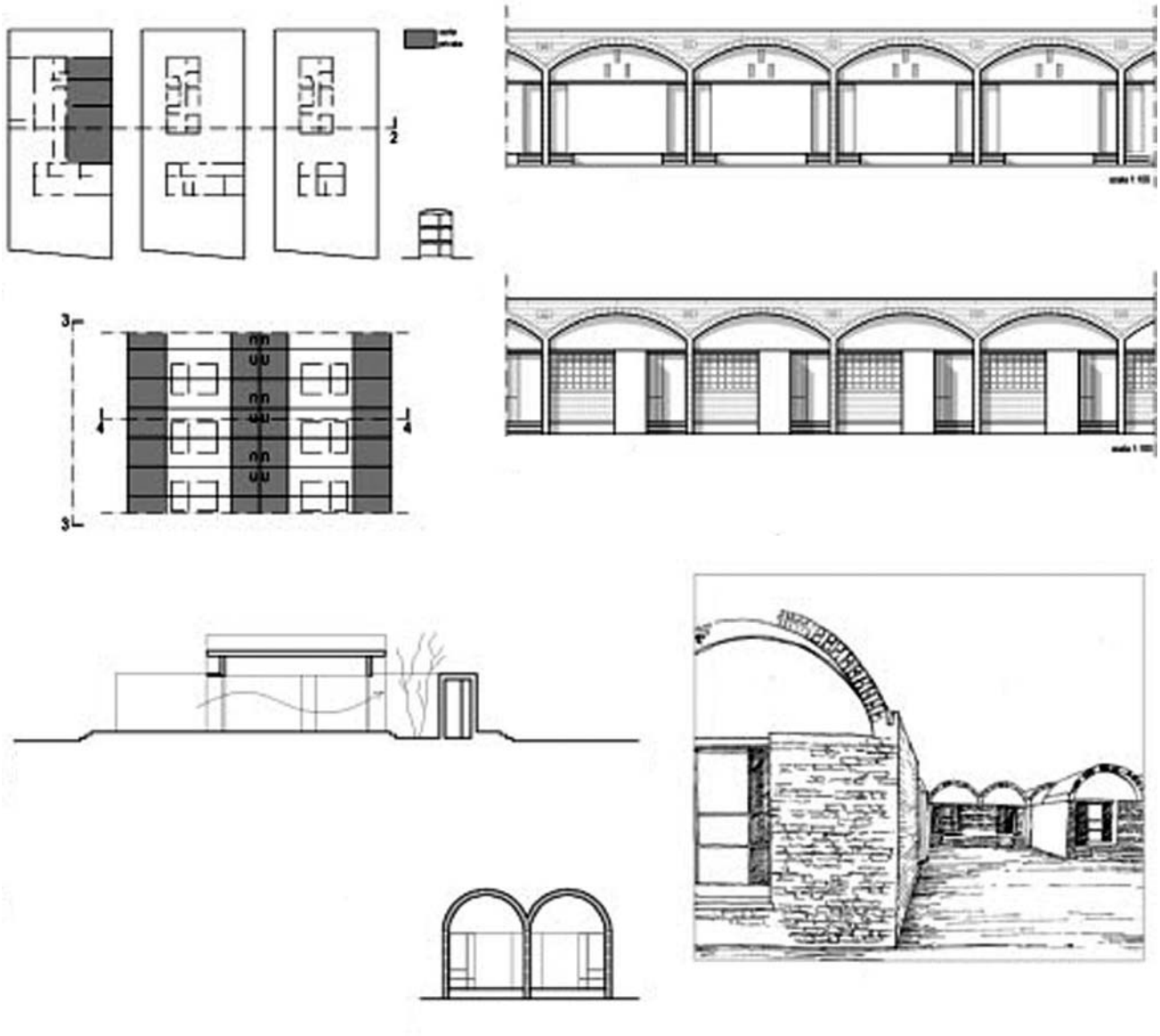
Figures 10-11: Images for Le Corbusier's Mill Owners Association building, Ahmedabad
Source: www.googleimages.com accessed 23-4-2013



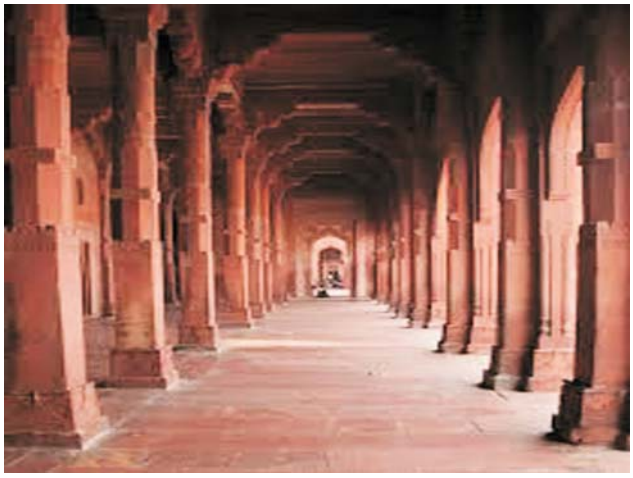


Figures 12-13: Images for Le Corbusier's Mill Owners Association building, Ahmedabad
Source: www.googleimages.com accessed 23-4-2013

He also worked with the idea of layers and overlays and organic geometry of urban spaces which in his view better full filled the social requirements of an Indian context rather than rigid planning (Curtis, 1987). In one of his earlier low cost housing projects in Ahmedabad for the Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association (see Figures 14-15) he used 'low brick vaults on parallel brick walls, a system that could be constructed by unskilled labour', scale and hierarchical gradation of a village, hierarchy of squares to be used as open spaces for socialising, medium sized vertical openings for ensuring flow of light and air and clear storey vaulted windows to avoid the glare at eye level and let the breeze through (Curtis, 1987: 15-16). He plays with the hierarchy of open, semi covered and covered spaces in most of his designs both at the urban and the architectural level and learning from the monument of Fathepur Sikri (see Figures 16-18) incorporates pergolas, pillared halls, terraces, pavilions and subtle shifting of axes and vistas in his designs. He is thus able to use an understanding of social linkages and connect them to physical form to achieve a local association on an urban level.



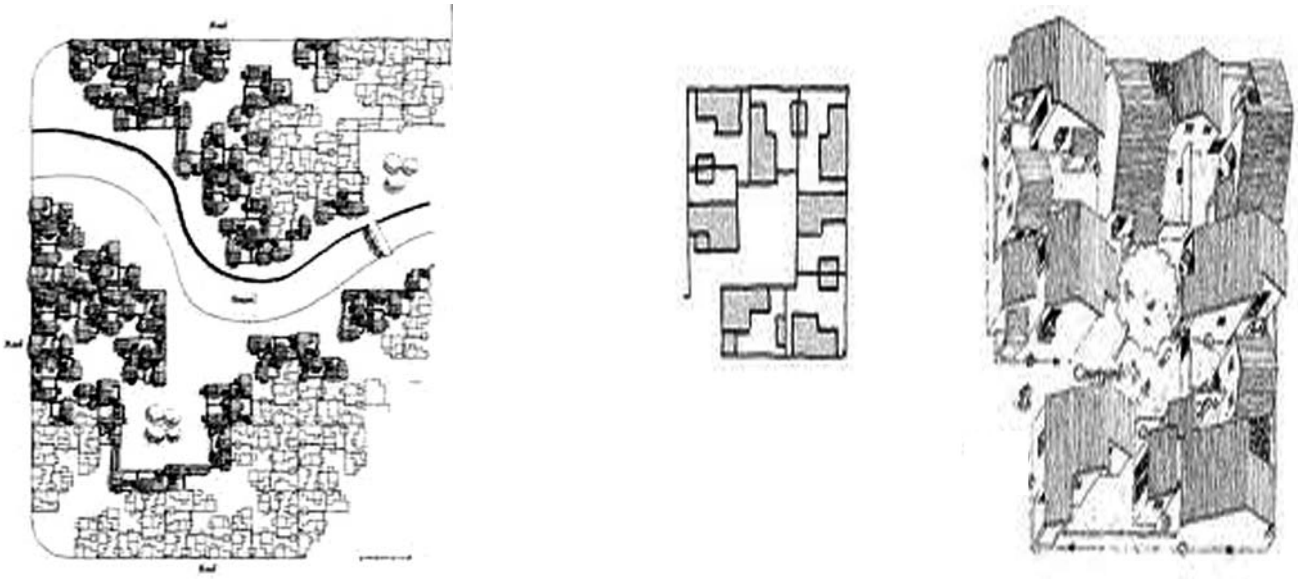
Figures 14-15: Housing for Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association
Source: http://identityhousing.wordpress.com/2009/12/04/balkrishna-doshi-atira-low-cost-housing-ahmedabad-1957-1960/ accessed 16-4-13



Figures 16-18: Images of FatehpurSikri, India
Source: www.googleimages.com accessed 16-4-13

The Social Connection of the Built Form with a Place Making Approach

In their mixed use housing designs both Correa and Doshi use courtyard typology of varying hierarchy. The circulation from the private space of the residence to the public squares is designed by these architects on principles based on traditional Indian cities, with shaded streets and steps and ledges along the streets to act as resting spaces (Curtis, 1988; Frampton, 1983). Correa and Doshi are also accredited to having designed housing schemes for urban areas that are low-rise and high density and allow for incremental development. These concepts have been executed by Correa in Hudco courtyard housing Jodhpur (1986) and Cablenagar township, Cota, Rajastan (1967) and by Doshi in Aryana low cost housing scheme, Indore (1982) (see Figures 22-25), CIDCO mixed income mass housing, Kalamboli, (1988) and (2002). This housing module suits an Indian middle income household as the land is privately owned and the structure can be added onto to accommodate joint family setups (Frampton, 1997). Correa has also explored the possibility of incremental housing in low income settlements of India to cater for the economic constraint of low income residents as they cannot afford capital intensive houses and need to have the flexibility to add built structures incrementally. The incremental housing Belapur (see Figures 19-21), New Mumbai designed by Correa in 1983-86 is an example towards this end. It is spread over 136 acres and organised as low-rise structures around courtyards. The cluster planning has modules of 21 houses and three such clusters make a micro-neighbourhood (Chalana, 2010).



Figures 19-21: Plans and images of Belapur Housing, India
Source: www.googleimages.com accessed 19-4-13

According to Chalana (2010) both Belapur and Aryana housing schemes designed by Correa and Doshi respectively reach densities of 500 to 650 people per hectare and have 2:3 open-built ratio. He proposes that design options should be developed with similar or higher densities for squatter settlements of Mumbai which currently have densities of 1000 people per hectare instead of re-locating the residents into walk-up and high rise apartments which do not fulfil the economic and social needs of low income households of a developing world.




Figures 22-25: Plan and images of Aryana Housing, India
Source: http://www.akdn.org/architecture/pdf/1242_Ind.pdf.accessed 19-4-13

The Natural Connection of the Built Form with a Regionalist Approach

Doshi also explores the 'mythical and poetic dimensions of nature, the flow of breeze and water, the contrast of light and shade, the relationship between ground and sky' (Curtis, 1988:10) in his designs. He uses the knowledge of vernacular and applies the principles in modern day society. For him the three ideas that help him achieve universality in design without losing regional charm are 'tradition, continuity, modern application' (Cutis, 1987:17)

According to Frampton (1997) for Charles Correa the understanding of the climate and social patterns of a context is a response to getting grasp of the identity of the region. His emphasis on the relationship between climate, social patterns and built form is what dictates his design career. He defines 'identity' as a process and not a 'found' object. According to him 'it can be likened to the trail left by civilisation as it moves through history' (Correa, 1983:10). He further goes on to explain that 'identity' cannot be invented and is not a self-conscious thing. It needs to be sifted out through our understanding of the reality which in the case of India is based on understanding of four essential things: living patterns, designing of energy-passive buildings, urbanisation and the nature of change. Climate according to him is the 'crucial determinant in this process' as climate not only dictates the requirements of the built form but also the 'patterns of culture and rituals' (Correa, 1983:10). Based on his understanding of the local climate Correa worked with variations on two themes:

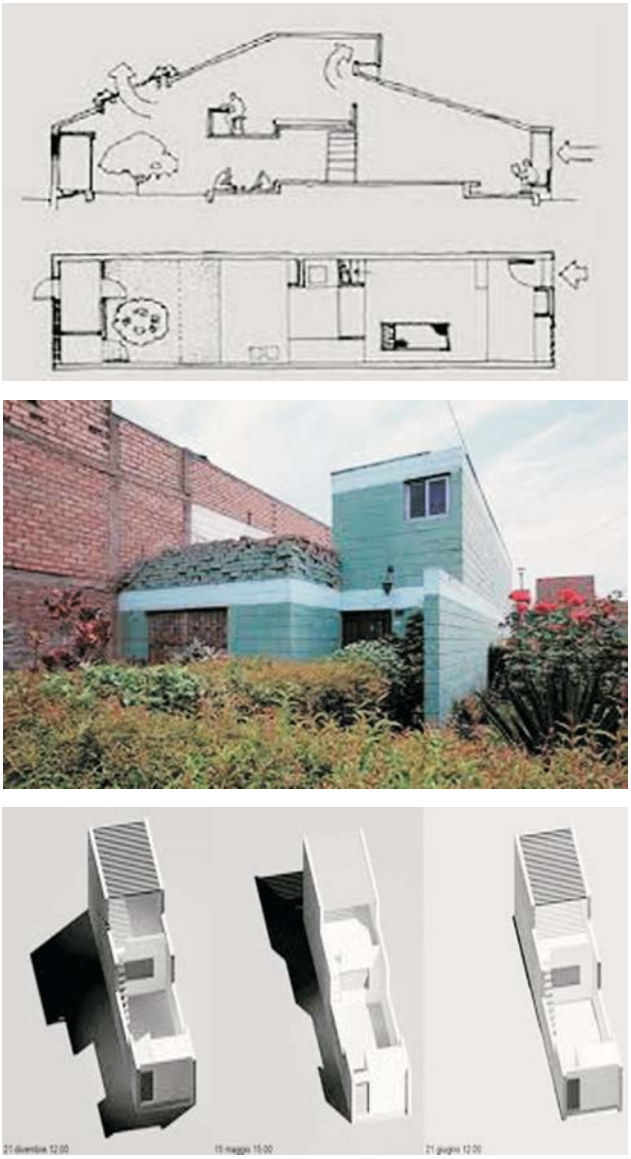
a) The tube house which is long and narrow with small openings in the windward direction and larger openings in the leeward direction to maintain a constant draft (see Figures 26-29).

b) Open to sky spaces which could be a courtyard, a balcony, a veranda, platform, roof terrace, landing on a stair case, a communal space and so on. The open to sky spaces were the main areas to be designed and the built form could follow the lead- as he understood that

these forms were the best response to the climate and social activities of India. He expresses the metaphysical aspects of the sky though incorporation of the 9 square mandala plan in his later designs- with the 9 squares having spiritual and ritual significance in Hinduism (as seen in the Jawaharkala Kendra museum, Jaipur).

According to the interview of Correa conducted at Royal Institute of British Architects, London in June 2013 successful buildings must be tied to their context. Correa states 'Architecture is not a moveable feast, like music, you can give the same concert in three different places, but you can't just repeat buildings and clone them across the world.' Thus the connect of the building to the immediate context in terms of its climatic response is important in Correa's practice. It is for this reason that he is not willing to call himself an international architect as 'he refuses to get off a plane and design' (RIBA, 2013).

Balkrishna Doshi also stresses on designing passively ventilated buildings. His apprenticeship with Le-Corbusier in his early career and execution Le-Corbusier's designs in Chandigarh, India taught him how to incorporate natural ventilation in his designs (Curtis, 1987). At the time that Doshi interned at Le-Corbusier's office- buildings like Ronchamp (see Figures 30-31), La Tourette (see Figure 32), the Jauol House (see Figures 33-34) and the Indian buildings of Chandigarh were being designed for where Le-Corbusier used rough concrete and brick and designed around capturing light (Curtis, 1987). Doshi also learnt the art of designing for and around light from Le Corbusier and applied and adopted it in the context of India in the design of Indian Institute of Management (see Figures 35-36), Bangalore, India by Doshi in India.

