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PEOPLE AND THE CITY

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The City: An Evolving Organism

Prof. Pervaiz Vandal

Life on Earth has followed an evolutionary trajectory and its story is one of survival through interaction with nature. This has its various shades of wresting food, contesting space, and the natural selection of genes with the twin results of adaptation and exploitation of nature. Part of the survival methodologies has been the clustering into groups, family, clan and tribe. There may be disagreement on the exact unfolding of the human drama but there has been a convergence towards efforts to sustain, rather than destroy, the nature-habitat. Humans, over millennia, evolved a Mind with a unique consciousness and sense of self and its struggles. Human consciousness has enabled us as a species to recognize the evolutionary process, to understand it, and then to make an effort to move away from a state of unbridled competitive exploitation of nature and towards that of a life incorporating cooperation and compassion. Through human history, developments in science and art, and cities, are a manifestation of this conscious force of the human mind.

The beginnings, growth and future of cities are part of this larger narrative of human evolution, and they continue to grow, change, and develop within that. Cities are the future, and it is for us to understand and mold their growth towards the objectives that we might collectively cherish. The city is both the physical body and the people who inhabit it. Without people a city or town would be a soulless mass of infrastructure and debris. People make a city happen; they bring it forth, give it character, endow it with art and culture, fulfill aspirations and suffer frustrations, they can make it a place of joy, a thing of beauty which in turn gives them a sense of identity and pride. However, when a humane compassionate vision for that city is missing, and it happens all too often, the city generates unacceptable inequity, fierce and singular competition without cooperation, layered exclusivity rather than inclusion, violence in place of peace, and chaos in place of harmony.

Cities grow and unfold through a process that might be called the 'Interaction of the Social and Built Environment (ISBE)'. Cities are, at once, a physical and a cultural event. People construct cities, and the city, in turn, influences and modulates their living. This is the essence of urbanism.

Private ownership of land, manipulation of prices and speculation therein for quick profit-making has been the main reason for the un-ending sprawl of the larger cities in Pakistan. State structures such as the Development Authorities and the Defence Housing Authorities have given an additional impetus to the get-rich-overnight frenzy that has begun to show in other aspects of the city life. Proportionate less investment in public transport

1 Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*, 1651

forces people to resort to their own vehicles, cycles, motorcycles and cars. Design and development of roads is narrowly focused on the car with little space or room for pedestrians. One of the first priorities of a fresh entrant in job-market or business is to own a vehicle. Roads are turning into one large traffic mess. Constraints of present day life in contemporary cities have generated a value system which is leading to further chaos. The psychological damage on humans caught in this city where crossing roads on foot has become hazardous cannot be underestimated. The quality of life is badly affected.

In the course of evolution, the human mind developed the power of compassion giving us the ability to show a concern for others, especially the less fortunate. Humans developed a sense of altruism, the willingness to sacrifice and share, putting the other before the self. Seers, sages and prophets pointed out that the better way was one of peace, harmony and sharing. Selfishness and violence was seen as a poor last resort. Violence and war, while glorified by many, found a number of detractors also.

The selfish side did not entirely disappear but it began to be balanced with an overall understanding of a common, shared and collective destiny of humanity. This seems to have forcefully arisen almost simultaneously in the ancient cultures and religions of China, India, Middle East (Mediterranean) and Central America. It was said that the human destiny is to rise beyond a purely selfish behavior of ruthless competition. Tolerance, civil behavior, respect for the other were the keys to the new code. The City is not simply about building and rebuilding an infrastructure, its primary concern is in fact the state of the people's lives in the city. The future lies in a compassionate and a humane city with reduced inequities of power and wealth. A new world is taking shape; it may be distant but then as Arundhati Roy says 'on a quiet day I can hear it breathing.'

We can consciously develop a new set of design parameters for cities. Lives can be built around interactive communities that promote harmony rather than unbridled competition. Road networks can generate community safe spaces rather than streams of fast traffic or in contrast miles of traffic log-jams which lead to road rages and frayed nerves.

Do we have a role in understanding the city, and in furthering the dawn of the new city? A city that is not only beautiful but also with reduced inequities. This question is proposed as the theme for the THAAP Conference 2017.

In response to the call-for-papers THAAP received 141 abstracts from 16 countries which showed both the reach of THAAP and the willingness and availability of scholars. A point of particular elation is that the large majority of the writers are young and will have long years of contribution to the society. One of the founding objectives of THAAP was to promote scholarship and research; after eight years of effort we seem to be closing in on our aims.

Art and Immersion: Notes from a Painter (Re)imagining the City

Michal Glikson

Whilst developing this paper I asked a friend, a city dweller, who he believed had the power to change the city? Without hesitation, he replied, "The people who live there". In my work as a painter, I find myself touching the visual and material culture of cities and the stories of their people, who as individuals have unique ways of relating to the city. Painting for me is about acknowledging these as 're-imaginings' of the way life is presently often conducted in cities. The methods by which I discovered these re-imaginings and the people who are enacting them, have provided me with material and inspiration for my paintings and in this paper I set out to share these and their practical logical applications.

Immersive and Experiential Methods

Recent ideas in cognitive science assert that the separation human beings imagine existing between the body and the mind is superfluous. All that we do, feel and think comes from the totality of a body-mind connected to our environment and suggests we are on a level with animals in that there exists a continuous biophysical network and continuum of which we are a part and through which information is always flowing. This paradigm may be described as a body-mind-world triangle and it challenges the western tradition of dualism that suggests knowledge may only be gathered through cerebral and conceptual processes. The idea of 'knowing', here, is a set of processes that happen through the body which becomes a field of holistic understanding, a way of physically connecting with the world in order to understand it.[1]

To be 'peripatetic' means to travel as a nomad, traditionally by walking from place to place. For many indigenous civilizations, walking over land was how they understood their region and connected with its features. Such activities generated new knowledge and laid the ground for their storytellers.[2] The American philosopher, Arnold Berleant,

suggested that processes of making art rooted in this kind of direct experience may bring us closer than any other social form to the immediacy of the human world as we live it.[1]

Artist and writer, Suzi Gablik, concurs with this idea, believing that artists who engage with the world directly are helping to change it, as by working within it they ground their visions and meditations in its real concerns and needs. Ascribing to these ideas, I implement the peripatetic in my art practice as a methodology, exploring the idea that movement over time and space is innately informative and creative.

Peripatetic methodology employs methods of investigation that are experiential and sensory and which allow the practitioner to encounter the physicality of the world as well as its less tangible qualities. Peripatetic methods are innately immersive, exposing the artists to the diversity and variation of the environments they encounter, whereby their bodies become a means of accessing information and for processing all that they experience.[3] The understandings yielded through such research methods, thus, happen powerfully through the body as senses of sight, smell, touch and sound, yielding fresh, useful knowledge in the form of intuitions, feelings, sensations and impressions as well as more tangible understandings of spaces and their physicality.

Walking is a method that immerses the walker in the atmosphere, climate and immediacy of life on the streets. For the walker, the city reveals itself slowly, allowing itself to be observed as sets of overlapping spaces with their own delineations and borders. Walking allows for experiences which are entirely different to that of navigating in a sealed transport vehicle. My idea with walking has been about trying to notice subtle delineations and the minute life in the spaces 'in between'. Walking also provides opportunities for informal socializing with the people. As a method, this draws on ideas of myth geography or 'the art of walking sideways', which is about wandering in localities without

Figure 1

Dwelling made of gleanings, Lahore, 2014. Video still, 2010, Michal Glikson.

Figure 2

Gleaned material used in paintings. Photograph by author.

the use of maps and where engaging with local people by asking directions and information becomes a means of finding out about the life of urban spaces and their stories.[4]

Gleaning refers to the activity of picking up waste for the purposes of recycling and originates from farming practices, whereby field workers, often women, would gather the leftovers of the harvest. In some regions, gleaning has been revived as a culture and way of resisting and protesting overconsumption, excessive waste and pollution but for a huge number of people in the world, gleaning is how they survive. Gleaning, for me as an artist, is highly informative as the rubbish heaps of a place are like archives, containing information about what people consume, throw out and worry about in the thrown receipts, bills, wrappings and labels. They also expose habits of consumption and waste, as well as particular cultural predilections and tastes.[5] I glean as I walk, collecting fragments of rubbish that I either use in paintings as collage, or that I use to fill out my stories of places through the 'inventories' of life that they provide.

Observation is about watching life unfolding, not necessarily through sitting still but by being in a place over time so that understandings form slowly. This includes the observation that takes place by re-crossing a place slowly over time by which one may get to know local routines. Walking around the streets of suburbs, in the city of Gurgaon during the morning, was how I came to learn the routine of a local newspaper delivery boy, who has to start cycling early in the morning, as he makes his way through several large sectors, before sending his call through the society I was staying in, around 11 am. Walking around the suburb of Phoolbagan, in Kolkata, in the evenings was how I noticed that groups of women gather at 6 pm on the street for *pani-puri* (a street snack). In Nizampura, in the city of Baroda, I walked the streets routinely and thus came to know that on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, I was bound to encounter a man and his family working an ancient model of hand-powered juice *lari*. This kind of observation is about allowing patterns innate to city life to reveal themselves, patterns that together allow one to gain a sense of the myriad micro-businesses and activities taking place in the city at any one time. Chaotic though they seem, cities are woven through with such regular or routine activities as people work and live in them. Attending to these becomes part of understanding the life and function of major cities outside of more obvious delivery and transport networks such as rail systems and highways.

Figure 3a and 3b

Drawing portraits in the old city, Lahore (left) and on a train in Bengal (right). Video still, 2010, Michal Glikson.

Life drawing is an immersive method which the writer John Berger describes as "crossing ones' subject as if it were a river".[6] Drawing, in this context, is not about producing accurate representations but is about using the act of drawing to take a slow migration into a form, in what becomes a process of questioning, towards understanding and unpacking things with the eye.[7] Life drawing, in my practice, is a means of engaging with people and with environments. The attentive space elicited through making a portrait may elicit conversations and thus the activity of drawing expands. Life drawing, like gleaning, in this context becomes another way of understanding people through the information that they offer.

Some of the methods I describe shift in meaning depending on the culture where they are being used. In France, for example, gleaning the leftovers of the harvest has been a traditional part of rural life for centuries. In Australia, gleaning or 'dumpster diving' has become more widely recognized as a culture and a city-based practice in recent years. In the Indian subcontinent, however, the meanings attached to the activity of gleaning shift, as those who scrounge through rubbish attract a stigma of impurity. Similarly, walking and also bicycling attract different meanings. In Australia, both activities are extremely popular and bicycling is viewed as 'cool' and 'green'. However, walking in subcontinental cultures is viewed very differently; an activity that many people perform out of necessity and, similar to bicycling, is regarded as the "poor man's transport". Finally, the activity of life drawing takes on added dimensions whereby instead of being regarded as 'high art' and an activity performed indoors with a draped model, the act of drawing in situ on the streets becomes a way of engaging directly with and putting down life as the artist encounters it in the world.

Immersion in Urban Spaces

Canberra

The recent research which I have been doing with painting involved a series of journeys during which I used the methods I have described to create paintings that journaled life as I encountered it while travelling in Australia, India and Pakistan, where I spent a lot of my time exploring cities and megacities. My journeys began in the capital of Australia, Canberra. There I set out to explore its inner areas by walking daily, oscillating along the green line in figure 4. The following year, I expanded this activity by continuing to use walking as a way of exploring cities that I travelled to in India and Pakistan over a course of sixteen months, along the line in figure 5.

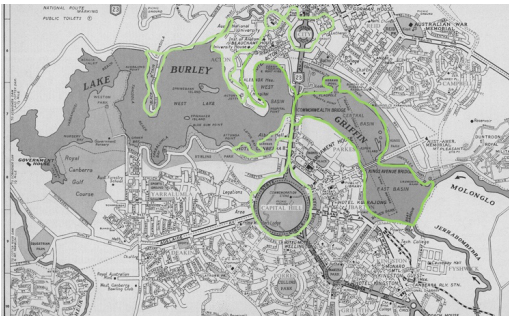

Figure 4

Travel path through Canberra (central districts).

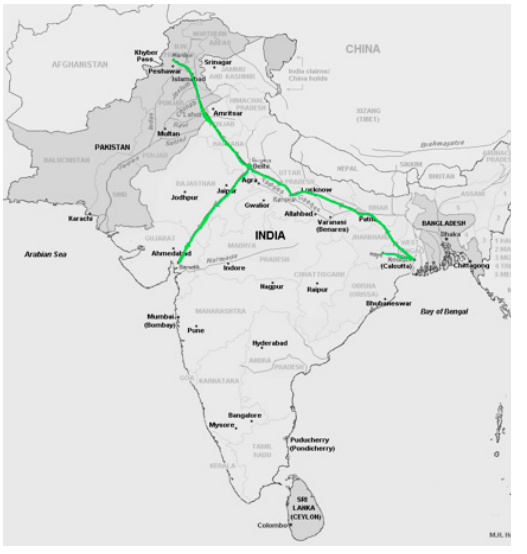

Figure 5

Travel path through India and Pakistan.

In Canberra, I walked everyday around the city and the inner suburbs for about six months. As I have been working across cultures, the act of comparison comes into my practice and on my walks, I found myself reflecting on Canberra in the light of my experiences of cities in India and Pakistan. Canberra could not be more different to these - being tightly planned, with high levels of surveillance. Littering is illegal and so are street vendors. Shops in Canberra are located in large centers to which people have to commute. The city is car-oriented, lacking rail or tram infrastructure. Life in Canberra takes place behind closed doors. There are wide streets and large open spaces which give the pedestrians a sense that everything feels, because it often is, far away. There is loneliness in walking such a city. As an experience, this contrasts

greatly with that of navigating cities in India and Pakistan. With their dense populations, different rules and customs, irregular planning and 'floating architectures' in the form of the vehicles of street vendors, the monotony of walking is disrupted by life happening on the street.

My experiences of walking in Canberra also contrasted with what I knew of the utopian vision of its architect, Walter Burley-Griffin, who described Canberra as "a city that meets my ideal of the city of the future". Burley-Griffin and his wife Marion had worked much in India and were influenced by the walkable layouts of its ancient cities. They were acutely aware of the problematic schism that cities create in our relationship with nature. Their design of Canberra negotiated this through village-style suburbs linked by tram networks, simultaneously utilizing ancient and modern technology. To connect people with nature, they planned chains of nature reserves and the hills were to be preserved so as to create the sense of a city immersed in nature. An artist, Marion Burley Griffin rendered the plans on scrolls of Indian silk. The enlightened ecology of the Burley-Griffin vision that contrasts with the present reality of Canberra begs the question, what had gone wrong?

As I learned, after being selected, Burley-Griffin's design was undermined by powerful political and industrial groups. These saw enormous profits to be generated through making Canberra's growing population car-dependent. They found ways to prevent key features of the design, beginning with the public transport system. Road building took over and soon American motor companies moved in to supply wealthy Canberrans with cars. Over the years, the vision continued to unravel in significant ways. As an activity, walking in Canberra had in an intuitive, unexpected way educated me, as well as propelled me to learn about, contemplate and gain insights into the city and its broken vision.

Gurgaon

India's capital, New Delhi, has a satellite city called Gurgaon, which has been described to me by one journalist as, "Hong Kong without the planning". Gurgaon is divided into sectors full of huge apartment blocks and in Gurgaon Sector 65 I came across Dheeraj, a businessman

and gardener growing vegetables with his children in an empty plot between the towers. I learned that Dheeraj was gardening several such plots and generating enough organic produce to feed his family and give to others. As I sat sketching Dheeraj, he shared with me his sense of the importance of his children knowing the origins of food and how to grow it organically and without pesticides. Dheeraj said that there was something intrinsic to working with the earth that was otherwise lacking in city life. As he spoke, I recalled the many empty plots and undeveloped parts of Gurgaon that I had seen as I walked. I imagined these could become gardens or places for creating compost, even if only temporarily. Dheeraj and I agreed that there could be gardens on rooftops as well as on the ground. I said to him that only a few hundred years ago, cities such as London had been woven through with market gardens – to which Dheeraj answered that only a few decades ago most people in India grew their own food. It has only been in the age of petrol that produce has been brought in from afar. Talking to Dheeraj about his gardening activities opened a window of possibilities for greening the city and this felt meaningful for me in a city such as Gurgaon, which in so many other respects represents a bleak, ecological dystopia.

Routines with walking allowed me to learn other things about Gurgaon. I regularly visited Huda City Centre Biodiversity Park that despite its name contains few species but quite a lot of grass. I began to notice that every other day some very old women would be harvesting the grass by hand. They wrapped it in their *chaddors* (a long, loose cloak worn over other garments) and carried it away in enormous bundles on their heads. I learned that the women had kept buffalos and cows in Gurgaon when it was a village. As their land diminished, the women continued keeping animals close by and sometimes inside their *jhuggis* (houses, usually made from mud and sheets of iron, that are dirty and in bad condition and located in a very poor area of a city), feeding them with fresh, hand-cut grass. Thus, I learnt that the ancient

Figure 6

Michal Glikson, Portrait of women gathering grass in Huda Biodiversity Park, detail, Australind Archive, 2014.

ways of village life were not only alive but were being encouraged, perhaps inadvertently, under the auspices of 'lawn-mowing' in the Biodiversity Park.

Kolkata

Cities may be nuanced and surprising spaces, as I discovered in Kolkata whilst squeezing myself down its crowded streets. After being released from its role as the English colonial capital, Kolkata developed on Bengali terms so that many of its wide streets are now narrow with street stalls. The city in many parts has taken on the labyrinthine feel of an ancient town and as this slows the traffic, it makes walking safer and more inviting. While walking, I began discovering the city and its idiosyncrasies. An example was a busy intersection I came to one day where I heard a sound, like an old pianola, playing Beethoven. Looking around, at last I realized that this was emanating from the traffic light. Its function was to indicate when people should cross or wait – instead of beeps. Although people continued to push and jostle me in the street, the music was like a balm. I was not able to find out why the Kolkata City Council chose the German composer but the music offered itself as a nuanced, ambient experience, an antidote to the anonymity of the city and one of those experiences that I remembered long after I had left Kolkata. As an experience, it prompted me to think about what a city could be like – could it be a place that functioned on artistic terms, a place where things could be simultaneously useful, eccentric, imaginative and even romantic?

Other understandings about Kolkata emerged for me as walking exposed me to its climate during the monsoon season. I witnessed a spectacular atmospheric effect, which locals call *shonali alo*. It was just after a drenching downpour that the light changed. Looking up, I saw the sky had turned deep gold, dabbed with strokes of palest blue. A deep gold light flooded the streets, staining the period buildings, limning their ornamented facades, bathing and transforming the city with an unearthly beauty. My jaw fell open as I tried to absorb this incandescent event which in a few minutes was gone.

Later, I learned of the legend about *shonali alo* which says that whilst it lasts, lovers may marry without familial permission, which as a fleeting phenomenon, lends it poignancy.[8] Seeing Kolkata drenched in

this magic light, hearing the folklore, I found my preconceptions of it challenged. I experienced what sociologist Steve Pile describes as "a point at which the city begins to shimmer: what is real is no longer quite where it was, even as a state of mind."

Figure 7

Michal Glikson, Shonali Alo and Saint Paul's Cathedral, detail, Australind Archive, 2014.

Cities are hard to know – though humans have made them, their lifespans are vastly longer and thus they may remain enigmas for all but their oldest inhabitants. A city has its folklore that represents a form of continuation for city-dwellers, binding them to the place and to each other but it might always remain out of reach of those who are new and unfamiliar. Thus, the weather had offered me, the newcomer, an entry point into Kolkata and the way that its particular folkloric culture is interwoven with its climate and environment.

Baroda

Wandering around Baroda, visual phenomena such as lotus symbols splashed across the city announcing its radical religious politics (figure 8). Less noticeable things yielded subtler information about the life of Baroda's inhabitants. Crossing a busy intersection, one day, I nearly fell over a small clay pot perched on the median strip, which I saw contained ashes. I asked around about this and learned that the pot was part of a ritual for shedding bad luck:

> "Take certain items, burn and place ashes in a clay pot. Take the pot to a busy place and leave it there. Whoever knocks it over will become the bearer of your misfortune, which will leave you."

As a student of anthropology, I could perhaps have learnt about this ritual in books. However, the reality of nearly stepping on it offered me more than the fact that superstition was alive and well in suburban

Baroda. Although an ancient ritual possessing complexities, I couldn't help but wonder at its application in this modern context and what this said about the psychological alienation that this modern city had created.

Figure 8

Baharat Janata Party logo, Baroda, 2013. Photograph by author.

Figure 9

Michal Glikson, The pot of bad luck, detail, Australind Archive, 2014.

Across the street from the pot, an entirely different atmosphere reigned around Kabir's bustling and friendly *chai* stall. Sitting there, looking at the pot I pondered the dichotomous nature of this space, whereby the street had somehow become demarcated, one side designated for placing curses, the other side for social warmth and nourishment. Decisions had been made according to a system and I wondered whether this could be folklore or religion - had there been a shrine here once? How were such demarcations of the city space being passed on? This sense of something ageless, invisible and specific at work feels to me like a defining characteristic of older cities, contributing to their resonance as culturally constructed spaces.

Lahore

Walking around Gulberg during field research in Lahore, in 2014, I often went past an empty plot on which I saw a family had put up a small house. A few goats grazed quietly and a woman sat on a rug on the footpath, sewing. One day I stopped and began chatting with her and that was how I became friends with Safia. I became fascinated with her and the way that she and her family survived as *jhuggi-wallahs* (slum dwellers). For several months I spent my time observing, drawing and interacting with her family. One of the many things I learnt about in

this time was how Safia and her husband survive through gleaning and recycling what others throw away and how rubbish skips were for them often a place where they found useful things. However, there was a very sad side to the gleaning because this often exposed the family to hazardous wastes which were thrown in and mixed often with the more useful, recyclable material. I wondered why local people, who knew that people were gleaning, continued to throw their rubbish mixed together with such things as broken glass, dangerous medicines, rotting meat and excrement. As I saw it, as gleaners Safia and her family were performing an invaluable and essential task that could have been made less hazardous for them. I spent many hours walking around the streets with Safia and her family which was how I learnt where they gathered the food for their animals - scraps from local vegetable sellers – and the materials for the multi-colored quilts that Safia created. The more I learned about the activities of her family, the more I saw these as solving serious ecological problems of the city but these respectful activities contrasted greatly with how I saw them being treated by upper class citizens, which was often as outcasts and as encroachers.

I also spent many hours making sketches of the *jhuggi*. Thus, I learned that it was a logical and thought-out structure, ingenious in its use of found materials which significantly endowed it with a zero ecological footprint. The process of making these drawings was one which John Berger describes as being formed out of confirmations and denials, "bring[ing] you closer to the object until finally you are as it were, inside it".[9] As an experiential process, drawing taught me things about the architecture of the *jhuggi* that I could not have learnt through reading, or through simply looking at it as it was by following the flow of its structure with my eye and pencil in hand that I was able to fully appreciate its ingenuity and complexity.

Figure 10a and 10b

10a and 10b: Sketching Safia's jhuggi (left) and inside the jhuggi (right). Video stills, 2010. Michal Glikson

Concluding Thoughts

Figure 11

Michal Glikson, Safia's Jhuggi, detail, Australind Archive

Witnessing the activities that I did during my research, with people in their cities, deepened my perceptions of these as places of possibility and reimagining. Significantly, I would never have had such experiences without using the methods discussed, which facilitated me to engage with the city with my body, heart and feet, and which generated connections, relationships and understandings that challenge perceptions of cities as anonymous, set and unchanging. Thus, I came to see how the customs of the village might be accommodated rather than overwhelmed and that people who are suffering homelessness, such as the family in Lahore, might be viewed not as encroachers but models for ecologically sustainable living.

Although I have not approached the city as might a cultural theorist or urban designer, my work as an artist has allowed me to notice things which I wish to share with others, towards a larger conversation about reimagining the city in different ways. My intention with introducing the methods discussed in this paper stems through having experienced a gap in the arts and design education that I sense is limiting creative responses in cities with regard to present social and environmental crises. As I suggest, there are complex reasons why reimaginings may be hard to implement, however, as we have seen, this is not due to lack of inspiring models on the ground that invite possibilities for change.

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Public Re-Definition of Green Spaces in the New Developments of Lahore

Hasfa Imtiaz

Introduction

The first car appeared on the streets of Lahore during British times, immediately changing the way the city was perceived. It demanded a different kind of road network from the meandering pedestrian streets, which was to cater for machines, wider and straighter; bigger roundabouts and a different turning curve than required for a cycle or a horse driven carriage. The change in terms of city planning and design since then has been dramatic. To facilitate the car, the British introduced the Mall Road and Cantonment; an entirely new kind of fabric to the existing city of Lahore. This shifted the planning of the city towards a new direction. Figure 1 clearly shows a very different Lahore from the old walled city with long wide avenues for cars, carriages and designated footpaths for pedestrians.

Figure 1

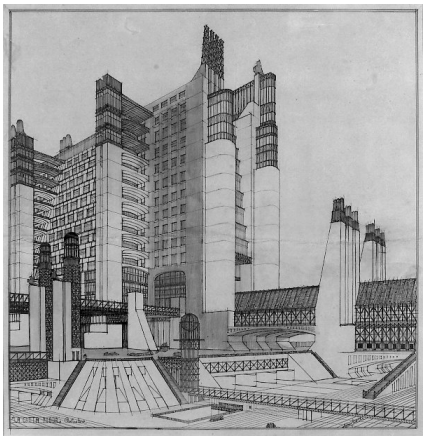
The Mall Road (in 1942), Lahore. Source: "Pakistan Pre-independence Pictures and Memorabilia: Punjab". Skyscraper City. [online] Available at: http://www.skyscrapercity.com62191&page=8 [Accessed 5 Sep. 2017].

Background

Cars are considered a byproduct of Industrialization bringing a worldwide revolution impacting the design of future cities. The great visionaries and planners of the West embraced it and projected the idea of better cities based on the efficiency of rail and car. The most dramatic

and dynamic amongst these is perhaps the manifesto presented by Antonio Sant'Elia of the *"The New City"* in 1914. In his own words:

> "We must invent and rebuild the Futurist city like an immense and tumultuous shipyard, agile, mobile and dynamic in every detail; and the Futurist [apartment] house must be like a gigantic machine. The lifts must no longer be hidden away like tapeworms in the niches of stairwells; the stairwells themselves, rendered useless, must be abolished, and the lifts must scale the lengths of the façades like serpents of steel and glass. The house of concrete, glass and steel, stripped of paintings and sculpture, rich only in the innate beauty of its lines and relief, extraordinarily "ugly" in its mechanical simplicity, higher and wider according to need rather than the specifications of municipal laws. It must soar up on the brink of a tumultuous abyss: the street will no longer lie like a doormat at ground level but will plunge many stories down into the earth, embracing the metropolitan traffic, and will be linked up for necessary interconnections by metal gangways and swift-moving pavements."



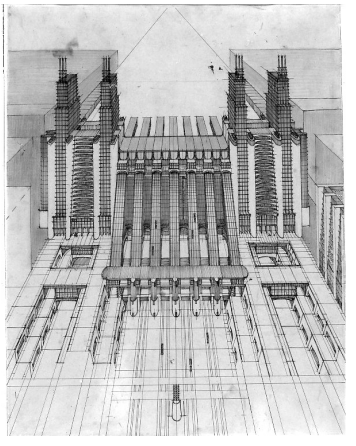


Figure 2

Drawings of the Futurist city by Antonio Sant'Elia. Source:" Sant'Elia's Words | Lebbeus Woods". (n.d.). Wordpress. Retrieved from https://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2009/11/02/santelias-words/

"The drawings Antonio Sant'Elia included in his August 1914 Futurist Manifesto of Architecture are, perhaps, the most famous and influential of the early 20th century, predating many of the avant-garde designs of architects in Germany, France, Holland and Russia, made a few years later. They are certainly the first by a European architect to project a vertical city, one composed not only of towers but also of stacked layers of streets, plazas, and the mechanical movement of cars, trams and trains. Because he died so young, at the age of twenty-eight, killed in a war that he and the other Futurists celebrated as "the sole hygiene of mankind," he was never able to carry these ideas beyond the few early perspective

views, made in 1913 and 1914. Still, they resonate today, even as they seem part of an earlier, more architecturally innocent time." (Lebbeus Woods)[1]

Following him, other architects and planners such as Corbusier and Wright presented their own ideas about cities heavily dependent on the car like the "City of Tomorrow" and "The Broadacre City". Each design focused on the car as the primary element around which the city was conceived. Scale and speed became the primary tools to envision these new cities.

Lahore has rapidly transformed and expanded since the Independence of Pakistan in 1947. Being one of the biggest cities of the country, it has always remained at the forefront of major planning intervention and development to support the growing population and demand for better infrastructure. The 1950's saw some major changes in the city when there was a major population explosion as many from rural areas started moving to the city for better job opportunities and livelihood. According to the survey done by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) for the Lahore Urban Transport Master Plan (LUTMP):

> "The fastest growth pace was recorded between 1972 and 1981, that is, 4.3% per annum. Since then, the growth rate has been steadily declining. As of 2010, the population of the LUTMP study area was estimated at about 9.9 million, including 0.4 million of part of Kasur and 0.9 million of Sheikhupura District areas. However, most of the population is concentrated in the center of Lahore, while the rest of the areas are mostly rural except for narrow strips along arterial roads, showing a ribbon development." [2]

Introduction to the Ring Road

Since the 1980's, Lahore has been steadily growing towards its outskirts, mostly towards the south and southwest side as the north and east sides have been hindered by the Indian border and the River Ravi. Each government has tried to develop policies to facilitate the expansion and growth of the city. One of the most extensive surveys done to study the growth and in return facilitate the people of the city is by JICA in 2010. The aim was to:

(i) formulate an urban transport master plan for the study area up to the year 2030;
(ii) formulate an action plan for the identified priority projects up to the year 2020; and
(iii) provide assistance to strengthen the administrative capacity of the Government of the Punjab for implementing the master plan.[3]

In conclusion, the report proposed an extensive construction of Ring Roads and Bus Rapid Transit. Primarily, the proposal aimed at providing support to the growth and spread of the city in the forms of wider roads, flyovers and underpass bridges. The aim of the paper is to study in detail the impact of Ring Roads on the fabric and on the people of the city. It shall also specifically look at the green spaces designed at interchanges (the airport interchange in particular) and how it relates to the people and communities around.

Figure 3

Figure 3: Map of the Lahore Ring Road. Source: "The Project for Lahore Urban Transport Master Plan in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan". (n.d.). JICA. Retrieved from http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/12068110_01.pdf

The Lahore Ring Road (LRR) project was launched in 2004, according to the JICA report:

> "The LRR project is a large road project being developed by the Government of the Punjab (GoPb), intended to ensure efficient and speedy movement of freight and passengers, to alleviate traffic flow problems and to boost the city's potential for industrial development.