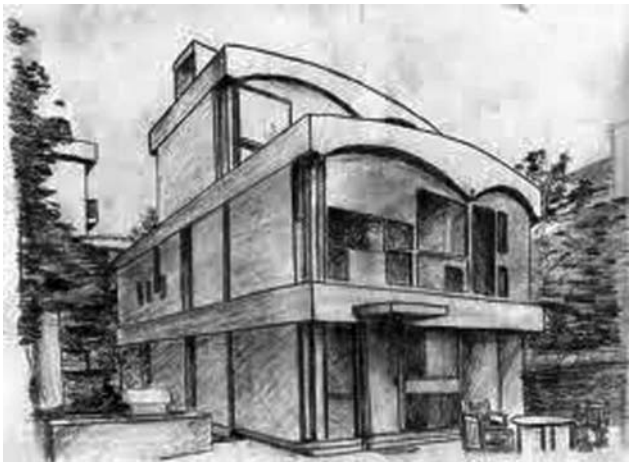


Figures 26-29: Tube houses by Charles Correa
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 23-4-13

Figure 30: Ronchamp, France by Le-Corbusier
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 23-4-13

Figure 31: Ronchamp, France by Le-Corbusier
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 23-4-13

Figure 32: La Tourette, France by Le-Corbusier
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 23-4-13



Figures 33-34: Jauol House, Paris France by Le-Corbusier
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 23-4-13

Figures 35-36: Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore, India by Doshi in India
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 16-4-13

The Local Materials and Crafts Connection of the Built Form aith a Traditionalist and Vernacular Approach

Both Correa and Doshi promote the use of local materials and crafts and combine pre fabrication with local craft. According to the literature reviewed (Robson 2007 and 2002; Watson and Bentley, 2007,Powell, 1999; Belluardo, 1998; Frampton, 1997 and 1998; Curtis, 1988; Yeang, 1987; Abel, 1986; Correa, 1983) all these designers understand the vernacular of the region they are practicing in and are proficient in associating with the difference in scale and sophistication of vernacular and contemporary architecture. Although adopting principles of vernacular these designers never imitate vernacular architecture directly. Concepts derived through Hindu mythology and spirituality dominate the works of Correa and Doshi.

Figure 37: Doshi's own house making use of local materials and having a modern expression
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 07-4-14

The literature reviewed also asserts that these designers have learnt how to use technically sound approaches through influences of the western architects like Le-Corbusier and Louis Kahn but have adopted these technological solutions to their local context (Figure 37). They have not imitated directly western technology or technical aspects of designs but have localised technology by creating a hybrid between the western ideas and local vernacular incorporating local craftsmen and their skill. As Curtis (1987:19) puts it 'Doshi had promised himself never to imitate Le Corbusier's brises-soleil (literally sub-breakers) directly, and the shading panels on his own house are really abstractions of Gujratijharokhas- balconies fitted out with ledges, screens and alcoves that project from the facades of wooden houses or stone temples.'

The Economic Connection of the Built Form with a Place Making Approach

Both Correa and Doshi have designed housing schemes where they have tried to address the requirements of local economy through mixed use housing, greater FAR (floor area ratio) and low cost infrastructure provisions. Correa have lobbied with the politicians to change underlying patterns of land use and emphasize equitable development. In their housing schemes both Correa and Doshi have proposed relaxation of land use controls to allow economic activities within low income households. In their housing schemes, which are a mix of low and high income houses, a certain number of houses are proposed as subsidised houses for low income households through open market sale of higher income houses. The subsidized houses are made available through allowing extra FAR on apartments sold in the open market as part of these schemes. Correa has also advocated the 'inventiveness with which squatters provide shelter for themselves' (Belluardo, 1998: 13) and have voiced the importance of localised solutions that promote local economics. Correa has advocated mixed use for low income housing schemes because according to him it's an economic and social requirement of people belonging to low income settlements (Chalana, 2010).

The Hawkers pavement project, Mumbai (1968) by Correa is a project which provides solutions to promote local economics. It recognises the intensive usage of pavements in the crowded centres of Indian cities by hawkers during the day and by residents of the locality during the night for sleeping. These residents are not necessarily pavement dwellers. They chose to sleep on the pavements as a respite from their stuffy, poorly ventilated and overcrowded shared rooms where their belongings are secured. Through this project Correa recommended to the municipal corporation to increase the width of the pavements in order to deal with the hawkers during the day and the pavement sleepers during the night, provide raised platforms and tap waters at regular intervals. The provision of platforms isolates the hawkers from the pedestrian traffic thus reduces chaos during the day and at night these platforms isolate the people sleeping on the platforms from the passer-by.

SYNTHESIS- INDIAN ARCHITECTS

If localness in the built form is defined as *the incorporation of indigenous social and environmental values and processes into the built form within the contemporary global paradigm* then both the architects discussed here have tried to achieve localness in the built form through addressing the social, economic and environmental requirements of the context and have tried to tie it up with the built form. They have

attempted at understanding the local climate and socio-economic requirements of the people of India and have produced form that respects the aspirations of the common man. The scale of intervention also varies from an architectural scale to an urban scale depending on the requirement of the project. The dimension of localness become indicators by addressing various design components as illustrated in table 1:

Table 1: **Summarising components of built form that have been addressed by Indian Architects (put together by author)**

Component of built form to be addressed for localness	Elements of built form addressed	Scale of built form addressed	Salient Features
Urban Morphology	Plot, Building, In between spaces	Urban-Physical	Reflection of urban planning at an architectural scale respecting social setups Experimentation with vertical master planning to address shortage of land
Natural resources	Topography, Vegetation Local use of space, Natural elements: e.g. water	Urban and architectural-Physical	Incorporation of site topography and existing vegetation in design
Socially responsive	Introverted plans around courtyards Low rise high density housing schemes Shaded streets Incremental development Mixed land use	Urban and architectural-Physical -Intangible	Respecting the value, belief, cultural and social systems
Climatically responsive	Recessed balconies, Screens Over hangings, Eaves Pergolas, Brises-soleil Courtyards, Verandas	Architectural - Physical	Keep the rain and sun out and provide maximum cross ventilation in humid and arid climates Passive cross ventilation Landscape to surround built forms
Local materials, technology and crafts	Promoting local crafts, materials and technology		Learning from but not duplicating local vernacular
Local economy	FAR, Mixed land use Infrastructure development	Urban	

MALAYSIAN ARCHITECTS: KEN YEANG AND JIMMY LIM

Malaysia also experienced colonisation during the late 18th and early 19th century. After independence in its search for an architectural language the Malaysian architects relied on the tropical climate and green landscape to develop characteristics of the built form.

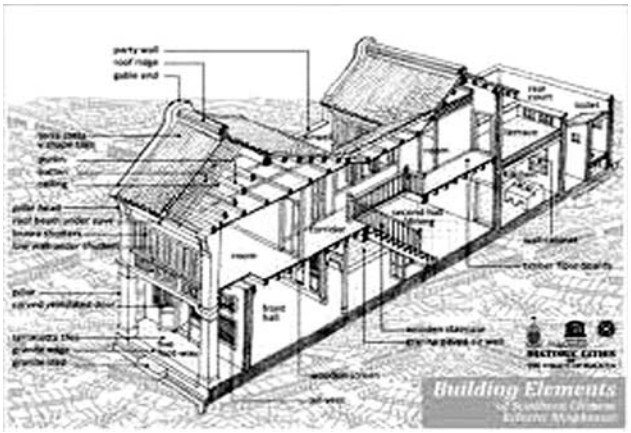
The Urban Connection of the Built Form with a Critical Regionalist Approach

In Malaysia attempts at linking built form with urban morphology can be seen in the works of Ken Yeang. In his book entitled 'Tropical Verandah City'(1987) Ken Yeang, who started practice in 1971 and was influenced by modernist paradigm, uses the metaphor of a tropical urban garden and experiments with the idea of in-between spaces around a building (Powell, 1999). The Verandah City proposal is tied together by a 'system of arcaded pedestrian walkways that bind the buildings together. Such walkways could provide shelter and support street life, as with traditional shop houses' (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 189) (see Figures 38-39). 'Yeang looked at the permeable edges of traditional tropical buildings and the layering of facades and concluded that the edges of a tropical building by virtue of their many layers becomes softer' (Powell 1999). This led to the generation of the idea of an ecologically responsive urban design. Later in his career the concepts of 'green skyscrapers' extends to the concept of the vertical city which he presented in an expo in 2005 and looked at vertical master plans (Powell 1999). The 'soft edge aesthetics' was also introduced by him where the edges of towers had spaces for planters and landscape to soften the periphery of the mass and acted as environmental filters (Powell 1999) (see Figures 40-43). Having written on the concept of regional architecture Yeang believes that 'regional urban architecture should embody a sense of continuity and place' and stresses abstract and direct links between architecture and cultural heritage (Powell 1999).

Thus for Yeang the local connection comes from an understanding and designing of the left over spaces in between buildings and the streets which he calls 'edges' and he connects to the users at a local level through design of spaces like the arcaded pedestrian walkways.

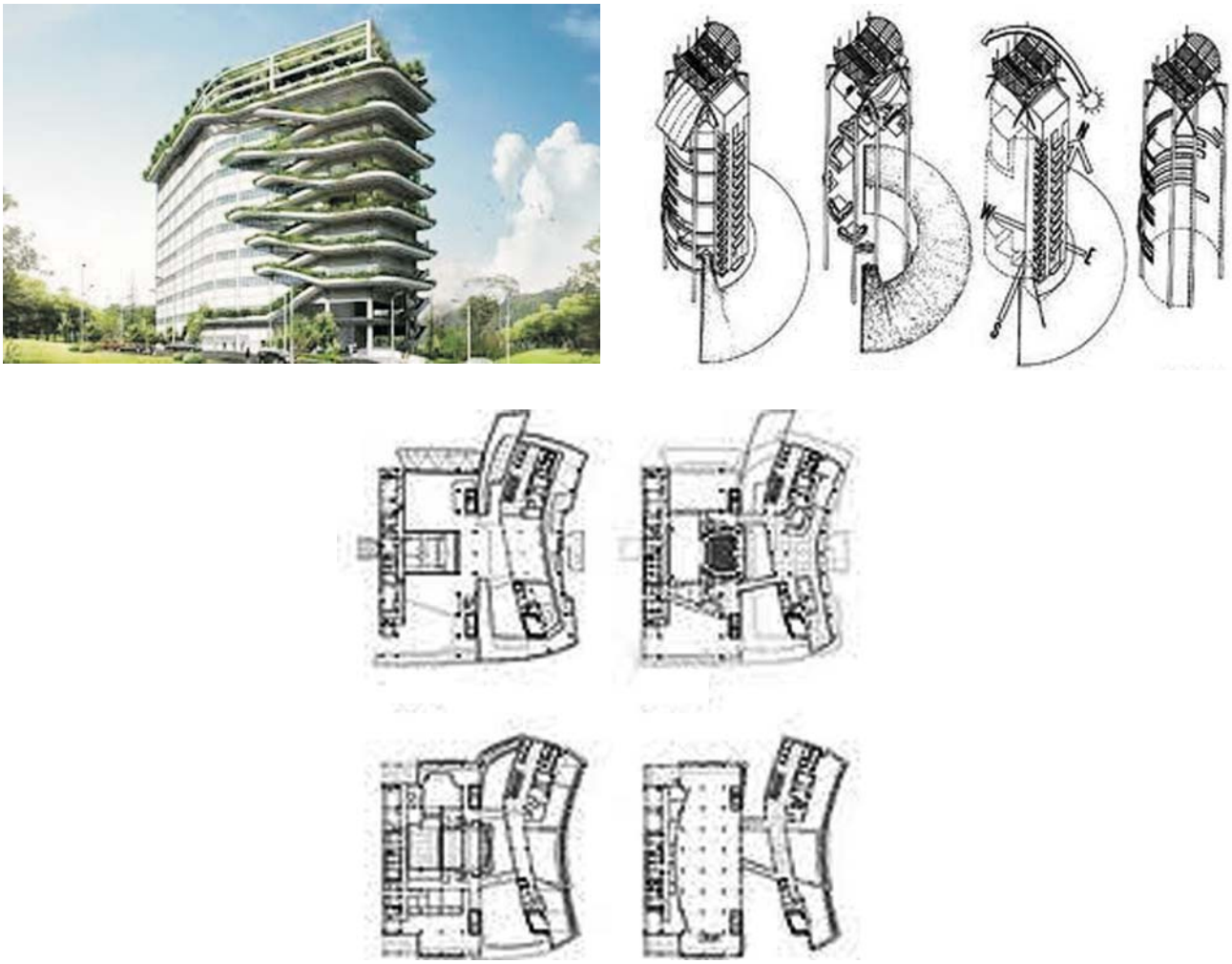
The Social Connection of the Built Form with a Place Making Approach

Architect Jimmy Lim, in Malaysia, has also developed housing options which stem from an understanding of the social context. He has developed a contemporary interpretation of the traditional timber Malay house which reflects the socio-cultural aspects of both traditional and modern Malaysian built form (Watson and Bentley, 2007). Lim strongly believes in the conservation and restoration of the shop houses of Malaysia in the dense urban fabric and is exploring the idea of 'Kampungminium' which is a



Figures 38-39: Images of shop houses in Malaysia
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 23-4-13

Figure 40: Some design projects by Ken Yeang, Malaysia
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 16-4-13



Figures 41-43: Some design projects by Ken Yeang, Malaysia
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 16-4-13

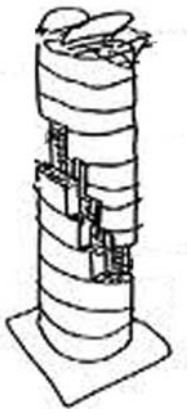
fusion of 'a traditional Malay Kampong development, a shop house and a modern condominium' and aims to provide a modern language for the built form and remain local at the same time through conserving the traditional shop houses and Malay Kampong development (Watson and Bentley, 2007:204). He hopes that this hybrid form will be able to convince the developers to retain the existing urban landscape and built within and around it retaining the original characteristics of place.

The Natural Connection of the Built Form with a Regionalist Approach

The design vocabulary of Malaysian contemporary architect and architectural theorist, Jimmy Lim while respecting the natural settings of a context also takes reference from it to produce designs which are modern yet rooted in the local context. According to Watson and Bentley, (2007:192) his design principles are based on 'climatic factors, environmental influences, cultural and traditional influences, traditional structural concepts and spiritual metaphors'. In cities where rapid urban growth generate images associated with global economy and overrun the indigenous qualities of the built form Jimmy Lim's design strategies levying on the landscape of the context to infuse back some of this regionalism. Malaysia has a strong geography and thus a pre dominant landscape (Watson and Bentley, 2007). Respecting the importance of water Lim gives consideration to both surface and subterranean water usage as according to his believes it has implications for 'energy, luck and continuity' (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 192). In his own house he has devised a method to collect the discharged water into a large container

to be used to irrigate trees. He also uses the adjacent plot to grow local trees and plants which he replants in his new design projects, which according to him is his way of compensating for what the construction activity takes away from the land. He believes in maintain a 'yin-yang' relationship with land and in preserving the natural balance (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 192).

Ken Yeang, in Malaysia has also explored the concepts of natural ventilation through his designs of Bio-climatic sky scrapers. According to the literature reviewed he incorporated climatically adequate responses to high rise buildings in Malaysia based on principles of natural ventilation, filtered sunlight and climatically responsive space planning. Thus in the creation of micro climate within the high rise buildings using spaces like open to sky courtyards, sky courts, stepped planter-boxes and shaded projecting terraces he was working towards developing a architecture of Malaysia which was modern yet it returned to the cultural and historical sources derived from within the context (Powell, 1999).



SYNTHESIS- MALAYSIAN ARCHITECTS

For the Malaysian architects the climatically responsive architecture addressing natural resources came as a priority. They however, also explored urban morphological components through exploration of hybrid forms of shop houses and the bio climatic skyscrapers (see Figures 44-46). The scale of intervention also varies from an architectural scale to an urban scale.