> The project includes the construction of 6-lane divided highway with interchanges (access-controlled); RCC bridges with reinforced earth abutments and walls; overhead pedestrian bridges, culverts, tunnels, underpasses, flyovers and related works."[4]

Figure 3 shows the northern loop (completed) and the southern loop (under-construction) proposed by the JICA. The Ring Road is broadly divided into three sections; the northern loop (in Blue) which starts from Babu Sabu junction and circles the city on the northern side and finishes at Kamahan. The southern loop (in Red), which is proposed and the construction recently started, begins from Kamahan and ends at Bahria Town Interchange. The Western section (in Orange) connects to the motorway and eventually the Babu Sabu Interchange. The total proposed length of the Ring Road is 70 kilometers with 26 intersections, improvements of roads, bus terminals and bridges.

Abdullah Gul Interchange

One of the most important connections of LRR is to the airport. It connects the city to the airport through Abdullah Gul Interchange. The intersection has four major roads namely Amjad Chaudry Road, Zarar Shaheed Road, Rashid Minhas Road, Barki Road and Airport Road which come together and through toll plazas connect to the LRR. The LRR project not only focused on the development of the Ring Road but the connecting roads as well, resulting in a huge network of six lane roads and extensive green spaces which are designed as visual gardens at intersections.

The Ring Road has been an important development in the fabric of the city. It provides a much needed service to people travelling from the periphery towards the center or other ends for employment, education or entertainment. It also lessens the traffic burden on the internal roads of the city. The construction of the LRR has dramatically changed the fabric of the city. It has added extensively to the network of main roads and a strong boundary (in the form of the Ring Road) around the city. However, it is questionable if the LRR was actually for the facilitation of all citizens of the city or a specific class of the city who have access to private transportation. The people of the city have also questioned many times if the budget allotted for the development of the LRR and the human and technological resources engaged may have been

planned more efficiently. Unfortunately, the focus on scale and speed may have developed beautiful roads but has omitted out the most important element of city design: People. In the proposal for the LRR by the government, the only provision for the pedestrians is in the form of pedestrian bridges, which are an unfriendly and inconvenient piece of furniture on the road being more of a nuisance than user friendly. Thus, in the extreme climate of the city where the temperature can go as high as 48 degrees Celsius, it becomes difficult to use the bridge effectively.

Visual Gardens

In the past few years, the government has been focused on developing green spaces of the city as visual gardens, that is, development and design of green spaces for the purpose of beautification only. Thus, adding elements of design which would beautify but may not be accessible or user friendly. Instead, in some designs the Parks and Horticulture Authority (PHA) has gone as far as adding fences to discourage people from entering and using the space.

Figure 4

Aerial view of visual gardens at Abdullah Gul Interchange. Source: Google Maps, 2016.

A similar scenario may be seen at the Abdullah Gul Interchange where due to additive construction of the LRR and development of roads to supplement the Ring Road, massive negative spaces have been created. These negative/left-out spaces exist as islands in the network of roads. These spaces were then given to the PHA by the government to design and develop. Looking at the map of the interchange, there are four major circular green spaces and various irregular spaces which have also been designed as green visual gardens by the PHA (see Figure 4).

The areas of the spaces are as follow:

The four central circular spaces: 277,951 square feet each approximately

Total area: 1,111,805 square feet

Total area of the five irregular spaces: 1,023,300 square feet (Approximately 28 acres in total)

Plants and Vegetation

Figure 5

Visual gardens at Abdullah Gul Interchange. Source: Asif, U. (2017). "New Developments in Lahore". [online] Locally Lahore. Available at: http://locallylahore.com/blog/new-developments-in-lahore/ [Accessed 5 Sep. 2017].

Most of the plants and vegetation in the green spaces proposed by the PHA are either low height bushes, ferns or evergreen fichus. These plants are designed and planted in symmetrical geometrical patterns to be observed and presented as a product of beauty in the city. The central spaces and especially the medians have bushes with wide spread branches which discourage people occupying/using the space and they are low in height thus unable to provide adequate shade or relief in the hot weather and blistering sun in the summers. The design also has designated spaces for seasonal flowers which have to be replanted every two months, hence, the PHA also spends a substantial amount of money and work force to keep and maintain these green spaces.

Impact of Lahore Ring Road (LRR)

The construction of the LRR has had a profound impact on the physical as well as the social fabric of the city. "Cities are complex and multi-dimensional entities. Complex in their formations, they are a unique way of bending the rigid materiality of space and placing it alongside the unpredictable flux of our interactions. They represent the possibility of weaving our acts into highly complex associations, of which we recognize only the part that brings us closer together in our activities and which disappears in time and space as soon as we act together and move forward."[5] Any change in the physical can and does effect the social behavioral patterns of society, in return altering the social fabric of the city. There is a direct relationship of our social behavior and our material reality. The focus of the paper here is to underline a very small section of the LRR, its physical presence in the city and its connection to the people/communities around it.

The LRR during its construction and later through its usage, destroyed and altered numerous small communities; physically and socially. An example of which is the small community of Dher Pind where the LRR

service lane cuts through its boundary, destroying its edges along with some of the houses. After the construction of the LRR, a high wall was erected at the edges to cordon off the community and to restrict the unpleasant view of the small houses in the *pind*.

Figure 6a and 6b

Dher Pind 2016 (left) and 2003 (right). Source: Google Maps, 2016.

An important impact of LRR was the reverse urbanization which occurred in the suburbs of Lahore. Askari X is a supreme example of reverse urbanization. Before the development of the Ring Road, this area had a vast range of green fields with small communities sprouting at various intervals. These communities mostly belong to low income groups whose livelihood ranges from land and cattle farming to small scale home industries. After the construction of the LRR, there was a major housing development boom towards this side, realtors and investors, especially the Defence Housing Authority (DHA) showed special interest in this area and in just a decade gated communities started sprouting around the LRR. The land consequently becomes one of the most expensive areas in the city, where people from the city center started moving towards the periphery. Figure 7 shows the before and after images of the LRR construction and the difference is mind boggling.

Where it is assumed that as soon as such strong physical features come into being, the existing fabric shatters, ripping with it the social fabric of the city as well. Unfortunately, the LRR did the same to some of these communities, it razed to the ground whatever came in its way. The remaining effort was met by realtors who started building around

Figure 7a and 7b

Before the LRR, 2003. Source: Google Maps, 2016.

these communities, forcing them to either sell their land or be bullied by the mafia of land developers.

As mentioned earlier, the Abdullah Gul Interchange in terms of locality plays an important role as it connects the following areas:

- Airport (one of the most important areas of the city, demanding high security, making this interchange critical)
- Mehfooz Shaheed Garrison (a large piece of land owned and maintained by the army)
- Saddar (an important bazar of the city feeding Cantt, Barki and some DHA areas)
- Askari X (housing society adjacent to airport)
- DHA phases VI, VII and VIII
- Various small communities located on the periphery of the service lane of the LRR such as Dher Pind, Malak Pur, Bao Wala and Darogan Wala.

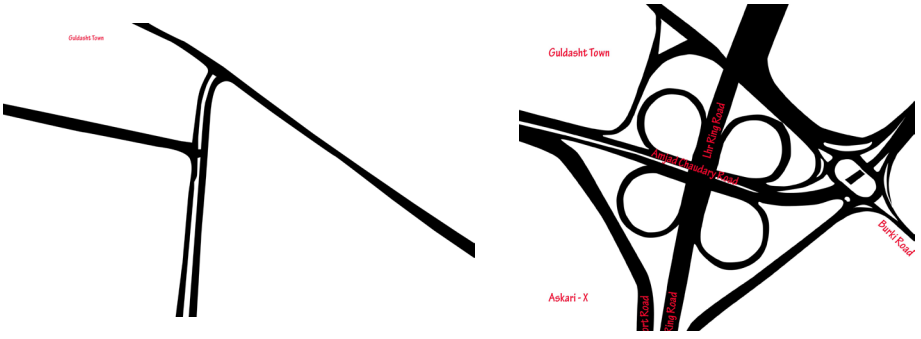


Figure 8a and 8b

Fabric of Abdullah Gul interchange before the LRR (left) and Fabric of Abdullah Gul interchange after the LRR (right). Source: Drawing by Architect Maha Iqbal.

What is interesting about this intersection is that although there is no accessibility to the green visual gardens left on all sides, one side is most often used by communities. These activities are more visible during the weekend or when the weather is favorable. The activities are sporadic and mostly for recreation purposes. Why is this area used when it has not been designed for people nor is user friendly due to heavy traffic on either side and no accessibility or footpaths? When observed at the macro level, the area in focus and the surrounding regions have no designated green space for public use. The design of the LRR and its resultant green spaces have inadvertently created an open green space for the communities who earlier had no other place to go and relax with their families.

Marking the Various Activities

Dher Pind

During Weekdays

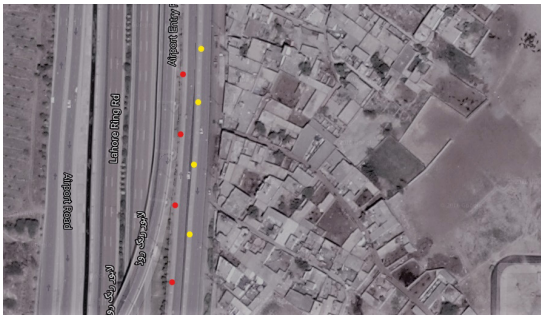


Figure 9

The red dots mark the placement of the activity while the yellow marks the advertisement on the medians. Source: Google Maps, 2016.

Communities are resilient and resistant by nature. They have this remarkable quality to adjust to their surroundings. When given a strong physical barrier in the form of roads and walls, the people of Dher Pind decided to move their business to the sidewalks of the service lane of the LRR. Recognizing the business opportunity, the people of Dher Pind set up camp on the sidewalks of the service lane offering masseuse services (*malshi*) to the construction workers at the construction sites of DHA, Air Avenue and nearby localities. Besides establishing a way to generate revenue for themselves, they have found a unique way to advertise their business by placing oil bottles at regular intervals on the medians of the service lane. Persons on bikes, in cars or on foot when they notice the bottles immediately try to find the *malshi* on the edges or footpaths of the service lane.

As the activity is dependent on the worker and their working hours, it perishes during the weekend, holidays and evenings.

Abdullah Gul Interchange

During Weekends

Families have been observed, especially during the weekend, usually accessing the green spaces under and beside the interchange, on bikes. Surprisingly, the families are not seen using the Chungi bus stop and prefer to park in the green space accessible through a small opening (primarily kept for the maintenance of green spaces) left adjacent to Amjad Shaheed Road.

Out of the four major green spaces designed by the PHA, for some

reason, only this space is more frequently used by the families. The families approaching are mostly from the lower middle income group and the majority have motor bikes.

Young adults are also seen using the space and being more daring they also spill onto the road, forcing the traffic to cease or slow down. The activities include:

- Family picnics
- Children playing or rolling on the grass
- Children enjoying the sprinklers during the hot weather (in the evening)
- Young adults (boys and girls) sitting in groups
- Cricket (on rare occasions) on the exit curve of the interchange

Small businesses introduced due to these activities are:

- Ice cream stand
- Corn stand
- Sweet potato stands (depending on its availability)
- Various drinks (depending on the weather and fruit available) *

*As these stands are mobile, it is easier for them to target a group and move accordingly.

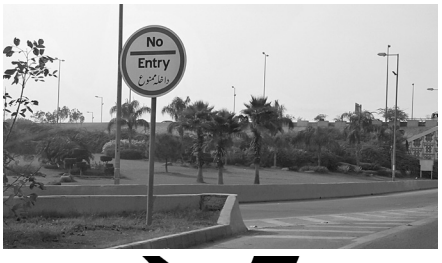


Figure 10 (L)

Abdullah Gul Interchange during the day time (weekday). Photograph by author.

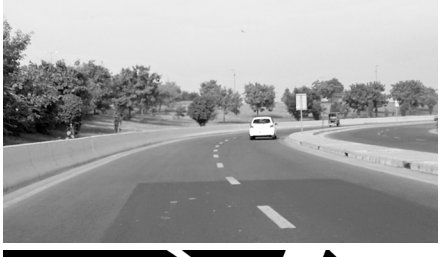


Figure 11 (R)

Green Spaces parallel to the LRR service lane. Photograph by author

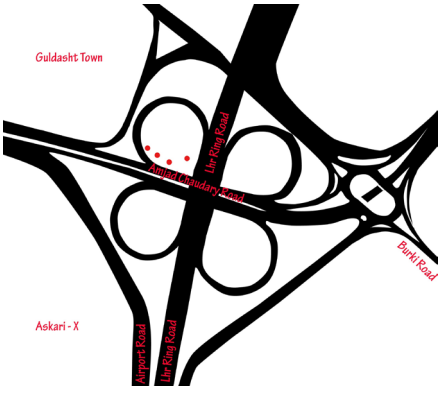


Figure 12 (L)

Red marking the place of activity in the green spaces. Source: Drawing by Architect Maha Iqbal.

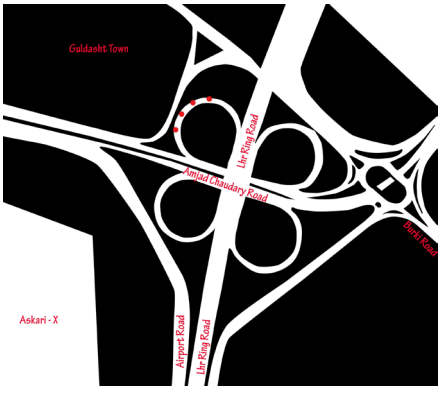


Figure 13 (R)

Red marking the place of occasional activity on the link road of theLRR. Source: Drawing by Architect Maha Iqbal.

During Weekdays

The space during the week is used only by workers, the LRR police force or the gardeners.

During Festivals

The space is a remarkable sight during the festive occasions such as Eid-ul Fitr or Eid-ul-Azha. It is delightful to see the space come alive with color, light and movement. The whole atmosphere changes as people in bright clothes with giggling children gather to celebrate the occasion together. The place comes alive with wonderful aromas from food vendors, happy sounds from the children and a variety of color celebrating the event. The true potential of the space and its people may be seen during this time. It is when the space embraces the act and the act questions its spatiality.

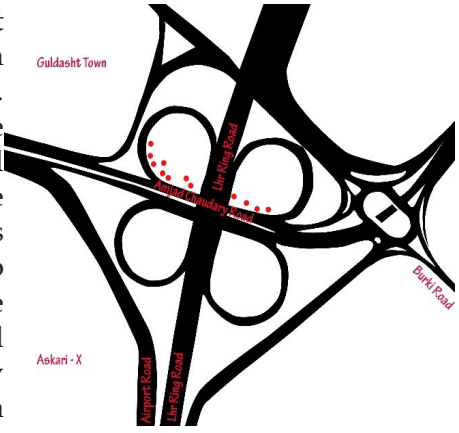


Figure 14

Red marking the place of activity in the green spaces during festivals

> "The relationship between act and space, seen as semantic and cognitive, is also fundamentally material – it is mediated by our bodies and gestures in a tangible space. Our associations can only occur if the extensity of space is overcome. I will argue that our actions in the world find another inescapable condition, a material 'adherence of acts to space and of space to acts' at the moment of confronting the extensity of space, felt by the moving body. The centrality of this inescapable condition usually goes unnoticed, precisely as a function of the constant presence of space in our material experience – to paraphrase Wittgenstein on language and belief, our experience is deeply anchored in space, 'so anchored that we cannot touch it'."[6]

Conclusion

The LRR on a macro scale has physically transformed the city. This metamorphosis has primarily brought de-urbanization to the city, causing unnecessary expansion, inflation in land prices and economic

imbalance. The inhabitants, while profiting from the land value have lost their farms and ancestral homes as whole villages/communities have been wiped out to make way for housing societies for the elite. The focus on the infrastructure has specifically divided cars and the people through building of roads/highways/ring roads. This has caused segregation in terms of inhabitation, accessibility and movement in the city. On a large scale how this de-urbanization will impact the economy of an agrarian society is to be studied in detail but the change is of a large magnitude and its impact may be vast.

"From another perspective, 'physical space is no longer considered to have any explanatory value in itself'. Well-founded suspicions about spatial determinism, fetishism and representation have led human geography into a deeply distrustful relationship with the physical condition of space – an attitude that 'seems to have made it inattentive to the actual, everyday materiality of the places in which people actually dwell' and has ultimately led to 'an enthusiastic embrace of the "immaterial"'."[7] Looking at the change in the city and how people have responded to it is integral to understanding the way the city works in everyday life. For that it is important to understand the material and non-material and comprehend the complex spatialities of urbanism. As Derek Gregory put it, "[the] integration of human and physical systems, I suggest, is not so much an epistemological problem as an ontological one. . . The two worlds are necessarily connected by social practice."

The paper aimed to highlight the important relationship of the physical and the social through some everyday examples and usage of space by its inhabitants. Many a time urbanists/architects/government consider it important to define the usage of space through its design, while forgetting that perception and adaptation of space by people determines its true identity. The paper was an attempt to identify the material with social, so that further readings may be done to understand, act and unfold the dimensions of new actions and spatialities.

Endnotes

1. *Sant'Elia's Words* | Lebbeus Woods. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://lebbeus woods.wordpress.com/2009/11/02/santelias-words/

2. *The Project for Lahore Urban Transport Master Plan in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://open_jicareport.jica. go.jp/pdf/12068110_01.pdf

3. *The Project for Lahore Urban Transport Master Plan in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://open_jicareport.jica. go.jp/pdf/12068110_01.pdf

4. *The Project for Lahore Urban Transport Master Plan in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/12068110_01.pdf

5. Moraes, N. V. (2017). *The Social Fabric of Cities*.

6. Moraes, N. V. (2017). *The Social Fabric of Cities*.

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Seventeen Years in Lahore: A Frenchman's Life in the Punjabi Capital 1822-1839

Rehana Lafont

We find interesting and little-known information on life in Lahore from 1822 to 1849 in the testimonies, correspondence and memoirs of the Europeans who lived in Lahore at the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors[1], as well as in miniature paintings, drawings and oil paintings done by or for these Europeans, mainly military officers of French and Italian origins, who worked for the Punjab Kingdom from c. 1822 onwards (figure 1).[2]

Figure 1

The Court of Lahore by August Schoefft. Lahore 1841 – Vienna 1855. Size: 120' x 192'. Princess Bamba Collection, Sikh Gallery, Lahore Fort. From J. M. Lafont, Les Français / The French and Lahore, pp. 88-89, ill. 112. With kind permission of the Director, Lahore Fort.[3]

The top European officer was General Jean-François Allard, born in Saint-Tropez, France in 1775, who spent seventeen years in Lahore, died in Peshawar, where he was Military Governor of the Province and was buried in Lahore in March 1839 (figure 2).

Figure 2

General Jean-François Allard. Copy by Marie de Tournemine, daughter-in-law of General Allard and Bannu Pan Deï, of an original painting signed "[Joseph-Désiré] Court 1837". Oil on canvas. Size: 127 x 97 cm. Private collection. Photo J. M. Lafont. From J. M. Lafont, Les Français / The French and Lahore, p. 70, ill. 73.

A former Captain in the reputed 7th Hussars of Napoléon, Jean-Francois Allard left France in 1818 and reached Lahore in 1822, along with another officer Jean-

Baptiste Ventura (Italian) and a young Hungarian, Csoma de Körös[4], who devoted his life to the study of Tibet and became the founder of Tibetology.[5] They were received warmly by Maharaja Ranjit Singh who was in the process of modernizing the Punjab army and who soon entrusted them with the creation of an elite unit of the Punjab army, the *Fauj-i-khas*.[6] Ranjit Singh's purpose in engaging Allard and Ventura was to consolidate the frontiers of an independent Punjab by strengthening the Anglo-Sikh frontier of his empire: the *Fauj-i-khas* was in charge of the frontier on the Sutlej River from 1825 to 1846.[7] It was also to ensure the internal peace of the State by securing the North-West frontier, then on the Indus River, where the Afghans were launching jihad after jihad in order to recover part of 'their' former territories, Attock, the Derajat, Multan and Kashmir[8], which had been ceded by Emperor Muhammed Shah of Delhi to Nadir Shah of Persia in 1739, and had been reconquered and annexed to Lahore by the Punjab army from 1811 to 1819. Under the direction of Allard and Ventura, the *Fauj-i-khas* carried out military operations in these areas right from 1823, culminating with the annexation by Lahore in 1834 of the Peshawar province (the winter capital of the Emirs of Afghanistan) and the capture of the Khyber Pass in 1839 when the *Fauj-i-khas* paraded under the walls of Kabul before returning safely to its quarters in Peshawar.[9]

These military operations were an important aspect of the political, economic and diplomatic actions of the Maharaja to integrate the recently annexed territories to the State, to allow the heterogeneous and multi-religious population of a unified Punjab to live peacefully in an increasingly prosperous empire. Ranjit Singh quickly recognized the remarkable political and diplomatic acumen of General Allard, to whom he entrusted delicate diplomatic missions, often carried out with success, backed of course by the military might of the *Fauj-i-Khas*, be it in the Derajat in 1825 or on the Himalayan foothills in the Kangra region in 1826.[10]

When Generals Court (figure 3) and Avitabile joined Allard and Ventura on the Indus frontier in 1827, and after they had raised their own "French" brigades in Lahore, Allard found himself at the head of a small and brilliant French and European community of high-ranking officers in the service of the State. This paper focuses on their cultural and artistic involvements.

Figure 3

General Claude-Auguste Court. Detail of The Court of Lahore, by August Schoefft (see figure 1). From drawings made by Schoefft in Lahore in 1841-1842.[11]

Soon after Allard and Ventura reached Lahore in 1822, the Maharaja offered them as residence-cum-Headquarters of the *Fauj-i-khas*, the site of Anarkali, with the tomb, the Mughal palace (not existing today) and the large garden enclosed with high protective walls (figure 4).[12] They immediately started building their new residence, with its beautiful, classical façade and its rich Indian decoration: large friezes of paintings by Punjabi artists on the walls outside and inside the residence and a remarkable room decorated with mirrors which reminded the visitors of the Shish Mahal of Agra. Jacquemont, who saw it in March 1831, describes it as follows:

> "Allard and Ventura live together in a large house, built by them on the ruins of a Mughal palace, half European and half Persian. A subaltern would call the place uncomfortable, for the surroundings are neglected and the verandahs and the staircases dirty and small. However, the rooms are magnificently decorated, the walls and ceilings are covered with inset

Figure 4

General Jean-The Tomb of Anarkali, the residence of Generals Allard and Ventura, and the 'Mughal' palace. Engraving. Private collection.[14]

> glass, brightly gilded and adorned with pictures, arabesques and so on. Everywhere Persian or Kashmir rugs of great beauty, velvet covered furniture, hangings of silk or brocade and much else… At all the doors in the galleries there are a mass of Sikhs, officers and soldiers, who crowd around their leaders to make complaints or pay their respects. A part of the house remains isolated, solitary and apparently deserted; this is the *zenana* of Mr. Allard, where he has one wife and two children of whom he appears very fond and whom he wants to take back to France with him. A little lad of seven whom he has adopted [Syed Poor, alias Achille] takes his messages to the *zenana*."[13]

In January 1836, a German officer, Baron Charles Hügel, lodged in Anarkali, and his description of the residence gives us information on the wall paintings during the time when Allard was in France with his family:

> "The first night which I had passed in the house of a European, for a very long time, was now over… General Ventura's house, built by himself and General Allard, though of not great size, combines the splendour of the East with the comfort of a European residence. On the walls of the entrance hall, before the range of the pillars on the first storey, was portrayed the reception of the two French officers at the court of Ranjit Singh, consisting of many thousand figures. The second room is adorned with a profusion of small mirrors in gilt frames, which have an excellent effect; the third is a large hall, extending the entire width of the house and terminating in the sleeping apartments. At a short distance, behind the house, stands an ancient tomb, crowned with a lofty dome [Anarkali]. This is now tenanted by the families of the European officers [in fact only by the harem of General Ventura]. Standing in the midst of a garden, which has been laid out with great taste, it forms a very striking contrast to the surrounding sandy plain. This spot overlooks an arm of the Ravi, and eastwards the old city and necropolis, with countless dilapidated buildings and tombs… The house was illuminated in the evening and twenty-five female dancers made their appearance before us, with their plaintive music. Fireworks were also displayed. And at a late hour another dancer came with her party…"[15]

In March 1839, Lieutenant William Barr was in Lahore, on his way to Kabul for the First Anglo-Afghan War. General Allard had died in Peshawar in January and his body was lying in state in his *baradari* before being buried between two of his children in the garden of his country house. Barr's description of Anarkali is worth quoting in full:

> "Anarkolly, which is in the centre of the Lahore cantonment, was the joint property and built by the Generals Allard and Ventura. On their first entering the Maharaja's service, they lived together in a large adjoining mosque or tomb, where the family of the latter, with about forty or fifty female slaves, have resided… In the room where we dined there was a portrait of General Allard, which bespeaks him to have been a handsome and benevolent man, possessing much firmness and decision of character, tempered with mildness. He wore, at the time it was taken, a uniform similar to that of our horse-artillery and was decorated with two orders, one the 'Legion of Honour', the other the 'Bright Star of the Punjab' lately instituted by Runjeet Singh. Another picture of the General and his family, taken by a French artiste when he returned home some three to four years ago, was pointed out to us, and though not finished, being merely the design from which a larger drawing was made, the group is well arranged, and the pretty faces of his Cashmerian wife and his children, who were dressed in the costume of their mother's country, drew forth the admiration of us all. Adjoining the dining-room is another of some dimensions, lined from top to bottom with looking-glass, and which, when illuminated, must have a brilliant effect, as it looked extremely pretty and dazzling even with the two candles that were brought in with us. With the exception of wanting the bath and fountains, it reminded me much of the 'Sheeshah Khanuh' in the palace of Agra. We were subsequently shown into what may in truth be termed 'the Painted Chamber', as it is adorned with pictures of battles in which the two generals were engaged, and executed on the *chunam* walls by native artists. The perspective of these scenes is most ridiculous; and at the siege of Multan[16] the cannons are turned up on end to enable the gunners to load them! The figures overtop the fortification and the cavalry seem to be manoeuvring in the air; and absurdities of a similar nature are perpetrated throughout them all and no doubt afford much amusement to their gallant owners whose policy has led them thus far to assimilate their dwellings with those of the native population; for it can hardly be supposed their taste is so far vitiated as to regard these embellishments as ornamental".[17]

Soon after finishing the residence of Anarkali, Allard built for his growing family a beautiful baradari with fountains playing and historical paintings next to a date tree grove. Hügel had noticed this "pretty little building. The eagles and Napoleon's flag are displayed on every wall and here and there are figures representing the soldiers who served under him. In the upper storey are a few rooms, adorned with mirrors and set apart for the female of his family".[18] William Barr

gives us a more detailed description of the building, destroyed when the Maharaja of Kapurthala built his new Kapurthala House by the end of the 19th century.

Court also built a typically Punjabi residence for himself and his family at Naulakha, where his brigade was stationed. He called it *L'Ermitage*, as a tribute to Jean-Jacques Rousseau. There are two beautiful paintings

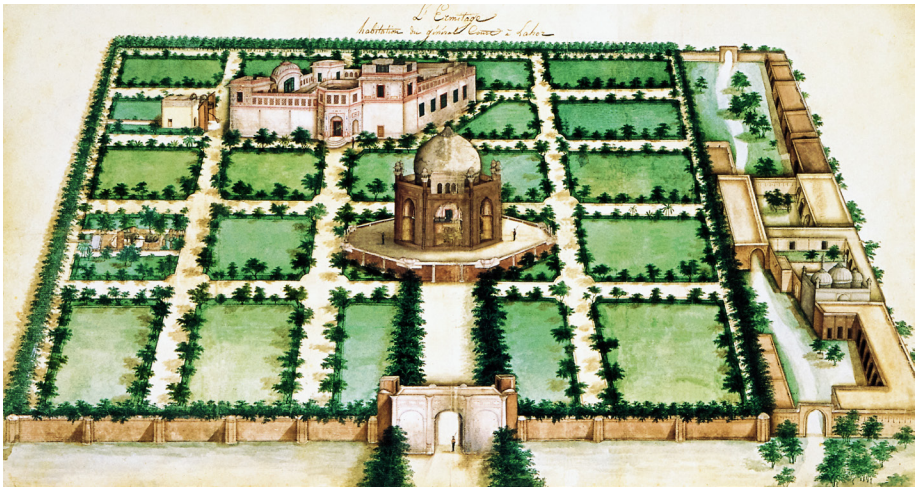

Figure 5

L'Ermitage. Habitation du Général Court à Lahore. Watercolor on European paper. Probably by Imam Bakhsh Lahori, Lahore, c. 1835. Size : 32.5 x 59.3 cm. Court's Collection, Musée Guimet. MG 64836. Courtesy: Musée des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris. [20]

showing the house c. 1840, one by Imam Bakhsh Lahori (figure 5) and one by August Schoefft.[19] Avitabile erected a grand villa at the top of *Budda-ka-Ava*, where the headquarter of his brigade was situated: a villa which captured the admiration of Ranjit Singh and Prime Minister, Raja Dhyan Singh when they visited it together in 1838. Court's and Avitabile's residences were destroyed when the Punjab Government built the Railway Workshops, by the end of the 19th century.

The French Generals soon became an integral part of the court and the highest society of Lahore and they are duly represented, along with French Colonels, in the large painting, The Court of Lahore by August Schoefft, preserved today in the Lahore Fort. Allard had a special role as one of the diplomatic and political advisers of the Maharaja, often in co-ordination with Fakir Azizuddin, who was in charge of the Foreign Policy of the State, and Fakir Nuruddin. It is recorded that when the French officers came back from the Fort to Anarkali during the scorching heat of a Lahore summer, they took a break at the Fakirs' residence for a dive in the coolest and purest water of the city. We have fascinating glimpses of the everyday life and the cultural life in Lahore through Allard's connections with the elite of the country. They

include the Maharaja and his family, especially Prince Sher Singh and Prince Nao Nihal Singh. They also include, other eminent families of the Punjab kingdom, for instance the Fakir brothers as we have seen but also the Ganga Ram family since Adjudhya Prasad was the *bakhshi* and one of the brigadiers general of the *Fauj-i-khas*. In this circle, there was the Majithia family, since General Court and Lehna Singh Majithia, the brightest scientific mind of the Punjab, were joint directors of the Idgah gun factory. Then there were the Rajas of Jammu family: General Allard was asked to send one squadron of his cavalry to Jammu for the wedding of young Hira Singh, Prime Minister Dhyan Singh's son. General Court was also requested by his friend Raja Gulab Singh, the future Maharaja of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, to take charge of the education of his eldest son, Udham Singh, a very close friend of Prince Nao Nihal Singh, the favorite grandson of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. [21]

Ranjit Singh wished his *Farenghi* (foreign) officers to marry the locals in the country and have children who would hold them there permanently. It seems that Ventura was the first to father a little boy who died c. 1825 and was buried in his *jaghir* near Sheikurpura. He was inconsolable[22] but soon enriched his harem considerably and among many children he fathered one 'legitimate' daughter, Victorine, born in Lahore in 1830 among tremendous festivities. She was educated by her mother in Anarkali[23] and eventually went with her father to France where she became one of the most beautiful and coveted women of the Second Empire. General Court married Fezli Azan Joo, a young Kashmiri woman who gave him four children, three born in Lahore and one in Marseilles after they went to France in 1844 (figure 6).[24] General Allard married Bannu Pan Deï, a young Hindu princess from Chamba, in 1825-1826 (figure 7). They lived in their residence of Anarkali where they had four children and their fifth child, a girl, was born in Calcutta in 1835, when they were on their way to France.[25] A remarkable painting dated Paris 1836, probably the work of Eugène Delacroix[26], shows them in front of their house at Anarkali (figure 8). The children, speaking fluent Persian like all the educated strata in the Punjab kingdom[27], must have enjoyed living in the *baradari* with its pleasant fountains and lovely pavilions. In 1835, Allard got leave from Ranjit Singh to take his family to France, officially (as he said in Lahore) to give his children a Christian education and in fact (as he disclosed in France) because he was afraid that, if he died in the Punjab, his wife, being a Hindu, would commit *Sati*, leaving their children complete orphans.[28] After leaving his family in Saint-Tropez, Allard returned to Lahore, keeping

his promise to the Maharaja. Allard and his wife wrote to each other in Persian, some of his letters have survived. For example, in a letter to his wife, he mentions he met her brother in Lahore. There is a lot of affection and concern for his children that appears in his letters.