Figures 44-46: Bio climatic sky scrapers by Ken Yeang, Malaysia
Source: wwww.googlegeimages.com accessed 16-4-13

The dimension of localness become indicators by addressing various design components as illustrated in the table 2:

Table 2: **Summarising components of built form that have been addressed by Malaysian Architects (put together by author)**

Component of built form to be addressed for localness	Elements of built form addressed	Scale of built form addressed	Salient Features
Urban Morphology	Plot, Building, In between spaces	Urban-Physical	Reflection of urban planning at an architectural scale respecting social setups Experimentation with vertical master planning to address shortage of land
Natural resources	Topography, Vegetation Local use of space, Natural elements: e.g. water	Urban and architectural - Physical	Incorporation of site topography and existing vegetation in design
Socially responsive	High rise high density housing schemes Shaded streets Mixed land use	Urban and architectural - Physical + -Intangible	Respecting the value, belief, cultural and social systems
Climatically responsive	Natural ventilation, filtered sunlight, Open to sky courtyards, sky courts, stepped planter-boxes, shaded projecting terraces	Architectural- Physical	Keep the rain and sun out and provide maximum cross ventilation in humid climate Passive cross ventilation Landscape to surround built forms

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that each of the architects briefly reviewed here have developed design strategies based on local culture, climate and social and economic values which might have enabled them to produce built form that not only respects the physical context but also offer local cultural and social solutions. Thus the intangible aspects like social values and cultural practices of a context become as important as the physical aspects of the built form. The design strategies employed by the above mentioned architects also highlight the importance of understanding and adopting the vernacular solutions offered by a context in order to achieve localness of the built form. The scale of involvement fluctuates between urban and architectural scale.

As summarised in the table above it can also be concluded that the theories on critical regionalism and regionalism mainly deal with dominant built form, theories on place making are mainly concerned with sprawling built form and theories on traditional and vernacular architecture focus on peripheral built form.

Table 3 highlights the typology of built form addressed by these architects and tries to tie in the typology with the larger theories and components of built form.

Table 3: **Typology of built form addressed within larger theories and components of built form (put together by author)**

	Components of built form that are operationalized within theories						
Larger Theory	Built form to respect urban morphological evolution	Built form to be socially responsive	Built form to respect natural resources	Built form to be climatically responsive	Built form to be responsive to local materials, technology and crafts	Built form to be responsive to local economy	Built form to have flexibility
Critical Regionalism							
Regionalism							
Place making/ Place identity							
Traditional Architecture							
Vernacular Architecture							
						Dominant built form Sprawling built form Peripheral built form	

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REVITALIZING THE CENTRAL CORE OF AMINABAD, LUCKNOW

Akanchha Jain*

ABSTRACT

A survey of the open spaces designated in Aminabad, Lucknow revealed an obvious lack of consideration towards the preservation of the public open spaces, and their physical/functional integration into the city, despite the high density of the urban fabric. With the increase in the pressure of the population in urban areas, there is a corresponding increase in encroachment on open spaces. If we analyze the situation of Aminabad, we realize that the decision taken long back, with emphasis on providing the automobile on the network of Aminabad, destroyed the convenience of the street. As a result of this decision, the street activity and visually stimulating streetscapes have broken down into loose incoherent sprawls. We may today rue the result, but better would be the attempts to correct some anomalies, however remote in character and intentions. This paper critically examines the present situation of Aminabad, Lucknow and a puts forward a brief proposal for revitalization of the market of Aminabad and is based on the survey done by students of M. Arch., Batch 2009, Integral University, Lucknow.

Keywords: Aminabad, Open Spaces, Market, Bazaar

INTRODUCTION

Urban planning is the art of making convivial places for people, which ensures successful urban environment. But with the impact of increased development in high density urban areas, the expression of our towns and cities has changed in the last few decades. Due to rapid urbanization, there is mounting pressure on the land, the recourse of outdoor recreation- shore line, green areas, open spaces, water, etc. which has diminished in the face of other demands. The outcome of this is disastrous. People find it difficult to keep a relation with nature.

Now a day's shopping is a bewildering experience. Aside from the completely westernized shopping megamalls which are popping up all over large cities, there are still thousands of stalls, street side vendors, underground markets and bazaars selling just about everything imaginable. Aminabad in Lucknow is one of these types of places, full of stores stocking brilliantly colorful clothes, textiles and other materials stacked from floor to ceiling, using every centimeter of space in each narrowly designed retail cubicle. Aminabad is a large bazaar located in the heart of Lucknow, in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. It came into prominence at the end of 18th century. The construction of the Bazaar began in 1759, during the tenure of Shah Alam II. Shah Alam II also had an Imam Bargah, several other market places and a garden constructed at the same time. The entire area later came under the jurisdiction of Vazir Imdad Husain Khan, who got the title of 'Aminudaula' because of the development activities carried out under his tenure. Eventually the region came to be known as Aminabad, after the vazir's title. The modern day Aminabad Park was inaugurated by the Governor of Awadh in 1911.

The bazaar is famous for selling embroidered garments. fashion products, ornaments, jewelry, fashion garments, footwear and other such apparels. The bazaar is an intricate maze of narrow lanes. Over the years it has turned out to be one of the busiest zones in the city with problems of congestion and pollution.

RESEARCH ASPECTS TO BE ADDRESSED

Before a proposal can be made for sub head consumer behaviour, the revitalizaton and redevelopment of a market, the consumer behaviours, the impact of urban growth on the market and cultural and development issues need to be resarch, analysed and addressed. These aspects are briefly discussed here.

"It's really tough to know a customer just by taking a surface look or a surface descriptor such as male/female or age or ethnic group. To understand your customers' needs today, you really have to understand their lifestyles, opinions and attitudes."[1]

* Architect. Akanchha Jain, Sr. Lecturer, Amity University, Lucknow

1 David M. Szymanski, director of the center for retailing studies and professor of marketing at Texas A & M University.

NATURE OF MOTIVE		PURCHASE DECISION
1. DESIRE FOR MONEY	:	PREFER FOR BARGAINING
2. VANITY	:	GETTING COSTLY ITEMS, GOING TO SHOWROOMS
3. FEAR	:	SECURITY IN SHOPS
4. PRIDE	:	ATTRACTIVE SHOPS
5. FASHION	:	RURAL PEOPLE IMITATE URBAN
6. POSSESSION	:	PURCHASING ANTIQUES
7. HEALTH	:	PROPER FOOD COURTS
8. COMFORT	:	MOVING FOR SHOPPING MALLS
9. LOVE AND AFFECTION	:	GOING WITH FAMILY

Table 1: Relatonshp between motives and shopping behavour

Consumer behavior is broadly the study of individuals, or organizations and the processes consumers use to search, select, use and dispose products, services, experience or ideas to satisfy needs and its impact on the consumer and society.

a) Importance of Study of Consumer Behavior:

The reason to study consumer behavior is to understand the role it plays in the lives of humans.

b) Impact of Urban Growth on Bazaars:

b.1. Social and economical issues:

Public opinion has expressed a preference and a wish for arcades, market halls and even simple glazing covering existing streets.

Buying an experience:

The activity of shopping for this kind of public has moved on, from 1945 when it was mainly buying a product or a commodity, to the 1960s and 1970s when the focus was on service, to the latter part of the 1990s when shopping was about going out and obtaining an experience.

The challenge for designers is how to make the shopping environment a memorable experience. Shopping places will need to exploit this issue and make the visit memorable, even to the extent that the shopping trip becomes more important than the purchase.

b.2. Cultural issues:

Culture consists of traditional ideas and in particular the values, which are attached to the place. It includes:

- Knowledge,
- Belief,
- Art,
- Morale,
- Law,
- Customs,
- All other habits acquired by man as a member of society.

b.3. Development issues: Development issues must address:

- Site approach
- Land use pattern
- Traffic volume and character
- Public spaces
- Pedestrian movement
- Streetscape (hard & soft) & landscaping
- Architectural character

Figure 1: 3D view of Aminabad, Revitalization (to give new life or energy to somebody or something)

EMERGENCE OF THE CHARACTER OF AMINABAD AS A CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

a) Social and Economical Issues:

- Although shopping centers in the past have met many of these criteria, recent focus group research (in the survey done by students of M.Arch 2009 batch, Integral University Lucknow) indicates that the public has a dislike for enclosed, internalized shopping environments and would prefer to go shopping in more natural environments where there is daylight, a feeling of contact with the outside and something unique or particular about that town or city. In Aminabad the general public coming for shopping is mostly of middle lower income group (see Figures 1 and 2).

- Without removing the shops or building structure, the central core of Aminabad should be used as the breathing space for people who are coming there.

- The place should be developed such as, that people of all classes can visit the place with interest.

b) Cultural Issues:

- There is no interaction space for the people at the time of festival who are visiting Aminabad. So the provision of a shopping court in the central core of Aminabad could cater to this need.

Figure 2: Identifying social, economic, cultural and physical issues facing Aminabad market

- The encroachment along the roads should be removed to create the avenue and vista along the market.

c) Development Issues:

c.1) Land-use

- 29420 sq.m. built-up area has been demolished or needs to be maintained

- The findings of the survey show that more area is required for amenities and 2- 5 % area of the locality requires to be redeveloped

c.2) Architectural Character

- There is no particular architectural character of Aminabad (45% -Indo Islamic and Indo European. Rest of the character is mixed which includes new construction as well as renovation) (see Figure 3).

- About 5-10% buildings have hoardings installed on them, which has spoiled their original character. Harmony in the streetscape is not maintained (see Figure 4).

c.3) Transportation

- Road congestion due to encroachment and lack of traffic management.

- Insufficient parking.

- No segregation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic

Figure 3: Architectural character of buildings in Aminabad

- Improper junctions.

- Lack of islands and roundabouts.

OPEN SPACES

With the densification of Aminabad, the open spaces are being encroached upon. Some of the issues with respect to open spaces are summarized here:

a) Visibility:

The Aminabad Park is surrounded by the market areas. The Aminabad Park consists of three sites, the Jadewala Park, the Hanuman Mandir Park and the Akadawala Park. These parks act as open spaces for the public within the congested

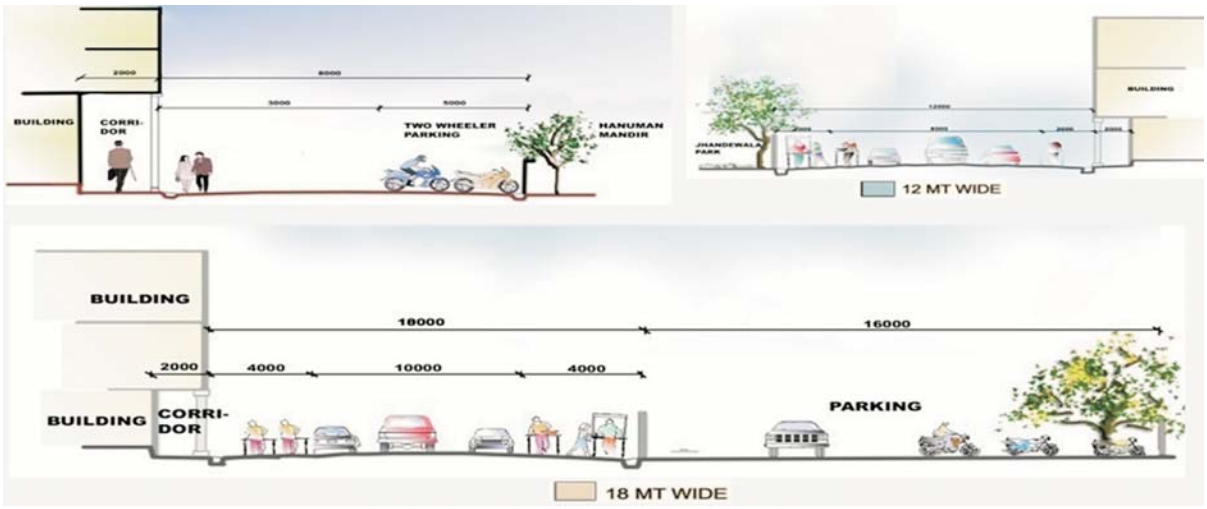

Figure 4: Road section through Aminabad bazaar

market space of Aminabad. They have entries from three sides inviting people from all the directions (see Figure 5). These parks consists of religious buildings like the Mazar and other activities like electricity transformers, *sulabh* (social service organisation), underground and open areas for parking. These parks have features like statues, water body and sitting areas, giving it a lively environment (see Figures 6&7).

Sitting areas are also used for illegal activities in the parks. Due to the lack of maintenance the constructed areas of the parks are either damaged or taken away by people for personal use. Visual access of Aminabad is completely blocked off.

Figure 5: Entrance to open space in Aminabad Park

Figure 6: Kiosk in Aminabad Park

Figure 7: Fountain in Aminabad Park

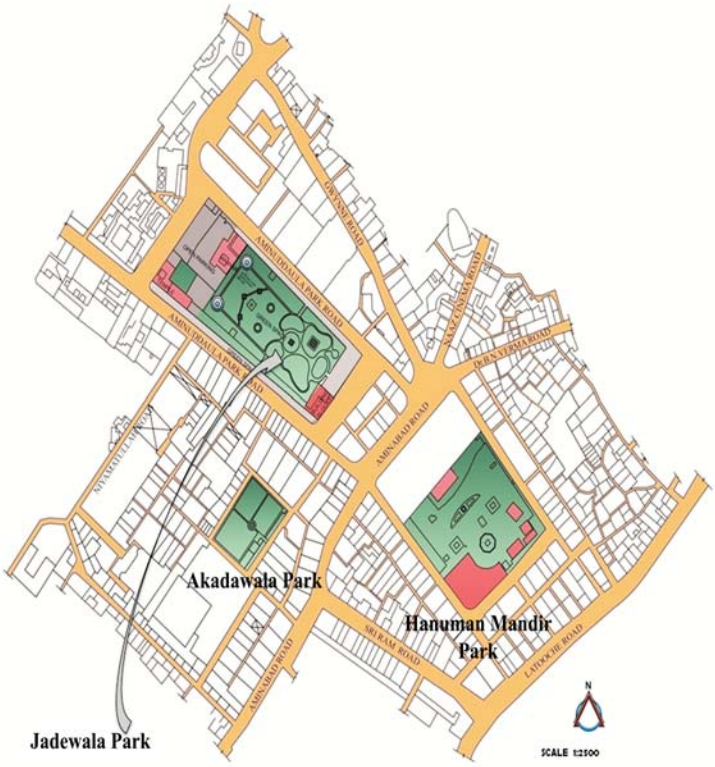

Figure 8: Green open space in Aminabad market

Previous landscaped areas (see Figures 8 and 9):

Jadewala Park: **27000 Sq.M**
Hanuman Mandir Park: **18000 Sq.M.**
Akada Wala Park: **6300 Sq.M**.

Current landscaped areas (see Figure 9):

Jadewala Park: **23000 Sq.M**
Hanuman Mandir Park: **1088 Sq.M**
Akada Wala Park: **5500 Sq.M**.

The landscaped areas in the parks have reduced significantly over the years.

b) Accessibility:
Many open spaces in the public domain are completely inaccessible to the public. In the design proposal this issue is addressed by treating the Jadewala Park as an open space, housing the food court along with a pedestrian passageway that cuts across it.

c) Encroachment:
Encroachment can be seen throughout the roads of Aminabad. These encroachments are mainly long term. There are many encroachments in the open spaces, some of which, such as the maintenance sheds, may be essential for the upkeep of the space (see Figure 10).