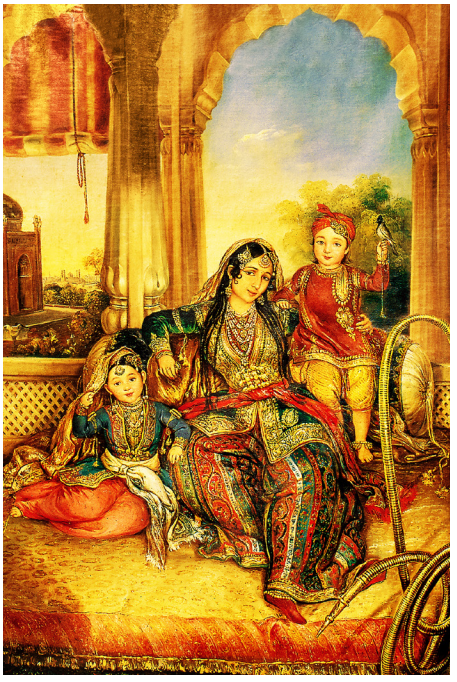

Figure 6 (L)

Fezli Azan Joo, Générale Court. Oil on canvas by August Schoefft. Signed “Schöfft 1841 Lahore”. Size: 89.5 x 70.5 cm (within frame). Private collection. Photo J. M. Lafont. [29]

Figure 7 (R)

Bannu Pan Deï, Générale Allard. Artist unknown. No date. Oil on canvas. Size: 72 x 58 cm. Private collection. Stolen in 1977. Photo J. M. Lafont.[30]

Figure 8

General Allard and his family in Lahore. Oil on canvas. Dated “Paris 1836”. Size not recorded, approximately 60 x 40 cm. Artist unknown, possibly Eugène Delacroix from a miniature painting by Imam Bakhsh, Lahore, 1834. Private collection. Stolen in 1977. Photo J. M. Lafont.[31]

The best description of their splendid life in Lahore comes from Victor Jacquemont's pen in 1831, which included visits of the city and its monuments atop one of General Allard's elephants. As soon as he reached Lahore, he saw that "the cultivation disappeared, the outskirts being covered with a jungle, with walled enclosure here and there. Before one of these charming retreats, I saw a brilliant group in the distance; Shah-ud-Din (son of Fakir Azizuddin) informed me that these were Messrs Allard, Ventura and Court with their staff. I galloped on and was soon with them. They greeted me like an old friend and, after I had embraced each of them, M. Allard took me by the arm and, leading me behind the garden, showed me a fine carriage drawn by four horses into which we all got and in which we passed over a plain covered with large Mussulman ruins, similar to the outskirts of Delhi, to the entrance of a beautiful garden which he said was to be my residence. It was a flower garden filled with wall-flowers of all colours, irises, larkspurs and poppies and with the pathway running through it planted with rose-trees, oranges, pomegranates and mango trees. A fine large pavilion with spacious colonnades formed one side. These were my quarters and they were finely furnished. In the centre, a large oblong hall decorated in the Persian style, the white walls and ceiling adorned with painted arabesques, fine carpets on the floor and in the centre a table set out at which we sat down to breakfast… The day passed in the most charming manner and satisfied the most pressing needs of our mutual curiosity. The weather was gorgeous, like a perfect Mayday in France. We strolled about the flowers while a number of fountains played in basins along the border of the paths. The evening soon came and my friends left me. Their house is too far away to return at night…"[32]

Jacquemont wrote to his father on 6th June 1832:

> "You reproach me with not having admitted you sufficiently into the intimacy of my palace at Lahore. The French officers were desirous of providing their breakfast and often dinner, at my house; I had therefore in my kitchen a congress of Indian, Georgian, Persian, Armenian, Cashmerian and Punjabee cooks, belonging to these gentlemen: those of Allard brought up the rear. Their masters arrived at eight o'clock in the morning, went for a few moments to the king and then returned. When they were all assembled, I gave orders for serving up and did the honours of the table in French, English, Italian, Hindostanee and bad Persian. In the afternoon, I frequently went to the royal residence and paid the king

> a very long visit; thence I went to Allard's, at a couple of leagues from the royal tents. The good fellow was hungering after France and could never have enough of my society. In the evening we went, mounted upon his elephant, to see the city and the curiosities of its environs; or sometimes his friend, M. Ventura, was my cicerone. When I remained to dine with them, they would not allow me to return to my garden by night, for fear of the Akhalis, who even in the day are very troublesome and much worse at night. At day break I galloped home well escorted…"[33]

Allard also patronized a local artist, Imam Bakhsh Lahori, who probably made miniatures of Allard's family and to whom he entrusted the illustration of the *Fables of La Fontaine*, some of these Fables being inspired from the *Pançatantra.* Imam Bakhsh decorated the *Fables* in 1837-1839 in Attock, as attested by the colophon. About 60 exquisite paintings survive, being the best illustration of the Lahori School of miniature painting as it flourished again under Maharaja Ranjit Singh.[34] Imam Bakhsh was also employed by General Court to illustrate his still unpublished *Mémoires* and there are another 50 miniatures, including the Forts of Rhotas, Attock and Jamrud, kept in the collection. We also have other paintings by Imam Bakhsh, mostly done for patrons close to the French Generals such as the American physician Harlan, or Adjudhya Prasad of the *Fauj-i-khas.* The illustrations of the *Military Manual of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, kept in the MRS Museum, Amritsar, was most probably also illustrated by Imam Bakhsh. The frontispiece is a very interesting painting showing the Maharaja in a garden, in conversation with Prime Minister Raja Dhyan Singh and Generals Allard and Ventura.[35] Besides these, more than 80 illuminated manuscripts may now be attributed to Imam Bakhsh Lahori and his workshop.[36]

Another contribution of General Allard and his French and Italian colleagues was the unexpected discovery of Gandhara art.[37] General Court, the most educated of the foreign officers at Lahore, had a sound classical education which included a great curiosity for the trail of Alexander the Great. In Persia, Afghanistan and Punjab, Court tried to follow the roads and trace the *realia* of Alexander's presence as well as Greek and Indo-Greek archaeological and numismatic remains from Persepolis to the Beas River. In 1826, he explored the valley of Laghman and during his stay in the Punjab, he personally visited or sent emissaries to the countries he could not visit for political reasons, such as Dhir and Swat and some of the Kafir areas in the Himalayas. Court's archaeological passion inflamed his colleagues' imagination and in 1830, General Ventura, on sick leave at Jhelum, decided to "open" the

stupa of Manikyala (near Rawalpindi). He brought to Lahore the relics he had discovered and so many people, including the Maharaja, wanted to see them that the brown liquid in which they were kept dried with over exposure.[38] Allard and Court followed suit: in Manikyala again, where Court discovered the *Kharoshthi* inscription which helped James Prinsep decipher that script[39], and later on at Jhelum, Peshawar, Tonk and Bannu. The relics discovered in Manikyala were ultimately sent to Calcutta and Paris for scientific publication by British and French scholars. The French officers also collected coins. Court had a splendid collection which was later acquired by General Alexander Cunningham after Court's death in Marseilles in 1880.[40] For many Punjabis, this incited a keen interest in archaeology and history; we know from Court that the stupa of Bhallar was excavated by "natives", who therefore were the first to discover the real site of Taxila.[41]

The French Generals were not the only *Farenghi* interested in Punjabi history, archaeology, arts and culture. Dr. Honigberger had his own collection of coins, relics and inscriptions made in the Peshawar, Jellalabad and Kabul areas in 1830-1834. Colonels Mouton, Lafont and Dr Benet purchased antiques and medals which they brought to France in 1844. Dr Josiah Harlan also had a keen interest in the country's history. All these intellectual trends, developed in Lahore, incited the French Academy to write detailed Instructions to General Allard in 1836 for an archaeological survey of the Punjab and Afghanistan, which included a section (added in 1838) for a survey of the public and private libraries in the country.[42]

While sailing back from France to Punjab in 1836, General Allard felt the first symptoms of cardiac arrests. This did not prevent him from returning to Lahore and presenting his credentials as *Agent de France* to Maharaja Ranjit Singh in March 1837. He immediately resumed his command and soon after, he had to rush to Peshawar with the *Fauj-i-khas* because of an all-out Afghan onslaught on Jamrud and the launch of another *jihad* against the Sikhs. Appointed once again Military Governor of the Peshawar province, with General Court as his assistant, Allard raised two splendid regiments of Cuirassiers equipped with the arms he had brought from France: regiments which brought forth the admiration of English officers stationed at Peshawar in expectation of the invasion of Afghanistan.[43]

Allard died at Peshawar on 23rd January 1839 from a heart attack. Generals Court and Avitabile assisted him till his last breath. He had

manifested his desire to be buried in Anarkali with two of his children and therefore, his body was brought back to Lahore escorted by an elite selection of the *Fauj-i-khas*. Military honors were rendered to him in each military station on the way from Peshawar to Lahore, and Colonel Wade, then at Shalimar with his own men to join Peshawar and move on to Kabul, ordered his troops to stand on parade and he then penned a sad but beautiful and very moving letter to the Government concerning the personality of the French General.[44] The same day General Allard's body entered the city of Lahore, Lieutenant Barr was approaching Lahore with his guns and his gunners on his way to Kabul and he left us a fascinating testimony concerning Allard's State funeral:

> "Captain F- *(sic)* told us, the salute we had heard as we approached Lahore, were minute guns firing in honour of General Allard, who lately died at Peshawar and whose body had been brought to the capital for internment, had this morning been removed from his house at Anarkolly in the neighbourhood, where it will remain until a suitable grave can be prepared for its reception. On the occasion, six regiments of the Maharaja were paraded for the purpose of paying respect to the memory of the deceased, who was beloved both by the natives and the Europeans and whose death has cast a gloom over the city.… He had numbered fifty-two years and has left a wife and a large family, to whom he was greatly attached and who are all at present residing in France. His last words were 'What will become of Madame Allard?' His amiable manners had endeared him so much to Runjeet Singh that his attendants have not yet dared to inform the monarch of his death, least, as he is still in a precarious state, it might produce a relapse or even more fatal result…"

A few days later Barr "… with Mons. Benet, the Maharajah's Doctor as our cicerone, went to Allard's country-seat, where his body is at present lying in state. Crossing the Parade ground, we entered on a road that winds through a very pretty grove of date-trees, celebrated for their exquisite fruits; and at the termination of this, the late general's retreat [the *Baradari]* is situated. A large garden surrounds it but is not laid with any particular taste; and the residence itself, two stories high, is built in half a European and half Native style of architecture: the whole, inside and out, being embellished with paintings of dragoons, lancers and foot-soldiers, nearly half as large as life. The coffin, covered with a black velvet pall, was placed on a raised platform in the centre of the lower apartment and around it large waxtapers were kept burning night and day. On its top laid the general's cap, his two orders, some valuable cashmere shawls (the offering of natives) and a Persian sword,

presented to him by the Maharajah, who paid 5000 rupees for the blade alone, the hilt being of gold studded with jewels, as were also the ornaments of the scabbard outside. Sentries were pacing to and fro at the corners of the building, which is encircled by a broad verandah (where the same display of paintings is made) and has fountains at intervals, embedded in its centre for the purpose of rendering the apartments cool during the summer months. We ascended to the upper-room, which is similar to that of Anarkolly, is covered with looking-glass and at the four corners of the roof are small dormitories, very comfortable and airy…"

Since the workers were busy preparing the tomb, Barr with Foulkes and Benet moved on to see "the large mausoleum, erected by the General some years ago over the remains of a daughter to whom he was greatly attached but who died in infancy [Marie-Charlotte]. Its summit, which is surmounted by a dome, is reached by a flight of three terraces planted with pomegranate and other trees… Entering the interior, we found some labourers busy disinterring a coffin, as it is resolved the corpse of the General shall be buried in the centre of the pile and that of his daughter removed on one side. But whilst observing their work, a second coffin was discovered… which none present knew anything of. This will therefore be placed on the other side, as there is no doubt it contains another of the General's family.

We had just got beyond the precincts of the garden, when we met the governor of Lahore [Fakir Syed Nuruddin] who, mounted on an elephant, was also on his way to see the General lie in state. And as he requested our company, we rode back with him. On entering the apartment that contained all the mortal remains of poor Allard, he appeared much affected at the sight and felt the solemnity of the scene, remaining for some moments without uttering a word. He then launched out into praise of the deceased and spoke as if he really meant what he was saying and not as mere complimentary sentences, which are too apt to be uttered on such occasions. He put several questions to us concerning the customs in use with Europeans when burying their dead… He returned with us to Anarkolly, where he sat some time… He remained upwards of an hour."[45]

This is the last sight we have of General Allard. Ranjit Singh died five months later (27 June 1839). Political developments in the area (the 1st Anglo-Afghan war 1839-1842, the Annexation of Sindh by the East India Company in 1843 and soon enough the Anglo-Sikh wars of 1845-1846

and 1848-1849) obliged the *Farenghis* to leave Punjab. Court and Ventura resigned from the Lahore Darbar after the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh and Prime Minister Raja Dhyan Singh in November 1843. Soon after, Avitabile was also on his way to Europe. In early 1844, the French Colonels were dismissed by Prime Minister Hira Singh and his adviser Pandit Jalla and in 1846 the British occupied Lahore.

The British resident, Henry Lawrence, settled in Allard and Ventura's residence (figure 9), and British regiments were positioned in the *Fauj-i-khas* cantonment. The Punjab was annexed in 1849 and a systematic policy was decided and implemented to erase the memory of the French presence in independent Punjab: those Europeans who were there not as the masters but as the servants of the independent Punjabi State. The residence of Allard and Ventura is today the Secretariat of the Punjab Government. General Allard still rests as he wished

Figure 9

Residence built by Generals Allard and Ventura in Anarkali, now the Punjab Secretariat. Courtesy: Government of the Punjab (Pakistan). Photo: Topical, Lahore. From J. M. Lafont, Les Français / The French and Lahore, p. 94-95, ill. 127.

Figure10

Tomb of General Allard in Lahore. Courtesy Ihsan H. Nadiem.

between his two children in his tomb at Anarkali (figure 10).[46] It was a Protected Monument before Independence. It was restored in the 1970s by the Directorate of Archaeology.[47] However, seventy years after Independence, it is still difficult, both in West and in East Punjab, to rediscover the role of these *Farenghis* who served the country under Maharaja Ranjit Singh.[48]

Endnotes

1. C. Grey, *European Adventurers of Northern India 1785-1849*, Lahore, 1929 [reprinted Falcon Books, Lahore, 1982]. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence Française Dans le Eoyaume Sikh du Penjab. 1822-1849*, EFEO, Paris, 1992.
2. J. M. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Lord of the Five Rivers,* OUP, New Delhi, 2002. F. S. Aijazuddin, Sikh Portraits by European Artists, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London and OUP, Karachi, Delhi, 1979. J. M. Lafont and Barbara Schmitz, «The Painter Imam Bakhsh of Lahore», in Barbara Schmitz ed., *After the Great Mughals: Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centuries,* Marg Publications, June 2002, pp. 74-99, 15 color illustrations.
3. Out of the 58 identified portraits which include Punjabis (Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims) as well as people from the Ganga-Jamuna Doab, Peshawar and Multan, 10 portraits are of the *Farenghis* in the service of the Punjab state: Generals Allard, Ventura, Court and Avitabile, the French Colonels Mouton, de La Roche and Lafont, the English ones (Foulkes and Van Cortland), one Prussian Colonel (Steinbach) and the interesting Dr. Johann Martin Honigberger, an Austro-Hungarian physician who had invited Schoefft to come from Delhi to Lahore.This large painting, maybe an order of King Louis-Philippe for the renovated Palace of Versailles, was not completed at the fall of Louis-Philippe in 1848. Shoefft managed to sell it to Maharaja Dalip Singh and it became the property of Dalip Singh's youngest daughter, Princess Bamba (London 1869 – Model Town, Lahore, 1957). She bequeathed it to Pir Karim Bakhsh Supra, her secretary, who sold it to the Punjab Government.
4. In March 1823, Ranjit Singh and British intelligence were informed of the arrival at Shahdara of two *Farenghis* (Allard and Ventura) and one *Gorah* (Csoma de Körös).
5. B. Le Calloch, « Alexander Csoma de Körös », in Nouvelle Revue Tibétaine, 10, January 1985, 120 pages. Louis Ligeti (ed.), *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium*, Académiai Kiado, Budapest, 1978. Also Satinder K. Vij and Imre Lazar (ed.), *Alexander Csoma de Körös (1784-1842) Pioneer of Oriental Studies in Hungary*, University of Delhi and Hungarian Information Centre, New Delhi, 1992.
6. J. M. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh…, passim. Id., Fauj-i-khas. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his French Officers*, GNDU, Amritsar, 2002 (also available in Hindi and Punjabi translations)
7. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence Française*…, pp. 105-107, with list of the forces distributed along the frontier in 1829.

8. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence Française*…, chapter III, « L'œuvre Militaire. 1822-1839 », pp. 150-181.
9. Id., *ibid*., pp. 253-255.
10. Id., *ibid*., chapter IV, « L'œuvre Administrative », pp. 183-202.
11. General Court, a former cadet of Ecole Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr, served in Napoleon's army (1813-1815). Dismissed from service after Waterloo, he served in Persia and then joined Allard and Ventura in Lahore in 1827. He was mainly instrumental in recasting the artillery of the Punjab kingdom. Assistant to General Allard as Military Governor of the Peshawar province in 1837, he succeeded Allard in this office from 1839 to 1843. An excellent scientist with a keen interest in history and archaeology, he conducted excavations in Manikyala, Peshawar and the Khyber Pass down to Bannu and Tonk. He left interesting *Mémoires* which are in the process of publication.
12. This garden had earlier been given by Ranjit Singh to Khuruk Singh, the eldest son of the Maharaja. Khuruk Singh resented the decision of his father to give it to the *Farenghis*, hence his hatred towards the French officers.
13. V. Jacquemont, …, *Etat Politique de L'Inde du Nord en 1830*, Paris, 1933, pp. 379-381. English translation by H. L. O. Garrett, *The Punjab a Hundred Years Ago,* Lahore, PGRO, Monograph 18, 1934 [reprint Patiala, 1971], p. 34.
14. Several drawings done by European travellers give us a glimpse of the Anarkali complex in the 1830's - 1840's, when it was the headquarters of the *Fauj-i-khas* and the residence of Generals Allard, Ventura and their families. On this engraving, one may see the tomb (on the right), the residence with its surrounding veranda, and on the left the old 'Mughal' palace (probably the former residence of Prince Khuruk Singh), destroyed by the British after Annexation (1849). The best documentation on Lahore at that time is in F. S. Aijazuddin, Lahore. *Illustrated Views of 19th Century*, New York-Lahore, 1991. From J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahore*, p. 72, ill. 77.
15. C. Hügel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, London, 1845 [reprinted Qausain, Lahore, 1976], pp. 283-284.
16. Multan was captured by Ranjit Singh in 1818, four years before Allard and Ventura entered the Punjab service. The description reminds us of the beautiful paintings of the Ramayana in the Old Palace of Chamba.
17. William Barr, *Journal of a March From Delhi to Peshâwur and From Thence to Câbul, with the Mission of Lieut.-Colonel Sir C.M. Wade*, London, 1844 [reprinted Patiala, 1971], pp. 43-44.
18. C. Hügel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, p. 311.
19. See here under figure 6. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence Française*…, pp. 314-315. Also J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahor*e, Topical, Lahore, 2007, p. 101 and ill. 136.
20. This bird's eye view painting is most probably by Imam Bakhsh. One may see the tomb of Nusrat Khan (Court's headquarters) in the foreground with sentries. Court's and Fezli's Punjabi-style residence is in the background. Called *L'Ermitage (Hermit's Dwelling)* in honor of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, it is built within a rectangular courtyard and decorated with floral paintings. The servants' quarters and the

stables may be seen on the right. Fezli's mosque is also visible. From J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahor*e, p. 101, ill. 136.

21. Nao Nihal Singh and Udham Singh are represented close to each other and looking at each other in the painting The Court of Lahore, by August Schoefft : see F. S. Aijazuddin, *Sikh Portraits by European Artists*, plate XIV, no. 3 and 4. The two friends were returning together from the cremation of Maharaja Khuruk Singh in 1841 when they were crushed to death by the fall of the Roshnai Darwaza.
22. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence Française*…, pp. 261-262. Ranjit Singh had given Ventura the jaghir of Meeranpur, close to Khuruk Singh's *jaghir* of Sheikurpura. Ventura had his first son, 'Cosur' (Kasur?), buried in his *jaghir*. Circa 1825 Khuruk Singh, incensed by the fact that the peasants of his *jaghir* were flocking to Ventura's *jaghir* where they were much better treated, laid a devastating raid on Meeranpur and desecrated the tomb of little Cosur. Ventura tended his resignation to Ranjit Singh, which was refused. It took him some time to recover and resume his command in the *Fauj-i-khas.* More information in Suri, *Umdat ut-Tawarikh*, II, p. 692.
23. On Mrs Ventura, J. M. Lafont, *La Présence Française* …, pp. 301-302 and passim. On Victorine, id., ibid., pp. 145, 281-282, 302 and passim.
24. J. M. Lafont, "Fezli Azan Joo, Générale Court: Une Peinture Inédite d'August Schöfft, Lahore 1841", in Eugen Ciurtin (ed.), *Du Corps Humain, au Carrefour de Plusieurs Savoirs en Inde. Mélanges Offerts à Arion Rosu, Studia Asiatica* IV (2003) – V (2004), University of Bucarest, Bucarest and Paris, 2004, pp. 707-736, 3 illustrations. Rehana Lafont, *From Punjab to Provence. Bannu Pan Deï (Chamba 1814 - Saint-Tropez 1884) and Fezli Azan Joo (Kashmir 1821 - Marseilles 1869),* I. T. University Seminar, Lahore, 1st to 3rd April 2016.
25. J. M. Lafont, "Bannu Pan Deï Allard and the Family of General Allard", *Journal of Sikh Studies,* V-2, 1978, GNDU, University of Amritsar, pp. 104-134, plates I -V. Idem, "An Indian Princess in Saint-Tropez. Bannu Pan Deï, Madame Allard. 1814-1884", in Indika. *Essays on Indo-French Relations*. 1630-1976, CSH-Manohar, Delhi, 2000, pp. 215-249, with ill. Also Rehana Lafont, *From Punjab to Provence. Bannu Pan Deï (Chamba 1814 - Saint-Tropez 1884) and Fezli Azan Joo (Kashmir 1821 - Marseilles 1869),* I. T. University Seminar, Lahore, 1st to 3rd April 2016.
26. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence Française*…, pp. 317-318.
27. General Allard and his wife spoke only Persian in the family.
28. Bannu Pan Deï, through her connection with the royal family of Chamba, belonged to the oldest Rajput dynasty of the Himalayan foothills.
29. The painting shows Fezli Azan Joo sitting for Schoefft in her residence at Naulakha with her eldest children, Joséphine and Alexander. In the background, we see the top of the tomb of Nusrat Khan, which served as headquarters to Court's brigade, and the skyline of Lahore. This is one of the rare interiors we have of a great Punjabi residence at Lahore before 1849. In 1843, the Court family went to France and settled at Marseilles. Fezli died in 1869. In his will dated 1879, General Court mentions this painting as well as his own portrait, also probably executed by Schoefft, which has not yet been traced. From J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahore,* p. 100, ill. 135.
30. From J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahore*, p. 96, ill. 128. Bannu Pan Deï

(Chamba, Himachal Pradesh, 1814 – Saint-Tropez 1884) married General Allard in 1826. They had five living children. She lived with them in Saint-Tropez from 1835 onwards. She purchased a beautiful residence in Sainte-Maxime, which she called the *baradar*i and a large country-house next to Saint-Tropez. She is buried in the family grave of Cimetière Marin at Saint-Tropez.

31. From J. M. Lafont, L*es Français* / *The French and Lahore*, p. 98, ill. 131. This beautiful painting shows General Allard and his wife Bannu Pan Deï in their residence at Anarkali, Lahore with their five children. General Allard is wearing a hussar uniform, braided with laces, while Bannu Pan Deï is dressed in a yellow gown with a Kashmiri border. The children are all in rich Punjabi attire and two Punjabi servants are in attendance, one on the right holding in her arms the youngest daughter, Félicie, actually born in Calcutta. These two servants, one of them called Darana, accompanied Madame Allard to France and settled there in 1835.
32. V. Jacquemont, *Journal de Voyage*, translation by H. L. O Garrett. Lahore, 1933. This is dated by Jacquemont March 11th-25th, 1831.
33. V. Jacquemont, *Letters from India*…, II, p. 330. Champagne was served and a toast drunk in memory of France and to the health of La Fayette.
34. We first published these miniature paintings for the Festival of France in India (bicentenary of the French Revolution): Jean de La Fontaine. *Le Songe d'un Habitant du Mogol, Imprimerie Nationale and RMN*, Paris, 1989. We exhibited them twice in India: first in the National Museum (New Delhi) in December 2005 and then in the former Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai, in February-March 2006. See The *Dream of an Inhabitant of Mogul*, Mumbai, 2006. Also J. M. Lafont, "Les Fables de La Fontaine aux Indes. Imam Bakhsh Lahori et l'Ecole Artistique de Lahore", *Synergies-Inde*, 1, 2006, Paris, pp. 145-171.
35. J. M. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Lord of the Five Rivers*, pp. 54-67 and ill. 65 (frontispiece of the Manual). Idem, *Les Français* / *The French and Lahore*, p. 71 ill. 75 and 76.
36. J. M. Lafont and Barbara Schmitz, «The Painter Imam Bakhsh of Lahore», in Barbara Schmitz (ed.), *After the Great Mughals. Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centurie*s, Marg Publications, June 2002, pp. 74-99, 15 color illustrations.
37. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence Française*…, pp. 331-347.
38. J. M. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Lord of the Five Rivers*, pp. 116-119 and ill. 243: 'Great Stupa of Manikyala'
39. Id., *ibid*., p. 117 ill. 247.
40. Elizabeth Errington, "Rediscovering the Coin Collection of Claude-Auguste Court. A Preliminary Report", Topoi. *Orient-Occident*, 5/2, 1995, pp. 409-424, 4 plates [CNRS-University of Lyon II].
41. J. M. Lafont, *Les Français* / *The French and Lahore*, p. 108-114 and ill. n° 152 : "Coupole Pahller dans le Canton d'Osman Katter".
42. Idem, «Les Indo-Grecs: Recherches Archéologiques Françaises dans le Royaume Sikh du Penjab. 1822-1843», in Topoi *Orient-Occiden*t 4, 1994, pp. 9-68, 1 map [CNRS-University of Lyon II]. English translation as "The Numismatic Collection of General Court and Instructions of the French Academy for an Archaeological

Survey of the Punjab, 1836", in J. M. Lafont, Indika. *Essays in Indo-French Relations*…, pp. 287-342. The English translation of the *Instructions of the Academy* pp. 313-324.

43. William Barr, *Journal of a March*…, p. 140: "Two regiments of Allard's cuirassiers, the most noble-looking troops on parade…" (April 1839)
44. Wade to Macnaghten, 5th February 1839.
45. William Barr, *Journal of a March*…, pp. 46-48. All that took place in the area comprised today between the Lahore Museum, The National College of Arts and the Directorate of Customs, Lahore.
46. Still called Kuri Bagh ("The Daughter's Garden"): Syed Muhammad Latif, Lahore. *Its History, Architecture, Remains and Antiquities*, Lahore, 1892 [reprinted Lahore, 1981], p. 196.
47. My husband (J. M. Lafont) and I rediscovered this tomb in 1974 and my husband gave a lecture with slides entitled "General Jean-François Allard and some French Officers at the Court of Lahore (1820-1844)" at University Oriental College on 11th February 1976. Following that, the Directorate of Archaeology (Northern Circle) made a first restoration of the tomb and we want to express our warmest thanks to Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, then Director of the Northern Circle and his staff (especially Dr. Muhammed Sharif, Dr. I. H. Nadiem and Mr. Kokar. See the Pakistan *Times Magazine*, 4th February 1979, "French General's tomb in deplorable State" and the letter, "Allard's Tomb" to the editor, *Pakistan Times*, 21st February 1979. During the summer of 1979, the descendants of General Allard and Bannu Pan Deï made a trip to Lahore, Peshawar, Amritsar and Chamba. They made a financial contribution to the Directorate of Archaeology for further repairs and beautification of the tomb. The French Embassy in Islamabad and Alliance Française de Lahore also contributed to the maintenance of that protected monument.
48. In 2001, the East Punjab Government entrusted Dr. J. M. Lafont with the making of the exhibition *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, for the commemoration of the 200 years of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's coronation. The book *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Lord of the Five Rivers* was published on this occasion. My husband and I hope to put together soon in Lahore an exhibition on *Imam Bakhsh Lahori and the Lahori School of Arts in the Punjab Kingdom (1799-1849).*
49. The tomb was built by General Allard and Bannu Pan Deï for their first child, Marie-Charlotte, born in Lahore on 12th November 1826, died on 5th April 1827. It was in the garden of their *baradari*. When he returned from France to Lahore in 1837, Allard told Ranjit Singh in a small poem in Persian: "… When I die, let my grave be in Lahore and my remains be interred in Anarkali". Here he rests with two of his children. From J. M. Lafont, *Les Français* / *The French and Lahore,* p. 102, ill. 137.

Perceptions of Urbanization in the Bengali Novel of the Late Colonial Period: Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay and Dhurjati Prasad Mukhopadhyay

Subrata Sinha

I must begin with a humble admission that my choice of authors and texts for this essay is rather random.[1] The period itself is arguably one of the most fruitful and an intriguing time in the history of Bengali literature as well as, if there is any such thing, Indian literature. The five novels I include in this discussion were published between 1932 and 1947. Rabindranath was very much on the scene in the 1930s, though he published all of his major novels before this period (no wonder his last major novel was named '*Shesher Kabita*' or '*A Farewell Song*'), and the baton for the new age novelistic discourse was passed on to his younger contemporaries – the Kallol movement, some solitary figures such as Jagadish Gupta and then the Three Banerjees: Bibhutibhushan, Manik and Tarashankar.