Other facts that can be identified in the area are:

- Parking spaces are not adequate
- Encroachment causes the road width to reduce for traffic movement
- Better traffic circulation through the corridors is required
- The number of vendors on the sides of each road, calculated via the survey, points out the most encroached areas
- The research shows that the maximum number of vendors are at Hanuman Mandir Road, Bata Road, Aminabad Road, Pratap Market and little less congested is the Ganesh Ganj Road
- The research also shows that the venders are required to be shifted elsewhere, thereby providing free space

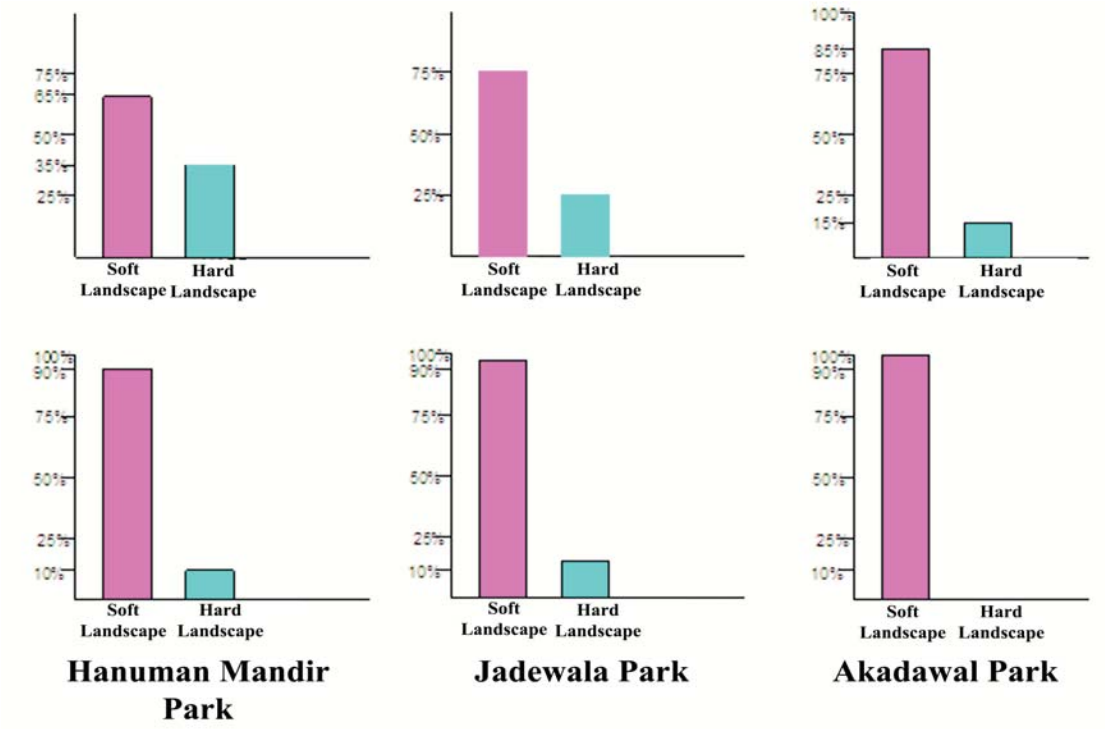

Figure 9: Bar graphs documenting current and previous % of landscape in each park.

in the congested areas and clearing the roads for vehicular and pedestrian traffic

- The space required for the venders depends on the maximum type of sales on the road side, which needs to be accomodated adequately to avoid congestion

CONCEPT

Spaces and accessible spaces for the public can be used as significant points of orientation for users of the precinct, by providing visual orientation as well as pathways through it. They can be places where people would feel comfortable for stopping. People should be able to orient themselves through appropriate signage and maps placed nearby.

Aminabad Park has been treated as the Lucknow *haat* (a weekly market) as there is a requirement for a local market. In the design proposal it will be ensured that all open spaces are open to public from 6am to 9pm. Segregation of vehicular and pedestrian movements will also be ensured to safeguard the pedestrians. Controlling the vehicular movement in Aminabad will also minimize the traffic congestion (see Figure 11).

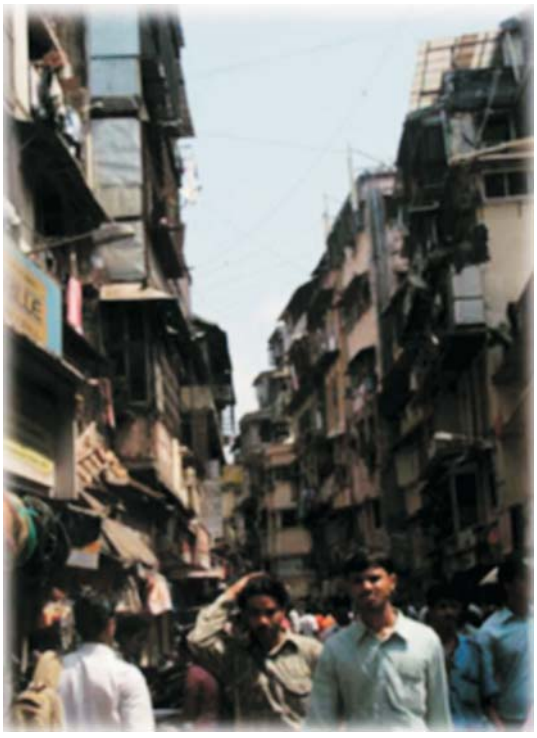

Figure 10: Congestion in market

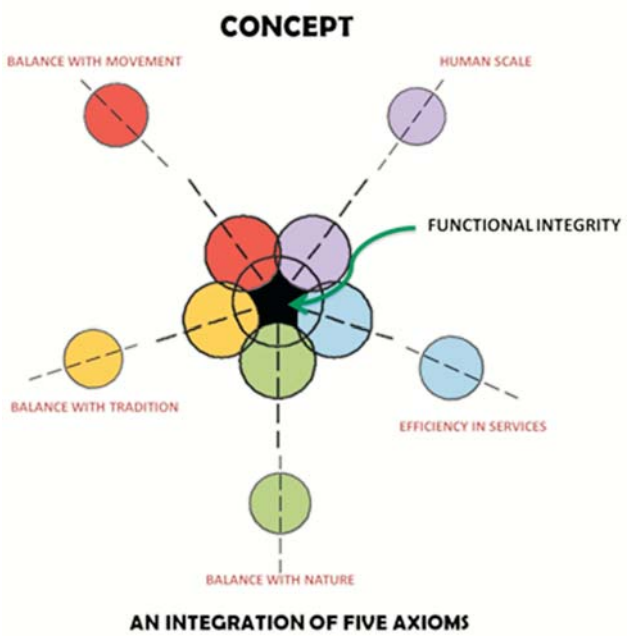

Figure 11: Formation of concept

Balance with nature: Providing open space, thereby conserving the elements that nurture the environment.

Balance with tradition: Architectural character of Aminabad is to be conserved. Bazaar concept is to be restored by providing *haat*. Location of *haat* should be such that architectural character can be emphasized.

Balance with movement: Control of the traffic congestion by proper segregation of pedestrian and vehicular movement, and provision of adequate parking spaces is proposed.

Human scale: The personal visibility of places is to be promoted.

Efficiency in services: Provision for rain water harvesting and using solar power as alternate energy source is also proposed.

DESIGN PROPOSALS

The following design proposals are made (see Figures 12 and 13).

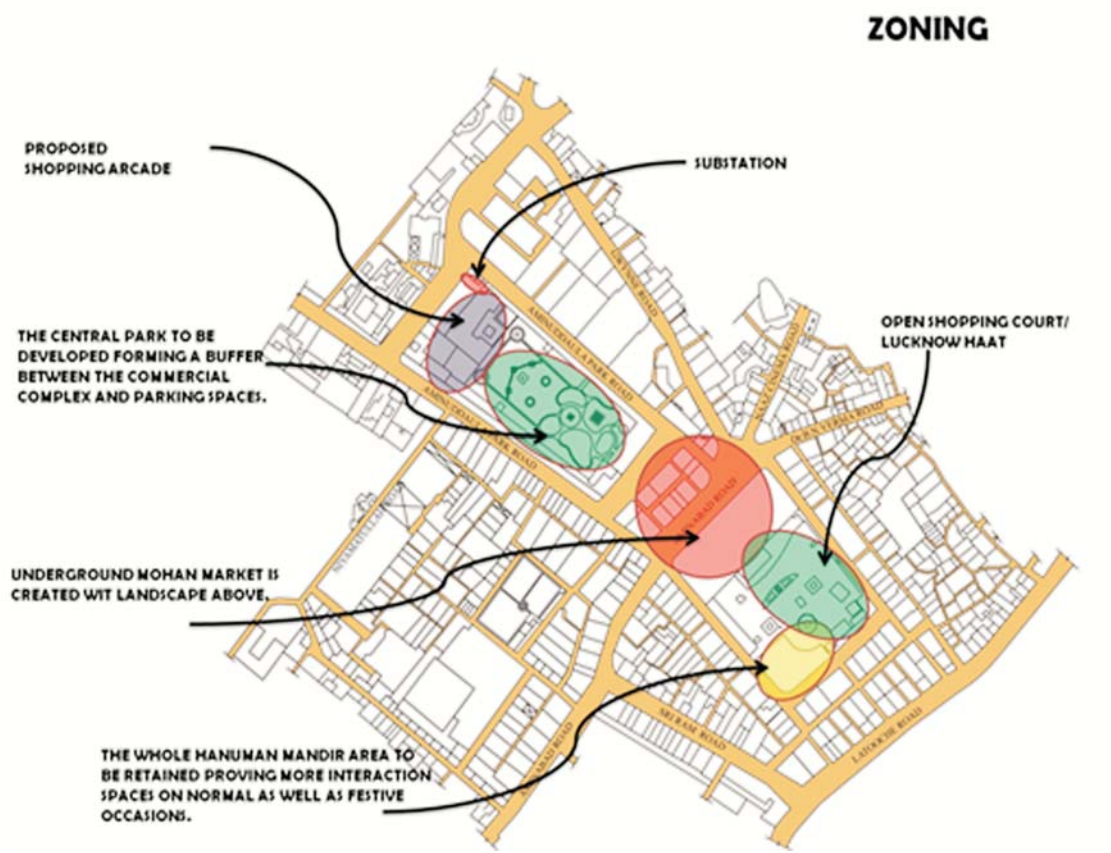

Figure 12: Proposed zoning plan

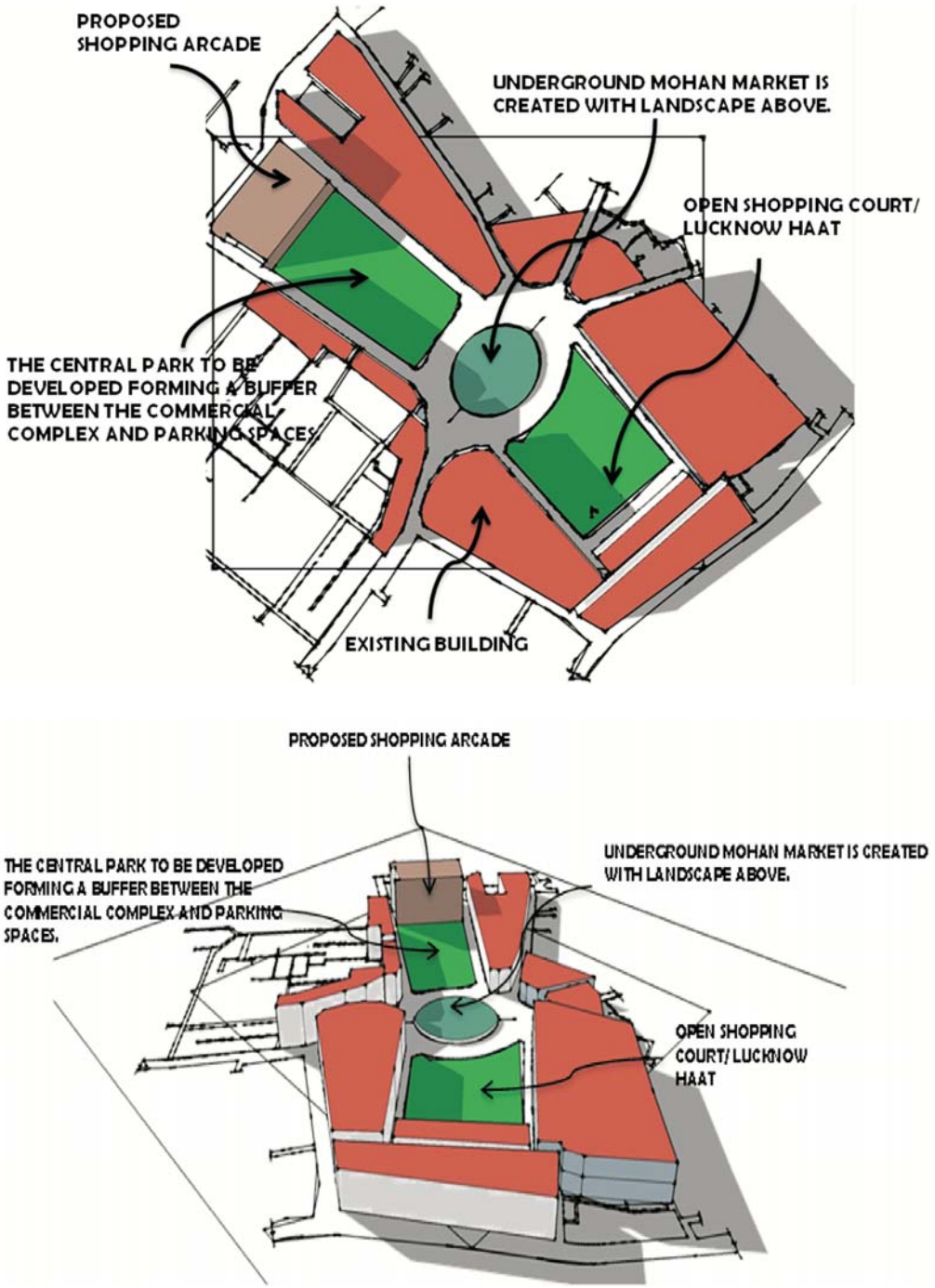

Figure 13: An overview of proposal for Aminabad

Traffic Regulation (Pedestrian & Vehicular)

1. Following junctions need to be redesigned:

- Junction between Latouche road and Sri Ram Road.
- Junction between Amin-Ud-Daula and Aminabad.
- Junction between Amin-Ud-Daula and taxi stand.

Solution for Parking Problem

It is proposed that basement parking should be provided in the Jhandewala park and Hanuman Mandir park, to meet the total number of parking requirement.

Along with more parking spaces for vehicles, cycle parking should also be provided.

Land use pattern:

1. To preserve the proposed hybrid character of the architecture in Aminabad a bye law should be framed for architectural control in Aminabad so that the future construction can follow the same typology.

2. Semi-basements should used for commercial purposes to relieve the market from over congestion.

3. Proposed areas to be divided as follows:

- A commercial centre having jewelry shops, big showrooms, banks, food court and two cinemas with a seating capacity of eighty people.

- Shopping complex: floor division for different usage

- Amenities: water, public toilets

- Parking to be provided: on ground parking , multilevel parking

- Encroachment shifted in the vendor market

- Weekly market proposed.

- Path along Jhandewala Park should be made one way.

Architectural Control (Facade Improvement)

1. Hybrid character should be maintained keeping in consideration a futuristic design philosophy outlining the vision for the area

2. The character of Aminabad should be retained by providing a blend of Islamic, European and Indian architectural features.

3. Use and choice of materials and colors should be as such that it looks balanced with the architectural features keeping in consideration the present and future scenario of Aminabad.

CONCLUSION

Aminabad is a historical neighbourhood of Delhi, which has lost its vibrancy and character because of congestion, pollution and un-controlled development.

All is however not lost and as demonstrated here, if an attempt is made towards understanding and analyzing the socio-econoic and cultural behaviour of shoppers of Aminabad, and the physical constraints in terms of densifiction and urban congestion, a design proposal can be put together which addresses the physical issues of the locality and thus result in its upgradation.

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A survey done by students of M.Arch 2009 batch, Integral University Lucknow

DAVID M. SZYMANSKI, director of the center for retailing studies and professor of marketing at TEXAS A & M University.