There was no single idea of urbanity that emerged from, or was even attempted by the literary communities of the late colonial period in Bengal. There were various shades of the notion: it was myriad and heterogeneous. It changed with the authors, it changed with the time within the corpus of any of the authors and as one may say, it also changed, for any particular work, during the course of its reception. I will not, thus, try to provide a rationale for such a choice, let alone claiming it to be more representative of the period than any other author or work. I would rather like, very humbly to point out two of the major distinctions between the two authors I have chosen and that also not in terms of their literary acumen.

Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay (1898-1971) was born in a wealthy, land-owning family at a village called Labhpur, some 200 kilometers away from Kolkata and later moved to the city in pursuit of a literary career. He participated actively in the struggle for Independence (1947) and served a term in prison before his literary career started. Dhurjati Prasad Mukhopadhyay (1894-1961), on the other hand, was born and brought up in Kolkata, was a brilliant student of economics and politics at the Calcutta University, taught at the universities of Lucknow and Aligarh and was much revered as a pioneer of sociological thoughts in

India. The two points of distinction I would like to draw your attention to are:

- Firstly, Tarashankar's familiarity with urban life was something acquired in his later life (in a memoir he mentions that he started spending more time in Kolkata from the age of 32 or 33, primarily because it helped him in his literary activities[2]) while Dhurjati Prasad was not only born to an urban life but also witnessed its various forms in various linguistic-cultural vicinities, both as a dweller as well as a critic of the same in his professional capacity.
- Secondly, while for Tarashankar literature was a full-time occupation, it was hardly so for Dhurjati Prasad. These biographical and temperamental distinctions are perhaps worth some consideration and we will probably notice, in the course of this paper, how they shaped each writer's perceptions of urbanity.

The texts I have chosen were published between 1932 and 1947. The first one was by Tarashankar, *Chaitali Ghurni* (Whirlwind of the Late Spring) and so was the last, *Hansuli Banker Upakatha* (Fables of the Bent Horse-Shoe). *Chaitali Ghurni* narrates the story of Goshtha and Damini, a poverty-ridden family in a rural agrarian community during the second decade of the 20th century. They are regularly threatened by the moneylender (Kabuli); their only child dies primarily of malnutrition and hunger; their land is misappropriated by another deceitful moneylender and in the end, after losing everything quite literally, Goshtha is forced to provide free labor for the *zamindar* (landowner) who also sets a large fine on him as he had cut a tree with the intention of cremating his son. While being forced to work, Goshtha strikes back on a momentary impulse, murdering the *zamindar's* guard with a single blow of his baton. This is when, to avoid the police, Goshtha and Damini move to an *adha-shahar*, a quasi-urban industrial settlement, only to find it equally oppressive, if not more so, though in a different way from the village left behind.

If *Chaitali Ghurni* narrated a story of some individuals moving to an urban settlement trying to escape feudal oppression, *Hansuli Banker Upakatha* narrates a more problematic and intriguing story of another such escape, with all the practical and sentimental nuances attached to the process. Yet, there is a twist in the plot and the climax reverses the journey. The protagonist, Karali, lured by city life and disillusioned in

turn, returns from his much boasted life of a wage laborer to the rural agrarian system.

In contrast, Dhurjati Prasad's protagonist, Khagen and his partner Ramala move from Kolkata to Benaras to Kanpur in search of a home and a life befitting their urban temperament. It is to be noted that what brings Khagen and Ramala together is the end of a dissatisfying married life for Khagen after his wife Sabitri commits suicide and a very oppressive conjugal life experienced by Ramala, from which she is trying to escape. It is also to be noted that both Khagen and Ramala lead the life of parasites. The first two parts of the trilogy, *Antahshila* (The Hidden Spring) and *Abarta* (The Vortex), were published in 1935 and 1937 respectively and the third one, *Mohana* (The Estuary) came out in 1943 after a long hiatus of six years. The trilogy could perhaps be read, given the choice of cities in which they live and through which they pass, also as a study of the various forms of urbanity, rooted in their deeply varying times and natures of origin. Before we get back to Dhurjati Prasad, let us have a closer look at Tarashankar's works.

Pramathanath Bishi quite appropriately pointed out that *Chaitali Ghurni* is laden with a message and full of sympathy for the poor; however, it fails to produce lively characters.[3] What he perhaps meant was that these characters have become typical rather than individual. While agreeing to this proposition, I would like to argue that the same happens with the urban life that he narrates in *Chaitali Ghurni*. Moving to the semi-urban settlement primarily for anonymity, Goshtha takes on the job of a wage laborer in a factory. Goshtha and Damini both fall prey to an utterly oppressive condition of living. The perpetual state of hunger and lack of even nominal privacy makes life quite unbearable: we may recall Damini's words to Goshtha on the verge of a frantic exercise of burning some clothes that came as a prelude to a man's advances, "you should at least provide me with a bowl of rice and a *sari* to wear". Later, a group of workers including Goshtha join a strike against the authorities demanding a hike in wages. The action is sabotaged and Goshtha, a leading member of the group on strike, dies in a fight between two conflicting groups of workers, calculated and staged by the management.

While talking about his pro-worker sympathies expressed in the novel, in an autobiographical account written twenty years later, Tarashankar denied any first-hand knowledge of Marxist theories,

though admitting a familiarity with Marx' basic ideas through some essays in Bangla. He emphasised, instead, on his familiarity with the conditions of living among the lower strata of society as the source of his inspiration. Interestingly enough, in the same writing, he mentions his experience in the *zamindari* system; he was a landowner and assumed his responsibilities quite early in his youth. His managerial experience in the coal mines furnished raw-material for the events in the novel.[4] Perhaps this gap between what he witnessed and what he narrated led to the typicality in the novel – both in terms of portrayal of the characters as well as their habitat. The semi-urban heterotopy that Tarashankar narrates, for example, despite having all the typical markers of a township, such as a factory, a railway station, a market and so on, lacks any relatable geography.

Perhaps such typicality is the last thing one could complain of in the plot of *Hansuli Banker Upakatha*. One of the greatest novels ever written in Bangla, it primarily depicts the rural life of a marginal community in Bengal. Tarashankar's protagonist Karalicharan, though not in any way similar to the exploitation experienced by Goshtha, feels oppressed by the feudal system under which he lives in his village and opts for the job of a '*kuli*' or a porter for the railways in exchange for a daily wage. Throughout the course of the novel, Karali defies every single social code of feudal morale, lures his companions to do the same and takes a pivotal role in the total wreckage of the social structure of his surroundings as well as of the village itself. However, during moments of self-reflection he also becomes critical of his job as a wage laborer: that which usually appears to be a liberating experience shows deep rooted hierarchical practices very similar to the feudal structure from which he wants to dissociate himself. At the end of the novel, Karali returns to his village, or to what used to be his village, with a plea for its revival.

However, despite the novel's panorama of fascinating characters such as Karali, Banwari, Pakhi or Suchand and the almost tangible cartography of the Hansuli-bank, the urban scenario of Chandanpur remains sketchy and elusive. The town never asserts its presence in the plot beyond its narrative functionality. One idea of urbanity that emerges as an extension from *Chaitali Ghurni* in this mature work is perhaps that of a habitation with the morals of a marketplace. It forms a discursive margin of what is supposed to be the ideal, integral, communitarian rural life. Even when the actual living conditions do not show much

of a difference in the two spaces of existence, the urban is regarded as a deviation, and perhaps, a degeneration which is unstoppable. In contrast, country life may be worked upon and restored. Urbanity, for Tarashankar, is essentially different from this ideal country life, both in normative and formative aspects: it is the ontological other of the community life for which he is searching in his novels.

The urban life that we see in Dhurjati Prasad's novels is miles apart from those in Tarashankar's narratives. The urban space is a habitat. The city and its dwellers, the urban chronotope and the characters are irreplaceably related to each other in the scope of these novels. We find, being a member of the literate urban elite, Khagen is a romantic in his aesthetic test – he thinks that the novel is not a place for the narration of events. It should, rather portray the 'negative capability' of the character – the ability to engage in a dissociate manner. However, Dhurjati Prasad is keen on exploring the contradiction of his protagonist's ideas and his actual life. In the first part of the trilogy, *Antahshila*, Khagen's relationship with Kolkata, the city where he was born and grew up, is integral. While wife Sabitri's death gives Khagen relief and freedom, it also strips from him a sense of purpose in his relationship with the city. On the pretext of seeing his aunt, Khagen leaves Kolkata for Benaras to avoid the mundane life of the familiar and recurrent everyday chores and the first thing we hear from him after reaching Benaras is:

> "I have been here for a week now. Could not fit myself into the surroundings yet…
> (Kashi) makes one smallminded, narrow.
> Kashi begins from Mughal Sarai and is best enjoyed from the railway bridge. You would hate the bridge from the riverbank, but you would love Kashi as you look at it from the bridge. Does one's appreciation not depend on one's own position?"

This peculiar alienated response of a colonial city-dweller towards an ancient town, does not allow Khagen to find a home away from the metropolis he had left behind. In this part of the trilogy, Khagen is nearly a fugitive, roaming around the northern part of India only to come back to Benaras to find himself in a very strange position vis-a-vis Ramala. The focus of this novel is thus on Ramala, who is trying to find her place in Benaras and trying to figure out the intricacies of her relationship with Khagen, along with two of his former acquaintances – Sujan, a liberal intellectual who is also drawn towards Khagen's mode of life and thought, and Bijan, an aspiring communist in his early youth.

Bijan works as an organizer for a group of male industrial laborers and is very sceptical about women joining the trade union movement.

Khagen, on the one hand, is closely attached to his aunt, while on the other, he is aware that the only community that will be open enough to embrace them as they are, is a progressive community of the future which exists in Bijan's political imagination. The second novel ends with the death of Khagen's aunt, once again cutting his ties with Benaras, a problematic space he had been unable to negotiate with.

Published six years after *Abarta*, the second part of the trilogy, the finale began with Khagen and Ramala deciding upon leaving Benaras after a false pregnancy alert. Ramala suggests Kanpur instead of Khagen's choice of Lucknow: "You will not like a feudal place. Let's go to Kanpur. A new city is coming up." This very utterance shows a specific choice made by the author in terms of a preferred cityscape for his novel. Though Kanpur had a history of its own since the early 13th century, the part of the city that Khagen and Ramala are headed to is necessarily the post-uprising industrial township, flourishing between the 1860s and 1930s, mainly as a large constellation of several cotton mills. One may immediately recall Khagen's hunch that the only society which could accommodate them is that of Bijan's utopia but they actually find Bijan there, along with his comrades like Safeeq, Kishan and Mehboob, working for a workers' consolidation in the cotton mills.

The cotton mills of Kanpur in Dhurjati Prasad's novel are sites of a fierce workers' movement and the violent means with which the movement is suppressed, much like Tarashankar's *Chaitali Ghurni*. The abject poverty and destitution of working class people and their struggle and resistance, which both Tarashankar and Dhurjati Prasad narrate, is worthy of an extensive study but here we would like to restrict ourselves to some observations.

The Bihar-Uttar Pradesh region's depeasantization and drain under colonialism had been accompanied with the migration of a large number of men, women and children, aged between two and forty-five, migrating as indentured laborers from the late 19th to the early 20th centuries.[5] During the First World War, and the inter-war period – the time immediately preceding the period when the third part of the trilogy was written and published, the cotton industry actually flourished, which may be seen from the increase in the number of

factories till at least the 1920s and early 1930s. It also found increasing Indian ownership of such mills and factories from 1921.[6] Yet, the basic demands of the workers for a nominal raise in low wages could be seen as something unnatural and out of place. Likewise, Tarashankar's novels depict an equally deprived working class mass struggling for bare survival in the narrow barracks and low alleys of the quasi-urban settlements which served a miniscule elite profiting from these sacrifices.

Perhaps, this is what shaped our colonial urbanity in those times. Just as the factory and mill owners were sucking the blood of their own workers, so also was the British Empire of its colonies. Economists have shown how a very substantial part of the trade exchange earnings of the colonies were appropriated by London through various forms of undisclosed gifts and opaque transactions in order to maintain the Gold standards.[7] While from the 1930s, Britain's exchange earnings from the colonies saw a sharp decline, finally resulting in its collapse in many parts of the world over time, it was never short of its efforts to maintain a status quo. It is this two-way racket of exploitation which was forming the huge underbelly of the colonial cities otherwise aspiring to a cultural façade in the form of their planning and architecture. Perhaps it was the task of the literature of this period to take up these causes as its own.

It is not surprising that Dhurjati Prasad's protagonist was trying to find his own place in a society changing very rapidly – but what is really crucial to note is what he is finally drawn to. A 'cultured' middle class intellectual, despite all his attachments to what one might call a '*babu*'s life', feels compelled to interact and associate with those on the margins of urban life – both literally and figuratively – almost as an existential precondition. If, for Tarashankar, this marginal urban life constituted the necessary other of an integral rural community, for Dhurjati Prasad, this was the very essence of urbanity on which its cultured façade rested.

The principal achievement of the Bengali novel of the late colonial period was perhaps to reach a definite and unavoidable consciousness of class and class conflict. While some of the authors like Manik Bandyopadhyay or Premendra Mitra or Sailajananda Mukhopadhyay were conscious that the emerging industrial urbanity was built upon the ruins of a decadent feudal system and unequivocal propagandists

of a class conflict reaching its heights during the two wars and the inter-war period, some of them tried to address the discord in a different manner.

The Great War, the marvels of technology, the advent of railways, the intricacies of a changing social structure, the relentless struggle of the emerging proletariat – all of these recur in the novels of both Tarashankar and Dhurjati Prasad as they depict an emerging form of urbanization in their novels. Tarashankar responds to this urbanity in a negative way by resorting to the dream of an impossible continuum of an idealized rural collectivity. The pastoral, no matter how twisted, is still a source of salvation, a refuge and a balm for him from the predatory industrialising force of capital. On the other hand, Dhurjati Prasad accepts urbanity as a historical inevitability and argues for a dialogue between the different social strata of the cityscape in search of a more egalitarian urban society based on empathy and inclusivity. Among these two positions, what lies in-between, are terms of sensibility and perception, a rooted historic understanding that urbanity is not fundamentally shaped by its cultural tropes but by material conditions of everyday life and the collective struggles for survival of its lowest strata.

Seventy years after Independence, when we find Kolkata politicians reiterating and even overreaching the aspirations of colonial planners by claiming to turn the collapsing urban fabric of the city into London and caricaturing their dubious words and aspirations by installing poorly-lit street lights shaped like tridents and mocking decolonising visions with a replica of Big Ben, it is perhaps worth looking back at these texts for their insights. Their historical purpose remains yet to be fully exhausted.

Acknowledgment

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Suchetana Chattopadhyay's comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this essay.

Endnotes

1. The texts we have followed for this essay are as follows:

   - Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay. *Chaitali Ghurni* from *Tarashankar Rachanabali (Collected Works of Tarashankar)* Vol. I. 4th reprint. Kolkata. 1391 B.S. (1984)
   - Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay. *Hansuli Banker Upakatha* from *Tarashankar Rachanabali (Collected Works of Tarashankar)* Vol. VII, 2nd reprint. Kolkata. 1389 B.S. (1982)
   - Dhurjati Prasad Mukhopadhyay. *Antahshila*. *Abartta* and *Mohana* from *Dhurjati Prasad Rachanabali (Collected Works of Dhurjati Prasad)* Vol. I. Kolkata. 1957

2. Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay. *My Life in Literature* (*Amar Sahitya-jiban*). *Kolkata. 1953*

3 Pramathanath Bishi in his "Introduction" to the first volume of the *Collected Works of Tarashankar*. 4th reprint. Kolkata. 1391 B.S. (1984)

4 Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay. *My Life in Literature. Kolkata. 1953*

5 Mangru, Basdeo. *Kanpur to Kolkata: Labour Recruitment for the Sugar Colonies*. Hertford. 2014

6 Ghazala Saghir. 1994. *Labor Problem and Industrial Relations in the Cotton Textile Industry at Kanpur, 1970-1990*. Doctoral Thesis awarded by the Aligarh Muslim University.