COMMUNITY AND ARCHITECTURE: CONTRIBUTION RETROSPECT IN KARACHI DURING THE BRITISH RAJ CASE OF SADDAR BAZAAR

Hira Ovais*

ABSTRACT

Communities play a vital role in the development of any society, both in terms of political and commercial ambiance and culture and social character, which contributes in the city formation. Karachi is an excellent example of it. Over the years the city has evolved from wilderness to being one of the most populous cities of the world. It houses many imported traditions, which have mixed with local values over the years.

Karachi, in 1900s was dominated by many ethnic communities, which resulted in the rise of a class system, which in turn lead to the emergence of communal enclaves to create a sense of communal values. Until independence of the sub-continent in 1947, these communities worked together and flourished in Karachi.

Saddar bazaar, the city centre of Karachi was mainly occupied by these communities. Saddar was laid as a camp by the British in the late nineteenth century and was later used not only as a marketplace, but also consisted supporting functions like storage facilities, religious places, schools, coffee houses, cinemas, bars, billiard rooms, restaurants and residential areas. The merchants who came from India started their commercial activities here. During the Colonial rule, Saddar flourished not only in terms of trade and commerce, but also in terms of architecture.

By the 19th century the British had already established a design language for the architecture of the public buildings of the sub-continent. But after the involvement of the local communities, this language was transformed and either hybrid forms were created (i.e. blending of European features with balconies and *chajjas* (overhangs) of different proportions) or purely local architectural forms based on the requirement of the locals were constructed. The transformation of European architectural language and its ornamentation into local buildings were observed in many structures. Some of them were built by British architects and engineers and others by the local firms under the British influence.

This paper documents and analyses two such hybrid design buildings, which reflect the lifestyles of the communities through the built form characteristics, details and formal and spatial characteristics.

Keywords: Communities, Businessmen, Architects, Engineers, Ornamentation, Transformation

INTRODUCTION

Cultural values of any city symbolize homogeneity and uniqueness in its character. It helps us to understand physical, psychological and social importance of a historic area. In Karachi, many of the Colonial buildings are still intact, and reflect the power of the once ruling British class. For Karachi, it was not only rule and power of the British, but also an intention to bring cultural transformation in the people, bending of the natives to accept the British dominance and the struggle with their identity. The most prominent development of the British, after the placement of their camps was the grid iron formulation[i], which was observed in Saddar bazaar.

Buildings in Saddar bazaar not only contributed in creating socially responsive environment, but also had a historical importance, as they were constructed usually by the British who had become prosperous enough to mark their achievements in the form of these beautiful buildings for the future generations to witness. Roads like Elphinstone, Victoria, Preedy and Clarke within Saddar, have historical significance as they mark the chronological development of the city.

* Architect Hira Ovais (B.Arch, NED University, M.Arch, UET-Lahore), currently in private practice.

The communal boom[ii] was witnessed during the British rule when some of the Goans and Parsis came to Karachi and started investing in businesses. Their businesses flourished and with that came the need to develop an architectural vocabulary reflecting their ethnicity, which was a hybrid of the Colonial and local forms. This period saw a number of philanthropists involved in the construction of many public buildings for providing necessary facilities to the general public. The participation of other communities such as Bohris, Khojas, Jews, Muslims and Hindus, in the construction activity, was also seen during this peirod. These communities either hired builders for their buildings, or professional architects.

Karachi – Origins and British Annexation

Karachi, the metropolitan city of Pakistan, is not an ancient town nor does it have any historical monuments or archeological remains. It was a small fisherman's village with various names pronounced as Kolachi-jo-kun, Krokala, Corangee and Krotchey[iii]. The geographical domains of Karachi attracted the British after installing their first factory in Thatta and it was said that "*Karachi was the first place to be added to the British possession at the commencement of the reign of her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria*"[1]. So the British warships and seaborne troops were sent for Karachi from Bombay[iv].

Before the arrival of the British, Karachi was a part of the chieftains who had control over the Hub Malir region and the Makran coast. In the seventeenth century, the region was in the control of the Kalmati Maliks, who had dominated the area perhaps since the thirteenth century. The rise of Kalhora rulers of Sindh from Larkana district and the unification of Sindh, under their rule, saw the control of Karachi passing to them in 1795. Until this time, the

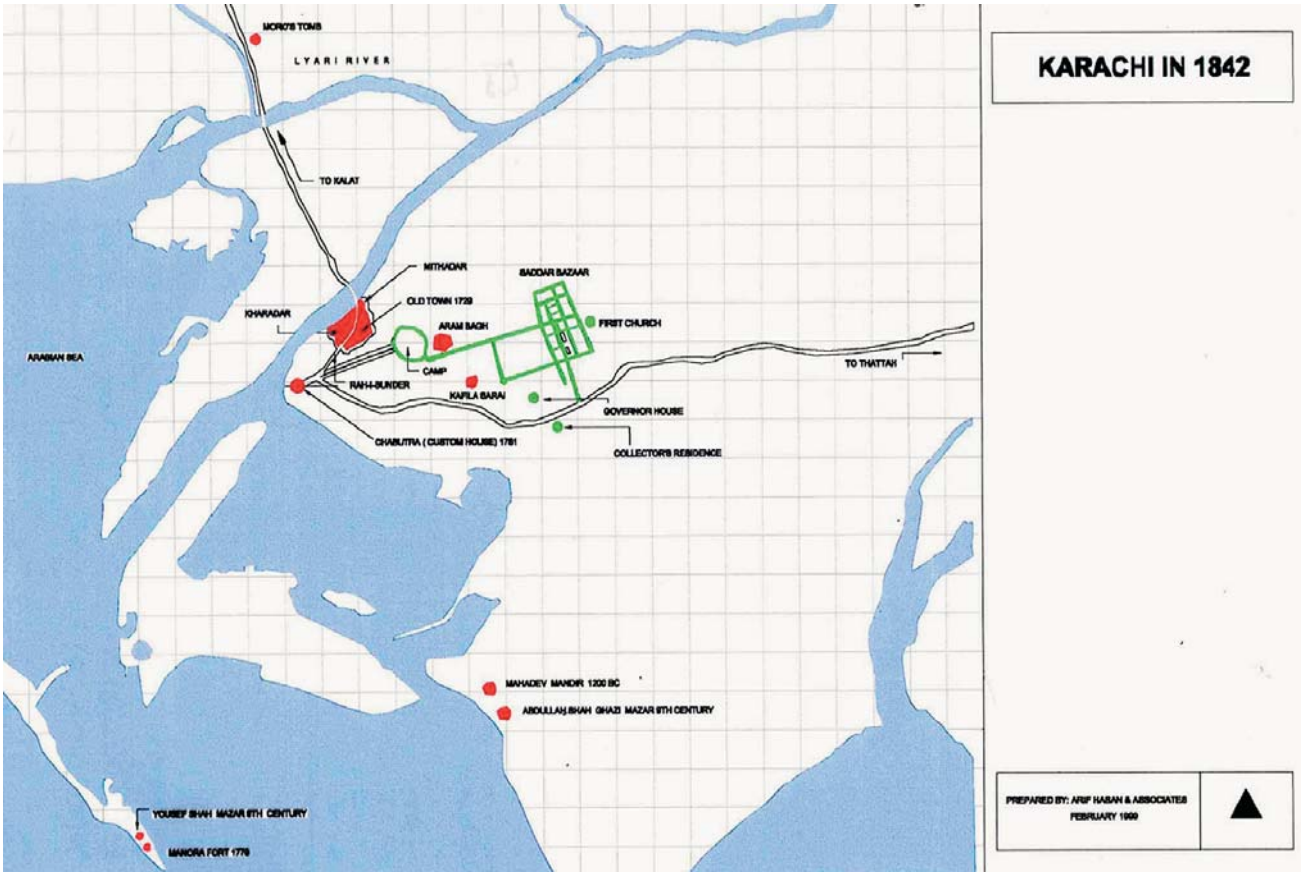

Figure 1: Karachi Map: 1842

1 (Rustomji, Karachi: 1839-1947: A Short History of the Foundation and Growth of Karachi, 2007)

settlement of Karachi was based primarily on the Lyari River only. Later on it was inhabited by Hindu and Muslim merchants, after the area saw a boom in trading activities. This area, eventually to be referred to as "Old Town" was characterized by narrow winding streets, seldom provision of open spaces and residences of Hindus and Muslims primarily (see Figure 1). The co-existence of these two religious sects also saw the presence of both temples and mosques, all lined along the same streets, with other religious buildings including dharamshalas, shrines, imam bargas. As far as the markets was concerned, the area was primarily dedicated to wholesale activity, with markets such as Dhan Mandi and Khajji Market, that conducted dealings related to the Port of Karachi[2].

Charles Napier was appointed as the first Governor for the province of Sind in 1842. He planned several development schemes for Karachi. Till this time, EIC (East India Company) governed the city in an informal manner. The initial works on Karachi were mostly based on urban interventions (see Figure 2), such as construction of docks at the harbor and timber pier at Kiamari. The only architectural formations at this time were seen in the form of Napier Barracks for the British military. In 1847, before Napier left Sindh, he built Napier Barracks for the European Army. It was built as an exquisite engineering expression, and still stands in its grandeur on the eastern side of the city. The British established their camp, in what is known today as 'Rambagh Quarters', away from the native town or 'Black Town'[v]. Later on, they shifted their camp to Saddar Bazaar, a cantonment area, for administrative purposes, to show their power and domination. This area was named as the 'White Town'- and was also an elite hub for the wives of the British military officers. Other developments in Karachi included the first rail service,

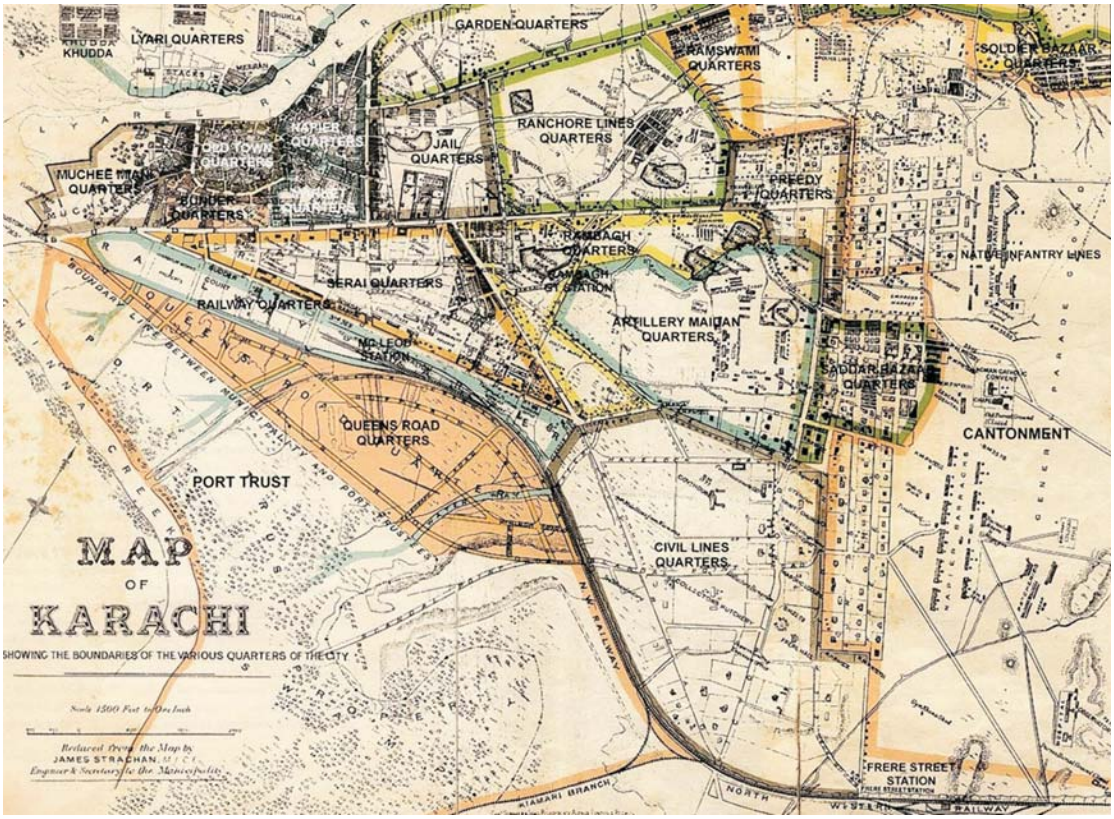

Figure 2: Map of Karachi by James Strachan in 1890Map of Karachi by James Strachan in 1890

2 Hamida Khuhro, Karachi: Mega city of our times, 1997

which connected Karachi to the rest of India, first South Asian tramway, and public building projects such as Empress Market and Frere Hall Gardens. Till 1876, the city of Karachi comprised of temples, churches, mosques, courthouses, markets and paved streets. By the late 1880's, the city was divided into 26 quarters, out of which the more important ones were Old Town, Saddar Bazaar, Garden, Jail, Serai, Rambagh, Railway, Civil Lines, Frere Town and Cantonment, Bunder, Market and Preedy Quarters.

Saddar Bazaar and its Formation

Saddar bazaar, a chief or permanent principle market was developed during this period with the intention to fulfill the requirements and needs of the wives of the British officers. It was the first major urban intervention by the British in Karachi. Thus, it was known as "Camp Bazaar" or "Regimental Bazaar", which later on got the name of Saddar bazaar. Initially Charles Napier demolished all the shops of the natives, as he believed that the natives should not have been allowed to own property in the Cantonment area. Later on, Napier allowed the natives to open shops in Saddar bazaar. Many shops were developed by the locals which lead to the emergence of the communities in the area. Some of the early risk takers were:

- Haji Dossul & Sons Co: General merchandising, fancy goods and ammunition.
- Mahomed Ali Alibhoy & Sons: Contractors for the military.
- Mohamed Ali Alibhoy Karimji & Sons: Supply and transport works, hardware.
- T. Cossor & Co. Engineering works and godowns.

Eventually Saddar bazaar became the most fashionable shopping area in the city. It comprised of expensive shops, which were all well stocked with imported goods. A number of shops and small manufacturers were also located along Elphinstone Street, Saddar.

In some cities of the sub-continent, these bazaars were designed as a separate quarter, as in the case of Karachi (Saddar Bazaar quarters), while in other cities these bazaar's formed the main spine of the city, as in case of Lahore (The Mall). In some cities the Cantonment bazaars were placed at the junction of main spines or roads of the city, as in the case of Rawalpindi's Saddar bazaar. Thus, these bazaar's became the recreational and commercial (shopping) zone for the whites and local elites, that influenced the overall development of the city.

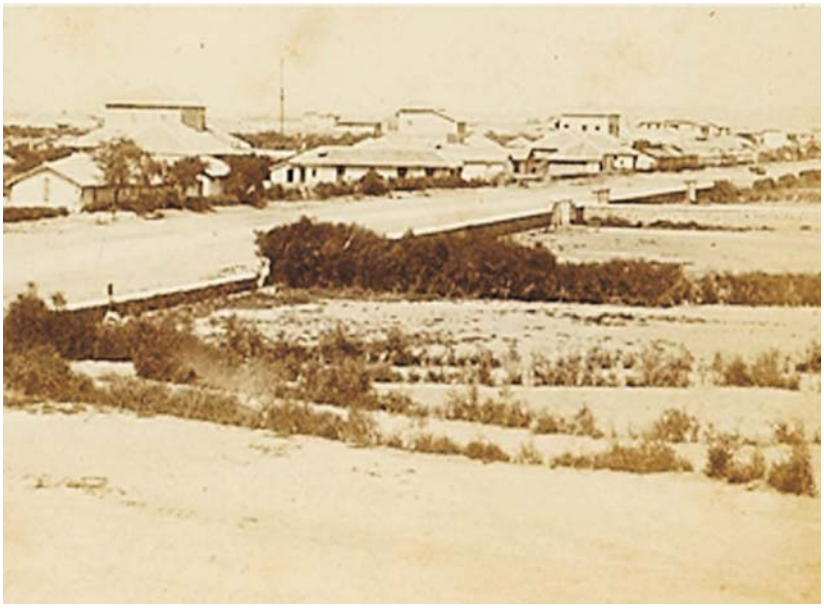

Figure 3: Camp Kurrachee, 1878

Communities and their Lifestyles

Karachi during the 19th century was very cosmopolitan, like all important ports and trade centres in the subcontinent. In the Saddar Bazaar, almost every Eastern nationality and caste was represented. There were Barahmins and Banyas from all parts of India, Hindus from Cutch, Rajputs from, Bombay and Madras, Mohammedan traders of all kinds from Cutch and Baluchistan including Khojas, Bohras, Arabs, Persians and Afghans, Parsis, Goans from the island of Goa and even some Jews, who also came in search of business and trade. These communities on one hand maintained their separate identities, but on the other hand influenced each other culturally and socially which resulted in a homogenized culture.

The growth of Saddar gathered momentum after the rebellion movement of 1857 against the British rule. The development was pushed through the policies of the British related to trade and commerce, and through the founding spirit of Goans, Parsis, Hindus and later the Muslim trade communities, who established businesses in the bazaar. *The Hindus,* who were the founders of Karachi, started their trade from the family of Naomal Hotchand. In 1947, the Hindus, numbering 180,199 was the major community of Karachi. The percentage of Hindu population was recorded at 46.6 per cent according to the 1941 census. This was because large number of Hindus from the *mofussils* were immigrating into the city for security reasons and for better sources of income. As traders and businessmen, Bhaiband community played a vital role in the development of Saddar bazaar. Men like Tahilram Khemchand, Udharam Wadhumal and Harchandrai Vishindas are some outstanding builders of modern Karachi. Some of the architectural edifices constructed by them and which can still be witnessed today are Shri Swaminarayan Temple, Ramchandra Mandir on Preedy Street, Ratan Talao Gurudwara and many more (see Figures 4 and 5).

The Mohemmedans also played a vital role in the development of Karachi. As per 1941 census, they were the largest minority. There were Sindhi Mohemmadens and Mohammedans from Balouchistan, Afghanistan and from Cutch, Kathiwar and other Western Indian States. Among them, the Bohras, Khojas (Agha Khanis) and the Memons have played a considerable part in the development of Karachi in terms of trade. The *Ismailis* who were termed as *Khojas* or Aga Khanis set up their exclusive Jamatkhanas.[vi] They participated in the civic life of the city. Seth Ghulam Hussain Chagla played a vital role in the municipality council of Karachi. The *Memons* who originally came from Cutch contributed through setting up large businesses in the city. Mr Saleh Mohammad Omar Dossa's and Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon's families typify the pioneering spirit of the Memon merchants. The *Bohras*, though numerically the smallest, enjoyed the privilege of very high literacy and civic sense. The Bohra family of Ghulam Hussain has disappeared, yet it is still remembered by the name 'Gibbon'. In terms of architecture, Mr Ghulam

Figure 4: Ratan Talao Gurudwara

Figure 5: Shri Swaminarayan Temple, 1849

Hussain Khalikdina constructed the first town hall for the city. The Jaffer Fadoo dispensary is named after the Ishnaashri Khoja. Memons of Cutch, built many mosques. Cutchi Memon Mosque was constructed in 1893. Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon was a major memon activist and built many residential buildings for the memons.

The *Christians* constructed Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. The Roman Catholics were known as 'Goans', whereas the others were Europeans of different nationalities, the majority of them were British, English, Scottish and Irish (see Figures 6 and 7). The Protestant Church situated opposite the Government house is one of the various churches constructed by the Christian community. It was meant to serve as a landmark for mariners approaching from a distance. The Church looks more like a battlement tower than a House of God, but it holds many a sacred memory for the Protestant residents of Karachi.

Kincaid relates an amusing story about this church:

"....General Nicholson whose name was on everyone's lips because on one occasion for a bet, he hoped from turret to turret of the Karachi's Church Tower (Trinity). The turrets were five feet apart and the tower atleast one hundred and fifty feet high"[3]

The *Goans* were immigrants from different parts of India, who had made their home in Karachi. The community numbers were around 13,000 and their life was centered around their church, which was St. Patrick's and was founded in 1845 with their schools- St. Patrick's school for boys and St. Joseph Covent for girls. The Goans were mostly business and professional men. Majority of them served as clerks and domestic servants.[4]

The *Jewish* community was once an integral part of Karachi and played an important role in the city's development. The

Figure 6: St Patricks Cathedral, 1901

Figure 7: St Patricks School, 1873

3 Rustomji, Karachi: 1839-1947: A Short History of the Foundation and Growth of Karachi, 2007, pg 78
4 Ibid

Jewish community mostly came from Maharashtra. The first place of worship that they built in Karachi was in 1893. A senior member of the Jewish community, Solomon David, was instrumental in setting up the synagogue called Magan Shalome (see Figure 8). He was a respected figure who held important positions, including some in the municipality. The synagogue was the centre of the community's socio-cultural activities. Another noted Karachi Jew was architect Moses Somake, who designed such buildings as the Flagstaff House, Goan Association Hall and Edward House.

Parsis, who are generally known as Zoroastrians were 'fire worshipper' who followed the ancient king of Bactria. They came to Karachi as traders, particularly as suppliers and military contractors. They settled in the most convenient locality of Saddar bazaar which was more or less in the center of the cantonment. Lieutenant Colonel Baillie of the British Army, wrote in 1890: "*The number of Parsis residing in town by no means represents their importance as factors of the trade and commerce of the Port*".

Montague Webb paid a glowing tribute to the community when he spoke of them in these words: "*To the alert and energetic followers of Zoroaster Karachi owes perhaps more than to the members of any community*".[5] Eduljee Dinshaw and his family was one of the renowned Parsi who participated in the welfare of the city and built and funded many schools, colleges and dispensaries (see Figures 9 to 11). One such dispensary is the Eduljee Dinshaw Dispensary. Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta was another important Parsi figure who was also elected as a member of municipal council and built the urban nomenclature of the city. Parsi Gymkhana was established by two Parsi gentlemen in 1893 to encourage sports in the community. Cricket, billiard and other popular games were encouraged in which only men were allowed. In 1899, women were given permission to enter the Karachi Parsi Gymkhana and dine there. Hormasji Ardeshir Cowasjee, was another Parsi philanthropist who was given the title of *'the guardian'* to the city of Karachi and was a famous columnist, social and activist. He regularly battled with the land grabbers and raised his voice against illegal building projects in the Old Quarters of Karachi.

Figure 8: Jewish Community sitting outside the Synagogue

Figure 9: Parsi Dar e Meher

Figure 10: Eduljee Dinshaw Dispensary

Figure 11: BVS Parsi School

5 Rustomji, Karachi: 1839-1947: A Short History of the Foundation and Growth of Karachi, 2007, pg 82-83

Richard F. Burton states very amusingly in his book *'Sind Revisited'* that:

"*The Parsis have a lattices fire-temple in the bazar. The Catholics have grown a large and splendid nunnery and girl's school near the old cemetery. The Methodists have a chapel, personage and school close to the bazaar*"[6].

Saddar's Hoar & Co. (see Figure 13) located on Elphinstone Street was considered to house the finest men's fabric collection where every department was under English control. Another fine store in Saddar was the Hayden Company which was considered as the only piano manufacturers in India at the time. They installed their first piano in governor house on 8th May, 1917. Hajee Dossul and Sons Co, was established in 1840 and housed fancy goods and ammunition. Many other famous stores and shops, such as Nusserwanjee and Co, Indian Life Insurance and Co, and Bliss and Co (see Figure 12) also opened in other streets and roads of Saddar bazaar elevating the importance of the area as well as the role played by the communities.

Placement of communities in Saddar Bazaar

Saddar was known for its business, trade and cultural activities, and was frequented by the elites and different ethnicities. In its initial development the area was dominated by the Parsis who set up many businesses in the area occupying 50% of the land at that time. With them, the Christians, particularly Goans, began working towards the provision of basic necessities for the natives. Later, Bohris played an important role in the economic setup of the area and established areas like Bohri bazaar. Imported goods from other cities were sold here. This locality also had residential areas dominated by Goans, Parsis and Europeans, who owned much of the businesses in the bazaar. The bazaar was dominated by churches, missionary schools, community halls and civic buildings owned and operated by a trust belonging to Christians (local and Europeans) and Parsis. To the southeast of Saddar bazaar were the Civil Lines and military cantonment where the British officers lived and worked and where their clubs were located. Surrounding areas were known as the European city.

The map shows the location of various communities residing in Saddar in early nineteenth century (see Figure 14).

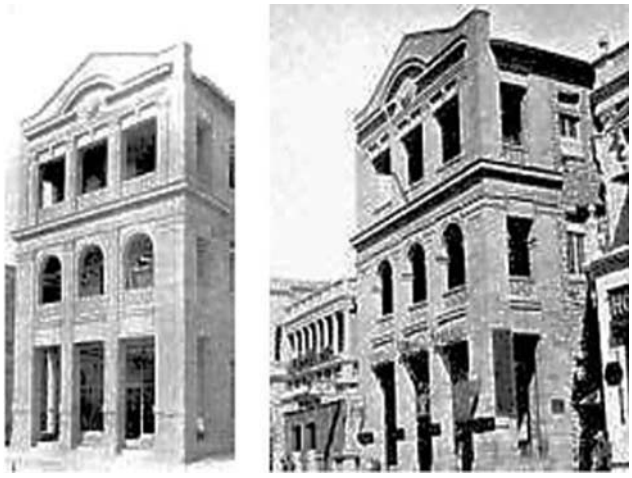

Figure 12: Bliss &Co 1896, Saddar

Figure 13: Hoar & Co, Elphinstone Street, Saddar

6 Burton R. F., reprinted 1993), pg 70

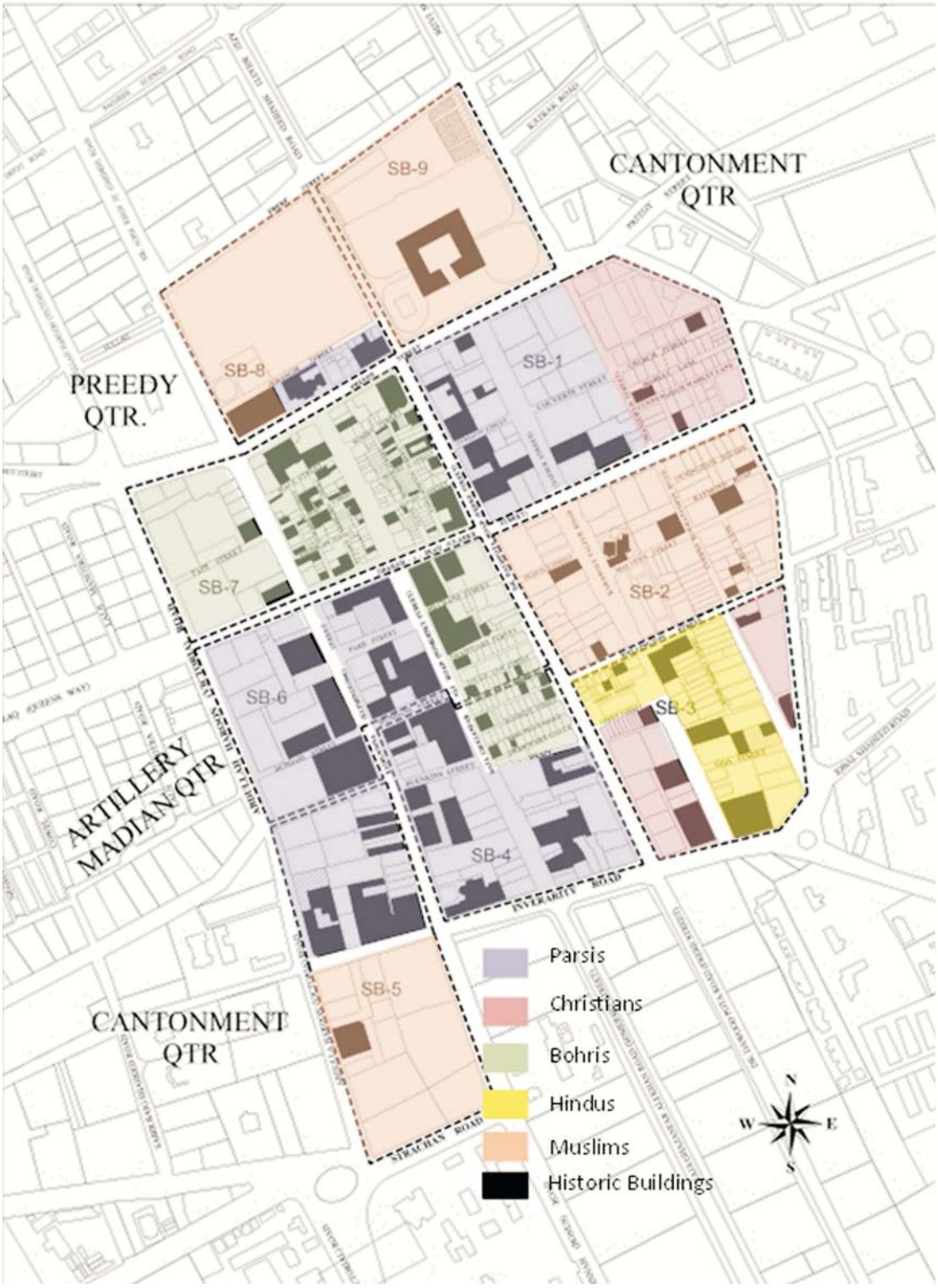

Figure 14: Map showing the location of various communities residing in Saddar

Architectural Participation by Local Inhabitants / Architects

The local mercantile community began acquiring buildings in Zaibunnisa Street, Saddar (previously known as Elphinstone Street) in the early 20th century. Many buildings can still be seen on this Street as examples of the adopted 'Italianate' and 'Indo-Saracenic' building style which are examples of a localized version of the western Barooque style of construction.[7] The fashion of hiring professional architects and the competition between mercantile associations promoted the expression of architectural design and ornamentation in an exquisite manner in these buildings.

Jamsedji P. Mistry was a notable architect of this era and has been discovered at the Karachi Municipal Records. He practiced in collaboration with architectural and engineering firms under the banner of "Mistry and Bhedwar, Architects and Civil Engineers". The firm was active from 1917 till 1935. From the documents it is obvious that the firm was also working in Bombay, now known as Mumbai, and had its practice on the "Church Gate Street", whereas in Karachi the office was located on "New Cloth Market, Bunder Road". The architect was a Parsi, and had renowned Parsi trading families, like the Dinshaw family and the Cowasjee family, as clients. His works include mixed use and residential buildings, as well as some additions and alterations to the existing buildings. In 1920, a small structure of 120 sq.yds was constructed by the architect for Miss Emily Rozario. The structure was facing Dundas Street. This two storey building consisted of flat arches and projected balconies on both sides. Over the years the building has gone through many alterations. The building has minimum ornamentation at the corners and a rusticated band on the first floor, and reflects a classical style while the overall expression of the building is in Renaissance style. Today the building is known by the name 'Gulshan-e- Khuwaja, Gareeb Nawaz Building'.

Hassasing H. Advani was another architect and civil engineer who worked in Karachi in the first quarter of the twentieth century. His work includes institutional, commercial and residential buildings that were built in various Quarters of the city. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, a designer who made his appearance in Karachi was Moses Somake. He handled many important commissions and was a famous member of the Society of Architects. He was born in Lahore and had Jewish origins. It is not known whether he was a trained architect or not, but in the 1913 Karachi Handbook, his firm is listed as "Architects, Surveyors and Contractors, Victoria Road" under the "Mercantile and Professional". Another entry under Trading Firms, mentions 'M. Somake Company' as 'Agents for Belgium Compressed Cement and Floor Tiles, Manufacturers of Artificial Stones for Plain, Reinforced and Architectural Works'. The major project which he handled in Saddar bazaar was the Goa Portuguese Hall, also known as Goan Gymkhana, in 1905. The handling of the volumes in this building reflects his seriousness towards the project. Renaissance was the style chosen by Somake. The exterior consists of the pedimented centre with hipped roofs and dormers. The semicircular window openings with circular dormer windows and elaborate pilasters show his inclination towards the Classical European style of architecture. The interior of the building is quite elaborate, with Belgian tiles used on the ground floor and teak flooring on the first floor hall. The interior spaces were designed with perfect proportions, creating a feeling of loftiness and spaciousness.

During this period, there were many local businessmen and traders who constructed buildings on their own, without hiring architects professionally. These local designers and craftsmen were skilled in creating a mix of imported styles and local elements, which formed hybrid structures. Some of them were ornate and simple but were inspired by the influences brought by the British rulers. "The architectural expression which could be termed the "Hybridized –Classical Style" contained elements that drew inspiration from European Classical forms but were intermingled with indigenous motifs giving local color and charm, without sacrificing the inherent expression of imperial grandeur".[8]

The first street which got an element of grandeur was Elphinstone Street (now Zaibunnisa Street), which acquired many mercantile structures. Nusserwanjee R. Mehta, a Parsi trader built an impressive two storey building at the corner of Elphinstone and Dundas Street with Classical features. The use of tall pilasters with the pediment on the roof and decorative balustrading enhanced the beauty of the building. Another mercantile trading firm was Haji Dossul and Sons,which was established in 1840. They also acted as army contractors and auctioneers. The firm constructed a department store named Mohammad Ali Building, which is situated in the vicinity of Nusserwanjee Building. The building shows its grandeur with its large, well-modulated façade. Features such as Roman arches, triangular pediments, coupled Venetian windows, Corinthian pillars and carved

7 Raza, Karachi City
8 Yasmeen Lari, The Dual City Karachi During the Raj, 1996, pg 289

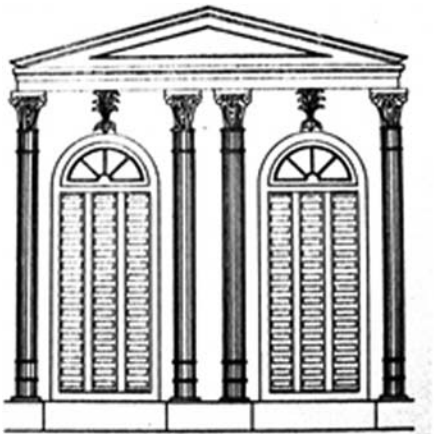

Figure 15: Details of Window Openings

Figure 16: Treatment of Openings- Roman arches, Pilasters and Pediments

balusters show that the building was constructed in Classical style (see Figures 15 and 16).

One of the piano manufacturers and importers of musical merchandise, The Hayden Company also opened their shop on Dundas Street, now Victoria Furnishing Mart. The building consists of rusticated pilasters on the ground floor with semicircular arches. On the ground floor there are ventilators which are also semi-circular in shape and are mounted by large beautifully carved keystone. The upper storey has projected balconies supported by stone brackets. The building was originally built in Gizri stone.

The Old Ilaco House, an outstanding edifice standing on Elphinstone Street was constructed by the Indian Life Insurance Company Ltd. Majorly, it consisted of a central porch emphasized by the dome in the centre with intricate round arches on first floor embellished with a projected balcony. The ground floor had broken pediments, whereas the first floor had semicircular pediments with intricate carving.

Other mercantile firms were Adam Soomar and Co., which served as bakers and confectioners, and developed their shop on Frere Street.

Ardeshir Hormusjee Mama, a transport agent constructed Mama Mansions, now known as Jehangir Kothari building. Saddar Mosque was also known as Jama Masjid mosque, and was constructed in 1900 with pure Italian Renaissance features. The mosque was multilevel with simple arcading and projecting string courses to define the floor, and the roof and the capitals incorporated local motifs, making the character of the building hybrid. Parsi Dare Meher Fire Temple, which was once known as Camp Agiary, was built in 1875 by the trust of Seth Hirji Jamsheji Behrana. This was a two storey structure, with the emblem at the top is an eclectic style. The upper storey was added by Mistry and Bhedwar later. The building was characterized by semicircular arches at the ground level whereas the upper level consisted of apartments with intricate parapet details.

Analytical Review- Case studies in Saddar Bazaar

During the British reign, the architectural forms established were based on pure aesthetics, containing geometrical manipulation with well-devised architectural ornamentation. 1900s saw the engagement of many local philanthropists in the construction activity of the city. An analysis shows that there are two ways in which these buildings were designed, either through the hiring of a foreign architects or engineers or by local designers. Most of the buildings designed by foreign architects/ engineers were for public use, whereas the buildings designed by local designers were the business houses which were constructed for family businesses. The case studies shortlisted here, help further understand the contribution made by the communities in the building construction during the early 19th century. The cases of Mohammad Ali building (a business house built in 1840) and Krishna Mansion (a residential cum commercial building built in 1919) are taken.

Mohammad Ali Building (see Figure 17) was designed by the local designer, as most probably the very first business house in the early 19th century. The building once belonged to a rich ammunition dealer Haji Dossal, and was constructed as a department store in 1840. The ownership was transformed to a Tram Service owner, Mohammad Ali who bought it in an auction and thus named it as Mohammad Ali Building. The building was located on main Zaibunnisa Street. The

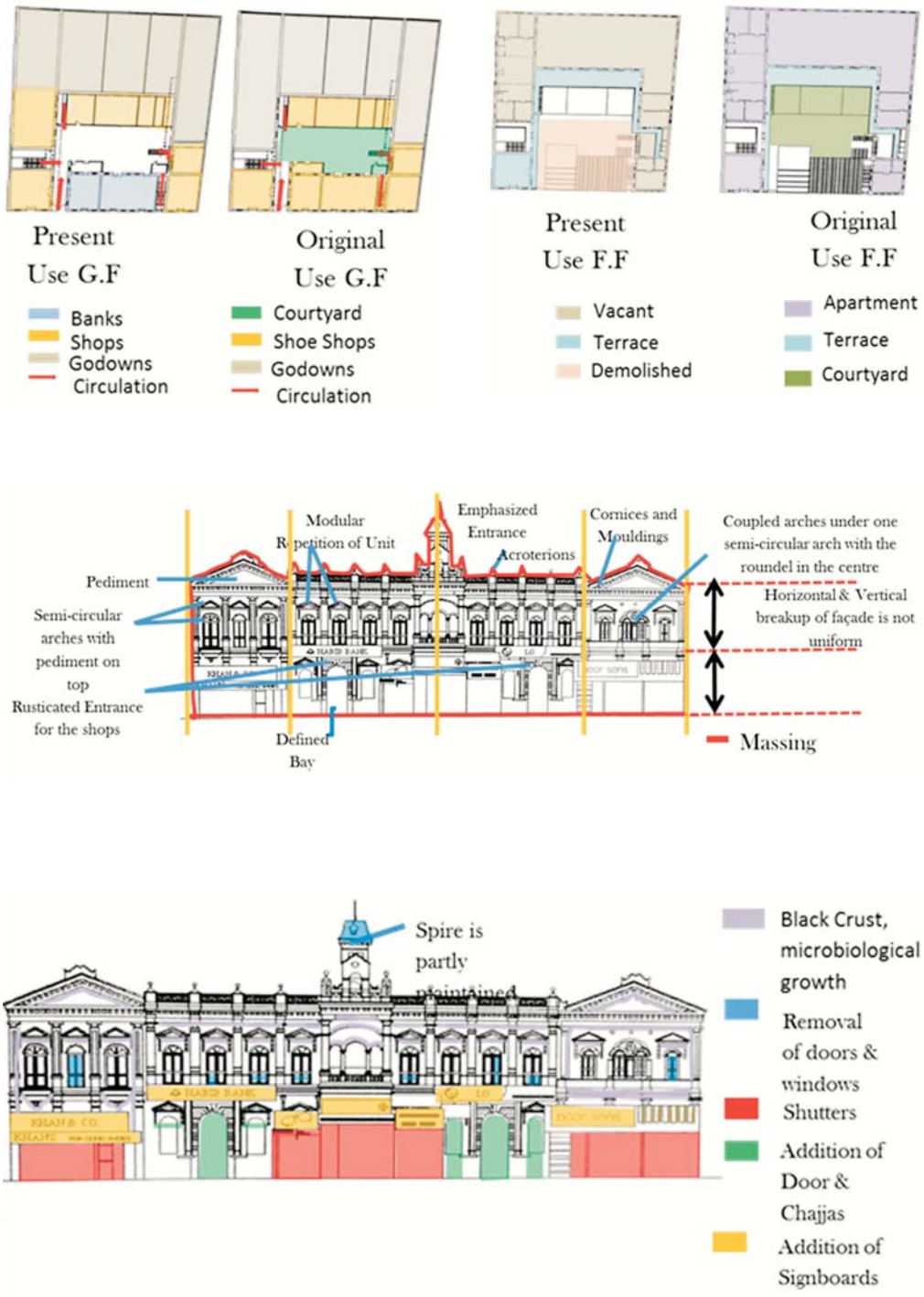

Figure 17: An architectural analysis of Mohammad Ali Building

plot had three sides, one side faced the main road, and the other sides faced secondary streets. This building stands till today and two entrances can be observed, the main road access leads to the shops and the other entrances lead to the courtyard and the upper floors. It has a strong presence in the neighborhood with its large and well-modulated façade. The front of the building is given to the shops; the warehouses /godowns are located at the back. Both the shops and warehouses are surrounded by a central courtyard, which acts as a breathing space for the building. The access to the warehouse is from the rear of the building, via a narrow lane. The plan of the building is square in shape, with rectangles inside forming rooms for shops and warehouses. The structural system of the building is load bearing, with 1'-6" thickness of walls. Some of the walls for warehouses were 7" thin. The beams and columns are situated on a grid. The building exuberates good workmanship which is the result of carefully selected materials. The material primarily used in the building is lime stone, reinforced cement and concrete, wood, iron, marble and glass. The building façade is decorated in stone and cut stone is used for the rear. The building has balanced proportions. The timber pitched roof has red terracotta tiles (*khaprail*). Presently, the roof on the right side of the building is in a dilapidated condition, while on the other side of the building, the roof is still intact.

Mosaic flooring of different unique patterns was one of the features of this buildings. The floors for the warehouses were cemented with grooves, which gave a tiled look and was rough in surface. The external arched openings consisted of louvred paneled doors with the colored glass panes (orange, blue and green) fixed in the semicircle of an arch. These doors opened in a small balcony space. The external windows also had louvres, with one fixed panel at the bottom. The internal door openings consisted of paneled doors each hinged from the centre. The internal window openings consisted of paneled sashes with colored panes fixed from inside. This building had a variety of external architectural ornamentation. The main focal point of this building was its spire or bell tower which was placed at the centre. This tower consisted of intricate details, such as modulated moldings, cornices with the roundel in the centre surrounded by a star or flower and an arched opening followed by curved bracket lines on both sides. The centre of the façade consisted of a *jharoka* style balcony, which was decorated with Corinthian pilasters. Pediments were placed on both front sides of the building and on every opening, which enhanced the beauty and grandeur of the building. Cone style balconies on upper floors were carved by the artisans.

The building has a stone foundation. This is one of the major reasons why the buildings is still intact, even after several years.

Krishna Manzil / Mansion, (see Figures 18 and 19) is a project which was taken by Advani, an architect and civil engineer of the early 19th century and is located in Saddar bazaar. This is the most striking building designed by Advani, that also happens to have survived the ravages of time. The locality by that time had developed from purely commercial to a prestigious commercial cum residential area, mainly occupied by the 'natives'. It boasts of a 101 feet wide frontage, with a generous area of over 9,000 sq ft. An imposing three-storey mixed-use structure, Advani's tour de force dominates the Dundas Street with its eclectic mix of architectural features. Several plans with minor revisions have been found in the archives, however, the final layout approved by the Acting Engineer Karachi Municipality is detailed out exquisitely.

The building is symmetrical in plan and is based on a grid pattern. The staircase, which helps to access the upper floors, is slightly off-centered. The building is organized with three shops of equal size on ground floor, which can be accessed through the main road. The upper floors can be accessed through the staircase, which faces the main road. The upper floors are designed in apartment style residential units. Each apartment consists of a living room, kitchen, and a bedroom with dressing and bathroom. There is an air well, which is off centered, measures 14'3" and acts as a breathing space for the building. There is a staircase at the rear end of the building, which opens into a 4' narrow street. This staircase was used by the domestic servants. The external window openings at the ground floor are round arches, which are embellished in rusticated stone. The other openings are the doors with flat arches. On top of them, three small ventilators are placed, with the central ventilator designed as an arch. The first floor consists of bay windows on either side of the entrance with a broken pediment on top. There are also elliptical arches, which serve as window openings. Wooden louvre blinds are arranged beautifully around the window. The entrance tower has a window with a pediment on it. The second floor is similar in plan to the floor below, except for the opening in the entrance tower. A round arch with a decorative wreath atop replaces the pediment. The side façades of the building have bold roundels which serve as ventilators for the shops and godowns. The architectural vocabulary of the building is bold with minor touches of intricacy in the design of the stone. The designer has played with the openings, using different sized openings. The use of giant piers, slightly projecting window bays crowned

with pediments, projecting balconies and ornamental stone balustrading at the roof level, all add to the beautification of the building façade. There is a roundel at the top of the entrance with the female statues on each side. Whereas the other side of the building, which has rusticated round arches at the ground floor, is topped by a broken pediment and has a acroterion placed in the center. These acroterions were an inspiration of a crown, which is topped by the finishing element filled with jewels. There are balconies with iron grill work, supported by brackets. The pitched roof with terracotta tiles is placed on trusses inside the building. Timber wood was used to make these trusses and to frame the roof. Mosaic floors were observed in upper floors, whereas pigmented tiles were seen at the ground floor. Local Gizri stone was used for the construction. All the architectural ornamentation was done with stone carvings.

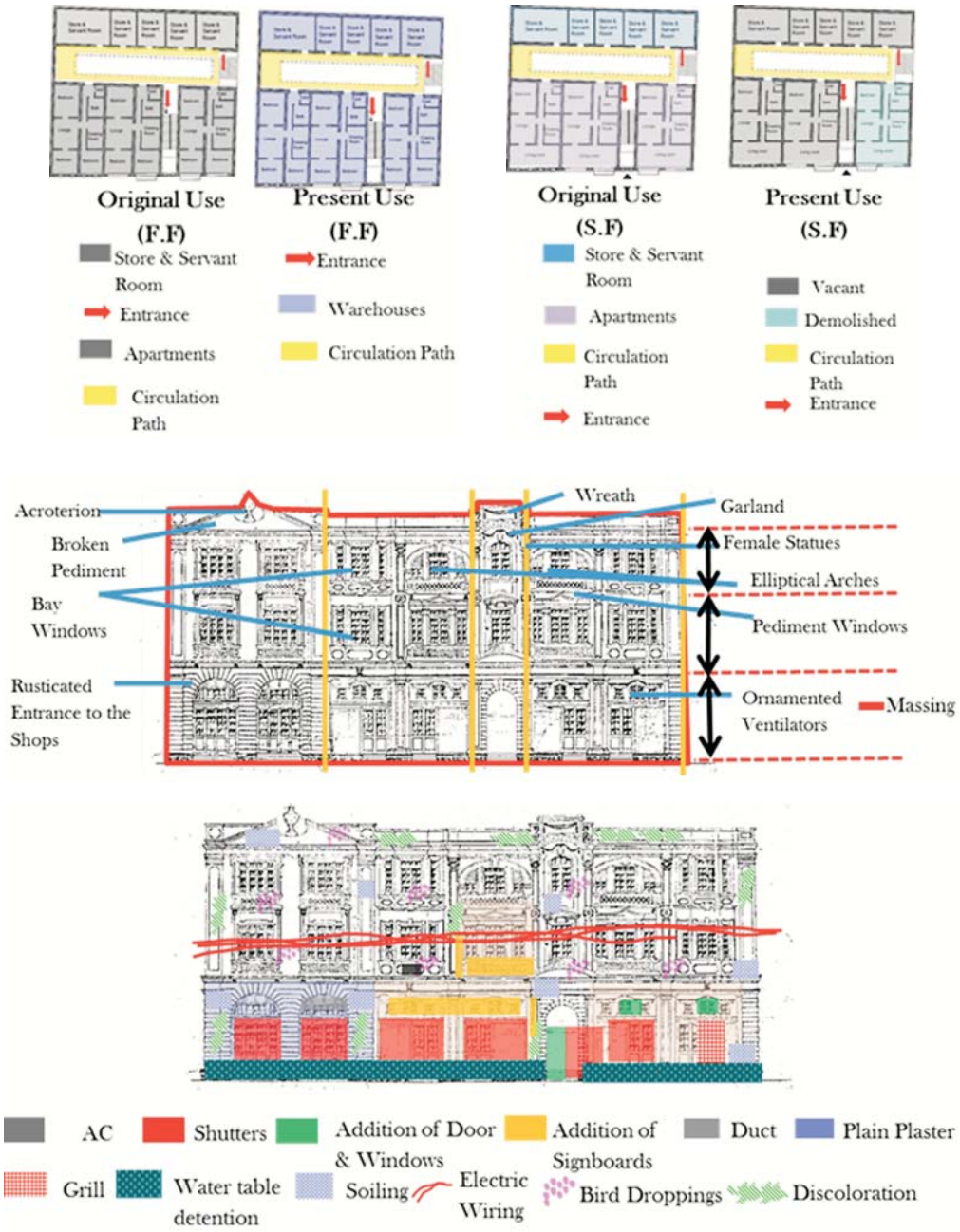

Figure 18 & 19: An analysis of Khrishna Manzil / Mansion.

Some of the key points that can be summarized with regards to buildings of the early 19th century in Saddar bazaar are that there was symmetrical planning for almost every plot in Saddar bazaar. The plot was oriented to catch westward winds through ventilators and windows which ensured natural ventilation throughout the building. Features like balconies, terraces and open outer corridors were common. The internal spaces were usually divided according to different functions and their type of usage i.e. private, public or semi-public. The central access to the building was always clearly defined.

General Ornamentation in Local Forms

When different communities started to build structures in the city, most importantly in Saddar bazaar, the architectural vocabulary of different features changed in terms of proportion, scale, and size. Sometimes these features were sophisticated and sometimes they were gauche in character. Roundels, openings, pediments, parapet, central building entrance, molding bands, pilasters, balconies, arches and other motifs were seen in variety and were applied on the buildings by different communities in Saddar bazaar (see Figure 20).

Roundels/Rosettes were used in many building designs. Sometimes they were used as decorative features, and were carved inside with motifs, and sometimes they were used for ventilation purposes, embellished with intricate geometric ornamentation (*jali*) in the centre. They were mostly placed between or above the window openings. In some cases, they were used as window openings as observed in Krishna Mansion.

Pediments were also a part of the architectural ornamentation and were used as a decorative feature, placed above the window or door openings. In some cases, pediments were used to enhance the entrance portal. Pediments of two types were observed in Saddar bazaar i.e. triangular pediments, which were commonly used, and the broken pediments. Examples are found in Old Ilaco House (Indian Life Insurance Company Ltd). The window openings also varied in the buildings of Saddar bazaar. Sometimes louvre openings were used, in some cases there were intricate trellises placed as openings and at other times colored glass was observed, which were equipped with window sashes.

A wide range of balconies also became a common feature for many buildings built during this period. Semicircular balconies, forming a cone shape or rectangular balconies were observed. Some of these balconies were supported with brackets, whereas others were made in stone or embellished with iron grillwork.

Figure 20: Samples of Other Features

Moldings were a commonly used feature, which provided horizontality to the building. With these moldings, some of the geometric bands or motif bands in stucco were also observed. The moldings were different in proportions for every building.

The other common design element in these buildings was the central entrance, that served as a portal embellished with intricate design to emphasize the entrance. Most of these entrance portals were within the building itself. The examples of such entrances can be seen in Empress Market, Edulji Dinshaw Building and many others. Parapets were an essential part of every building, especially for residential and business buildings. A large variety of designs and materials was seen in the decoration of the parapet. This included the use of stone balustrades in some cases; ornate iron grills in other cases, stucco plaster decorations and geometric patterns with void in stone in still other cases. Pilasters were extensively used in stone construction. This feature was used to break the monotony of the external horizontal walls of the buildings, and divide them into smaller panels tied with the cornice band. Arches on the other hand played a vital role in balancing the horizontal and vertical proportions of the buildings. As community participation increased, numbers of different arches were used as openings to the buildings. This included, semi-circular, elliptical, pointed and shouldered arches. Other features included garlands and festoons, stucco ornamentation, statues, pitched roofs and Doric and Corinthian columns.

CONCLUSION

Karachi, has no historical roots in terms of architecture, except for the indigenous built forms constructed by the locals. British annexation gave a turning point not only in terms of commerce and trade, but also in terms of the city's architectural and urban development. The British, in order to exert themselves built a strong administration, and made Saddar bazaar the city centre, and invited the communities to participate in the progression of the city. These communities built many structures in hybrid style, and created a new architectural vocabulary for the city. A Parsi trader Mr. Jalpowala[vii] who came from Bombay said in one of the interviews, "*no one really cared about the caste, religion and race at that time. Under one roof all were same and humans and nothing else*". This approach facilitated the constructed of built forms which were sometimes inspired by the British and sometimes driven by hybrid or local vocabulary. The architectural features were experimented with in different ways by the local and foreign designers. It is observed that as the designers from the communities were not professionally trained architects, they took any element of ornamentation for their buildings and gave details to the hired designer or architect. The internal planning remained the same, with the entrance portal mostly in the centre with rooms or shops on each side and *verandah* in the middle, which was essentially the way British planned their buildings. Many architectural master pieces were thus experienced in Saddar bazaar.

Today, Saddar bazaar is in a delipidated condition due to pollution, traffic congestion and land issues (see Figure 21). The buildings might seem to be in good condition externally but internally they are facing partial deterioration. As for communities are concerned, except for the Bohris, Christians, Parsis and Muslims, all other communities chave moved out of Karachi. If appropriate revitalization steps are not taken, the precious architectural assets of Saddar bazaar will fade away, just like the communities that once flourished here.

By analyzing the different threats that Saddar bazaar faces today, two things seem to be interlinked i.e. commercialization on one hand, and on the other, community and architecture. After 1947, commercial and political pressures disturbed the sociological profile of the area. With the migration of communities from India in large numbers, all open spaces in Saddar which were previously used for communal gatherings were occupied, which led to deterioration of the sense of community. Later on, with the increase in business and trade activities in Saddar bazaar, and the involvement of land mafia, the area experienced vandalism and the communities were threatened, which further weakened the cultural dynamics of the area.With the worsening law and order of the city, personalized attacks were experienced by different ethnicities. These factors led the communities, mostly Parsis and Christians, to move out of the area, and in most of the cases, out of the country. They would then just return occasionally to attend religious ceremonies.[viii]

The above-mentioned aspects of cultural and social decline led to the deterioration of historic fabric in the area. Eventually the different ethnic groups left their living and trading spaces, and these buildings were subject to unchecked commercial activities which badly damaged the buildings. Only 5%-10% buildings in Saddar bazaar today are well maintained, whereas 50% to 60% buildings are partially maintained and 20% to 30% buildings have been partially demolished and for some of the buildings only the facades remain. The societal values are very important for any city and play a vital role in the evolution of a city. Although, today the condition of Saddar bazaar is quite fragile, but these architectural assets can be protected through proper guidance and management plans.

Figure 21: Threat levels of Saddar bazaar

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ENDNOTES

[i] As the indigenous built forms are more haphazardly places, British laid grid iron planning for first camp base near Saddar Bazaar, later the grid iron also followed in other quarters of Karachi.

[ii] Communities started to settle down after British, soon after the Crown, philanthropists took participation for raising utilitarian buildings after observing necessary need of the people.

[iii] The different names can be attributed to the inability of the European tongue to correctly pronounce local languages.

[iv] After British annexed in Karachi, they declared Bombay and Karachi as international ports, for the exchange of goods and people, a ship Dwarka was started commissioned from the port of Gwadar on the western Makran coast which then sailed between Karachi and Bombay. Other ships such as Sarasvati and Sabarmati were also used. After partition in 1947, the activity was snapped and ends all the links.

[v] The black town in the northwest, accommodate the burgeoning Indian mercantile population which consists of Old Town, Napier, Bunder and Market quarter and serai quarter served the needs of the Black Town whereas the White Town consists of cantonment, Staff lines and Saddar Bazaar which was used by the White population. The architectural grandeur was seen in the white town such as Sind Club, Frere Hall, Governor House and Collector's Kutchery.

[vi] Jamatkhanas are prayer areas for Bohris and Agha Khanis (Khojas), and is considered the most sacred and secured place

[vii] Mr Jalpowala is a Parsi trader, who came from Bombay to Karachi to attend procession in Parsi Dar-e- Meher, told the life in Karachi during British times. He has many friends of different castes and sects and never feels insecure.

[viii] Mr Jalpowala came Karachi to attend his religious processions at Dar-e-Meher fire temple

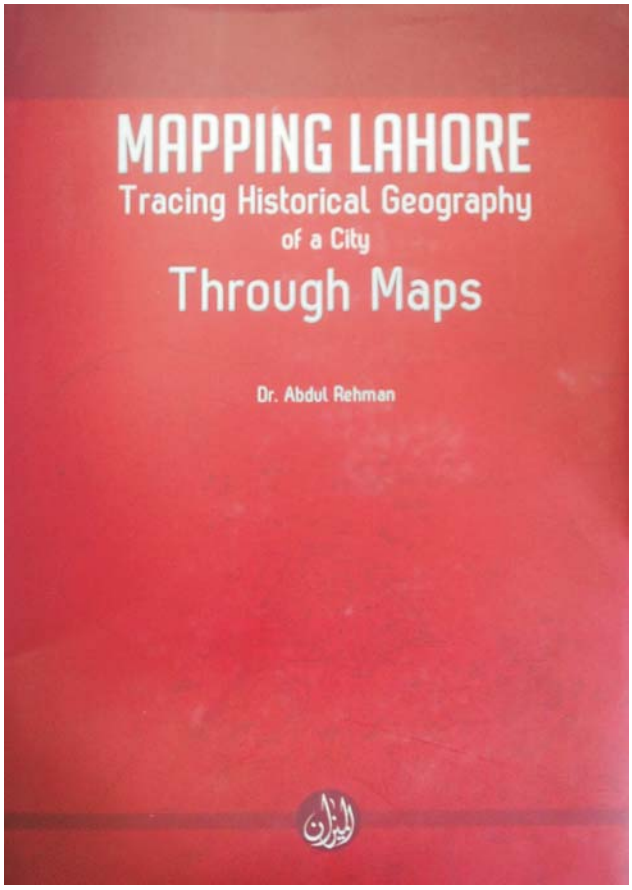
BOOK REVIEW

MAPPING LAHORE
TRACING HISTORIC GEOGRAPHY OF A CITY THROUGH MAPS

by

Dr Abdur Rehman*

A Review by
Fariha Tehseen,
Project Architect, Heritage Cell, Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University, Karachi



The city of Lahore having glorious historical background is acquainted with architectural legacy of the splendid cities built by the Mughals (1525-1749) and the British Colonialists (1849-1947). However, the city experienced unprecedented development after independence (1947). The city layout and its growth pattern, traced from Mughal Empire to Post-Independence era, is documented and narrated in a recently published book; 'Mapping Lahore; Tracing Historic Geography of a City through Maps' by Dr. Abdul Rehman, Professor, Department of Architecture at UET Lahore. The city of Lahore documented with merely textual evidences by historians, archaeologists and architects inspired the author to extend his research objectives towards tracing historical geography of Lahore, through maps, as a new direction for creating knowledge and understanding about Lahore. The author claims to have undertaken and introduced a new subject of urban historical geography, which is not well known as a subject in Pakistan.

The book comprises of six chapters. The opening chapter of the book links the historical city of gardens to various routes connecting the city. The book having historical narrative about geographical interventions of Lahore however lacks mention of archaeological evidences about origin of Lahore as a small settlement. The second chapter concisely documents historical context of Lahore and its spatial growth. The following chapters analyze early maps of Lahore and the detailed maps produced with the passage of time. A critical account of recently proposed planning and development maps of Lahore is included in the final chapter. The table of content lists titles of chapters; however including sub headings would better elaborate the core discussion and narratives of each chapter.

As the title of the book suggests, research findings of this book are based upon maps and sketches of great significance which were produced during different eras such as pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence phase. The documented text is profusely illustrated with numerous maps and images which act as evidences for morphological analysis of growth pattern of the city of Lahore. The author mentions legendry architectural heritage buildings as threads that locate, describe and explain the layout plan of the city. Hindu, Mughal, Sikh and Colonial rulers together laid the religious topography of Lahore with several lasting architectural masterpieces in the form of mausoleums, tombs, shrines, mosques, temples, gurdwaras and churches of old English and Roman Byzantine style.

* Dr. Abdur Rehman is currently the Professor and Chairman Department of Architecture University of Gujrat, Pakistan

The history of Lahore encompasses the Ghaznavid reign (1059-1186), Mughal empire (1525-1749), Sikh invasion (1749-1849), British rule (1849-1947) and Post-Independence period (1947 to onwards). For the very first time provincial divisions (subas) were done by Mughal Empire. Lahore became a '*suba*' and remained a capital of the Mughal Empire for fourteen years from 1584 to 1598. During the reign of Shah Jehan it was entitled as the city of gardens since the Walled city was surrounded with suburbs of gardens. It was considered as the finest city of Mughal Empire in South Asia. The Sikh invasion brought the period of decline and destruction. However, a large number of gardens were built in the south and south east of walled city. British arrival in the sub-continent brought reforms, in the built environment. The provincial boundaries were redefined by the British. For administrative purposes Lahore acquired the status of the a capital city of Punjab province. Being acquainted with finest works of architecture during British Period, Lahore was endeavored with a new perspective of European influence in architecture and urban design. A city with a new flavor emerged in the south and south east of the Walled city. During this period surveys were conducted and maps of towns were drawn and many cities were documented for planning and administrative purposes. These maps also show that the old names of localities were changed or forgotten. The author in his interpretation of the relationship between architecture and physical planning of Lahore mentions the names of Patrick Gedders, Basil M. Sullivan, Bhai Ram Singh and L. Kippling as eminent figures who bought urban and architectural reforms in Lahore.

After independence in 1947, Lahore took a new phase of development which was deprived of effective management of land. Several new settlements sprang up in the outskirts of the city and were burdened by immigration and internal migration. The finest city of South Asia became a city with several problems caused by rapid growth in population and socio economic fluctuations. Urban problems such as congestion in central areas of the city with expanding markets and unprecedented suburban sprawl were experienced due to increasing population, aggravated traffic jams, inadequate infrastructure and industrial development. To counter the increasing pressure on housing and infrastructure, several master plans, structural plans and infrastructural development plans were prepared. These maps along with policies are discussed by the author with necessary measures that should be taken to achieve sustainable urban development. The author concludes with the following remarks; 'Cities flourish and decline and therefore, require a periodic review of their existing condition to cope up with the demands and challenges of the time' therefore 'the built environment must address psychological, aesthetic, environmental, physical and social aspects of the masses'.

The book unveils layers of interesting historic facts and information found over the centuries regarding urban planning, history of growth pattern, configuration of roads as linking the city with its environs, formulation of policy guidelines and the role of institutions in development and improvement of the urban fabric of Lahore. There are compositional flaws in the book regarding alignment and adjustment of maps sizes and images. The book not only illustrates geographical expansion and transformation phases of Lahore but simultaneously draws another extensive research direction towards socio economic factors, cultural and political influences through interpreting the built environment under which Lahore experienced rapid urban growth.

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Ar. Suneela Ahmed at jrap@neduet.edu.pk

City Campus | Maulana Din Muhammad Wafai Road, Karachi - 74200 PAKISTAN
Phone | (9221) 99213058 (9221) 32620793 Fax | (9221) 99213058 & 99261255
Email | jrap@neduet.edu.pk crd@neduet.edu.pk Website | www.neduet.edu.pk