7 Utsa Patnaik. "India in the World Economy 1900-1935" in *Social Scientist*, Vol. 42, No. 1-2, January-February 2014.

The Duality of Gentrification

Catherine Weinstock

As a born and bred New Yorker, I have witnessed the continuous transformation of my hometown over the course of decades. New York (NY) is so dynamic that it seems to evolve on an almost daily basis.

The beauty of living in a "world capital" city such as London or New York in this case, is that such an environment is a microcosm of the global landscape. Planet Earth is home to people of many races, cultures, ethnicities, religions and varying socio-economic statuses. This multi-cultural cocktail affords a stimulating living environment but also presents a multitude of challenges. Diversity and economic progress often clash. It is also true that:
1. All human beings the world over require the same three basics for survival: food, clothing and in particular, shelter**.**
2. Necessity is the mother of invention.

Keeping these truisms in mind, it becomes easier to understand the underlying dynamic and ultimately the consequences of such a conflict.

In 1964, the British sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term, "gentrification", which refers to the phenomenon whereby poor urban neighborhoods are often overhauled and reshaped by a new incoming affluent group of inhabitants.[1] Among people who understand its far-reaching ramifications, the very word, "gentrification", provokes a negative reaction. According to Tom Slater, the truest meaning of the term is "the spatial expression of economic inequality".[2] This succinct definition explains the repeated experience of inhabitants who are not only excluded from their neighborhood's improvements but are actually forced to relocate because they can no longer afford to live there.

"Gentrification" is often confounded with the term, "revitalization". This is grossly incorrect as the terms are quite opposite. "Revitalization" is a word with only a positive connotation. According to Webster's dictionary, it is "the action of imbuing something with new life and

vitality". Using the context of urban development, the term refers to a popular, bottom-up effort within the community itself and such an effort is deemed to be consensual and for the betterment of all.

Historically, post-colonial New York City (NYC) has been characterized by its interesting mosaic of neighborhoods - each one reflecting the nature of its principal inhabitants or economic mainstay. For example, the population of Little Italy, in southeast Manhattan, consisted of mostly Southern Italian immigrants, many of whom were stonecutters responsible for the ornate façade work found on buildings throughout lower Manhattan. The Lower East Side, lying further east, was home to Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe for most of the 19th century. Most of them were merchants and small business owners. In recent years, the population has become predominantly Puerto Rican as there was a huge influx from the Caribbean Island. Further west, in lower Manhattan, are the neighborhoods of SoHo and Tribeca. Both of these areas, famous for their stunning cast-iron architecture, started out as centers for light garment manufacturing which took place in small factories. Most of lower Manhattan was industrial as city dwellers chose to have their residences further north. The so-called "rag-trade" died out because cheaper labor was found overseas. As a consequence, these areas became abandoned. In 1962, the City Club of New York published a report about urban blight in which the entire SoHo area, considered to be a "wasteland", was designated for demolition in order to accommodate a new roadway. Led by preservationist Jane Jacobs, the opponents of this plan battled to save the entire area and were able to achieve landmark-status designation in 1968.[3] Artists in search of studio and living space began to occupy the cast-iron lofts as squatters and lived in what was often makeshift fashion. Many of those lofts did not have plumbing or heating and were not approved by the Department of Buildings as fit for habitation.

The Artist In Residence (AIR) law (1970) stipulated that there must be at least one certified professional artist in residence in any industrial loft in SoHo.[4] Eventually, the substantial population of resident artists organized themselves into a coalition whose mandate was to ensure safe and affordable living conditions for its inhabitants.

Throughout the 1970's and the early 1980's, SoHo was unanimously considered to be the "bohemian" and "artsy" district. Due to its edgy atmosphere, where heavy drug use was not uncommon, it was not

considered to be safe after dark. The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Credit was passed in 1978. This provision allowed for real estate developers to "apply for a tax credit equal to 10% of the cost of a building's rehab".[5] This legislation may be viewed as a precursor to the rampant development which occurred in the ensuing years, first gaining visibility in the 1980's and the 1990's, when SoHo morphed into a highly desirable commercial and residential area with very high rents and purchase prices. Many major art galleries and fancy boutiques took hold. It indeed became so sought after that the very artists who colonized it were no longer able to afford it and had to leave. Such a trend begs the question as to whether this was a phenomenon of gentrification or of revitalization. I suggest that it was a combination of the two phenomena, which explains SoHo's demise. Since the area was industrial in its inception and there was no "indigenous" population at its origin, it initially underwent a process of revitalization, as the very artists that moved there gave new life and purpose to an area which had been threatened with demolition in its entirety. However, in the last 20 years, the aggressive process of gentrification has been responsible for the exit of most of those artists.

In recent years, New York City has seen two huge real estate bubbles. The first one followed the events of 9/11 in which low interest rates stimulated residential development. In addition, the huge bonuses of Wall Street increased the demand for the product, which reached a benchmark of US$ 1,200/per square foot. Although the 2008 financial crisis led to a climate of heavy foreclosure activity nationwide, the market rebounded in 2011 with an increase in obscenely wealthy foreign buyers who used NYC real estate as safe haven from the instability and turmoil occurring in their home countries.[6]

According to the NY Post, "New York's swankiest skyscrapers have become the new Swiss banks for the world's richest undesirables".[7] This led to the dramatic increase in prices across the board, which affected the entire population of the metropolis. Although for many years in New York, the rule of thumb was that only 30% of one's income should be spent on housing, this guideline became very much outdated during this period.[8]

Manhattan became unaffordable, forcing middle-class families to go beyond its borders and search the outer boroughs. In recent times, Brooklyn, in particular, became a popular choice. The area known as

Bedford-Stuyvesant ("Bed-Stuy" for short), which lies in the North-Central portion of Brooklyn, incorporates the two small villages of Bedford (to the West) and Stuyvesant (to the East). It was established in the 1860's and the 1870's by Dutch and German immigrants. However, it has been a magnet for Brooklyn's African-American and Caribbean population since the mid-1920's, largely because African-Americans were unable to buy in other parts of Brooklyn due to racism. The current population is approximately 150,000. Initially, the housing stock consisted of "freestanding frame and brick homes but eventually evolved into a more city-like neighborhood of brick and brownstone row houses. The construction of the elevated railway lines giving fast access to Downtown Brooklyn and Manhattan was a huge boost to the urbanization of the area. From 1880 to 1920, the housing market exploded as Neo Greek, Romanesque and Queen Ann style buildings sprouted all around the Bedford portion of the neighborhood.[9] Throughout the first half of the 20th century, the population of African-American residents steadily increased and by 1960, they represented 85% of the population.[10] The ensuing decades of poverty, racial tensions and violent, drug-related crimes took their toll on the neighborhood resulting in deterioration,[11] much in the same way that occurred in the ghettos of other urban centers such as Los Angeles or Chicago.

Because the housing inventory of brownstones in Bedford-Stuyvesant was cheap and plentiful, it became a viable alternative for middle-class Caucasian professionals who were in need of affordable housing. As a consequence, the neighborhood started to become more ethnically diverse and the local population began to address a need for better stores and services.

This improvement was not always a smooth transition and was not without problems. For example, many brownstone owners had subdivided their homes, renting them out to qualified, eligible, low-income families who receive housing subsidies in the form of vouchers in order to rent on the private market. They are also known as "Section 8" tenants. Currently, there are 90,000 recipients and over 29,000 owners participating in the program administered by the New York City Housing Administration (NYCHA).[12]

Another common type of brownstone tenancy is the Single Room Occupancy (SRO). In New York State, SRO's are multiple dwellings with units consisting of one or two rooms for occupancy by one or

two people. Such multiple dwellings may be permanent residences or temporary housing (hotels). SRO tenants typically share bathrooms and/or kitchens, while some SRO rooms may include kitchenettes, bathrooms, or half-baths. Although many are former hotels, SROs are primarily rented as permanent residences. Single room occupancies are often a form of affordable housing for low-income and formerly homeless individuals.[13]

If designated as an SRO, these dwellings are subject to legislatively imposed restrictions on alterations. To receive a Department of Buildings work permit to make any structural changes to an SRO building, for example, conversion into a single family unit, a Certificate of No Harassment must be obtained. A Certificate of No Harassment is issued by the New York Department of Housing and Development (HPD). Upon receiving an application for the Certificate of No Harassment, the HPD will conduct an investigation to determine whether the owner of the SRO building has harassed lawful tenants of the SRO unit within the past three years with the intent or effect of causing the tenant to vacate the unit. The HPD's investigation may last from six months to several years and the Certificate of No Harassment is effective for three years. For example, unlike typical apartment tenants, SRO tenants have unique rights including regulated rent for most SRO units. They may remain in occupancy whether or not the building owner provides a renewal lease. Tenants in temporary housing are also granted permanent tenancy in SRO units simply by remaining in occupancy for six months or requesting a lease of six months or more.[14]

SRO's were quite popular during the years of economic downturn in New York City and other major US cities. However, as a result of heavy real estate acquisition and development, they have been dying out, leaving their occupants with no alternative other than ending up homeless. Moreover, there are many instances in which occupants are forced out by being relocated. Often they are given a nominal amount of "key-money", a mere pittance compared to the profit margin that comes with buying and selling these brownstones. The fact of the matter is that SRO tenants are just too weak and powerless to fight back.

Clearly, there are mixed sentiments. On the one hand, community spirit is stronger than ever. Fortunately, many African-American families who have lived in their homes for generations are still there. Residents, new and old, are working hard together to maintain the beauty of

their streets by keeping them clean and planting trees. Brownstones are being painstakingly restored. Restaurants and stores typical of Manhattan are popping up all over the area. It is a far cry from the beleaguered ghetto that it once was.

The other side of the story is that there is also a lot of anger and resentment. In a New York Daily News editorial, a long-time Bed-Stuy resident writes, "Gentrification is a dirty word in Bed-Stuy. It means little Trump-like blood-suckers canvassing the community, offering cash to elderly, long-time deed-holders at a third of the price they'd get if their buildings were sold on the open market."[15]

The African-American filmmaker, Spike Lee, speaks of the "Christopher Columbus Syndrome", comparing gentrification to an invasion, "Why does it take an influx of white New Yorkers in the South Bronx, in Harlem, in Bed Stuy, in Crown Heights for the facilities to get better? You can't do that. You can't just come in the neighborhood Columbus and kill off the Native Americans. Or what they do in Brazil, what they did to the indigenous people. You have to come with respect. There's a code. There's people."[16]

There are no definitive solutions since gentrification is the manifestation of various different variables interacting with one another at various points in time. However, there are a number of ways in which it may be mitigated. According to Professor Kenneth Guest of Baruch College, measures that have helped the gentrification problem in New York's Chinatown have included:
1. Interethnic Alliances, whereby neighborhood residents of different socio/economic and ethnic backgrounds organize themselves into a coalition to fight development and take control of their own neighborhoods.
2. Government Intervention whereby regulations are more diligently enforced.
3. New Zoning, which is less favorable to real estate developers and will protect small local business owners.
4. Non-profit groups which are able to purchase buildings that are designated for development and would change the character of their neighborhoods.[17]

In conclusion, on a personal note, I have been preoccupied with the phenomenon of gentrification as I have also been affected. The factors

that brought me to my current neighborhood of Tribeca no longer exist. I came here in 1994 for a number of reasons:

- I liked the "alternative" anti-establishment atmosphere thanks to its residents, most of whom worked in creative fields.
- I liked the low population density as compared to other sections of the city.
- I loved the fact that most of the buildings were very low, not exceeding four stories, and that I could see the sky.

This is no longer the case as tall expensive skyscraper condominiums are mushrooming in every corner, bringing a new kind of conspicuous flavor to what was once a very low-key and laid-back place. The new inhabitants are pretentious and entitled and the place no longer feels like home to me.

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Urban Governance Perspective Based on Citizens Response to Gorakha Earthquake 2015

Swati Pujari

Introduction

The first major recorded earthquake in Nepal was in 1255 AD which caused the death of one-third of the population of the Kathmandu Valley, including the then King Abhaya Malla (NPC, 2015). The most historic and significant earthquake in the fault-line between the Indian and Eurasian plates was the Nepal-Bihar earthquake of 16 January, 1934. This 8.4 magnitude quake[1] is perhaps also the most remembered in Nepal, so much so, that the national earthquake safety day is commemorated on the anniversary of this quake – the second day of the Nepali month of Magh.

A study by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2009 states that Nepal is the eleventh most earthquake prone country in the world (NPC, 2015) and a major earthquake is generally expected to hit at an interval of eighty to a hundred years. The most recent in this series is the 7.6 magnitude Gorakha Earthquake of 25 April, 2015 and the aftershocks that followed. The Gorakha Earthquake had more than 424 aftershocks with magnitudes greater than four and four aftershocks with magnitudes greater than six.[2] As per the data released by the National Emergency Operation Centre, there have been 8,980 deaths and 22,302 injuries due to the Gorakha Earthquake in the Nepali year 2072,[3] with disproportionate effects towards groups that have been marginalized on the basis of caste, gender, economic status and such. The earthquake has affected more than eight million lives, about one-third of the country's population. The estimated economic loss caused by the earthquake is NRP 706 Billion or US$ 7 Billion (NPC, 2015), a figure equivalent to about one-third of Nepal's Gross Domestic Product of the fiscal year 2013-14.

In the global scale, within the timeframe of 2005 to 2015, over seven hundred thousand people have lost their lives due to disasters and more than 1.4 million have been injured. During this decade, various disasters have rendered 23 million people homeless and an economic loss of over US$ 1.3 trillion was calculated (UNISDR, 2015). Marginalization is an

important concern in impacts globally as well, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 mentions that women, children and people in vulnerable situations are disproportionately affected by disasters. People are now even more exposed to hazards than before but the vulnerability has not decreased at the same pace, therefore the short, medium and long term impacts of disasters are high at the local and community levels (UNISDR, 2015). The issues of vulnerability are, therefore, as much of local concern as they are of national and international concern.

Besides the damages caused by the Gorakha Earthquake to physical assets, predominantly in housing and human settlements, damages to public buildings and services such as health, education, water supply, transport and to infrastructures pertaining to livelihoods such as trekking routes, increase the difficulty for the poor and the marginalized to recover. Remote areas have been rendered even more isolated due to obstructions and have faced difficulties in receiving immediate support. The expected recovery time for women and other marginalized groups is longer (NPC, 2015) also due to many indirect impacts. The damages to public services, such as destruction of water supply facilities, mean that mostly girls and women take on the responsibility of fetching water, adversely affecting their potential to recover from the impact as well as increasing their expected recovery time. Similarly, with a large number of people living in temporary shelters with limited facilities of lighting and sanitation at such settlements, increase threats to women's security and also decreases their sense of security. It is, therefore, important to realize that the needs for different segments of society, in the course of recovering from a disaster, are different and thus the inclusion of all these segments in the decision-making of the recovery and rebuilding process is vital. However, the fact remains that women, Dalits (lower castes) and other marginalized groups have limited ownership of land, even with tax compensations on transfer of property. Marginalized groups also have a narrow asset base with limited access to economic resources and maximum involvement in informal works (NPC, 2015), therefore, there is a lurking threat that their direct participation in rebuilding may be limited.

The increase in vulnerabilities of the local population arises more from government investment failures such as failed policy implementation or infrastructure development rather than from individual or household actions. Many local governments, especially in middle and low

income countries, are generally unable to meet their developmental and infrastructural obligations thus the strategies at the household or community level become vital for livelihoods. This is especially true in the context of disaster risks (UN-Habitat, 2011). Even though states have the overall responsibility for reducing disaster risk, this responsibility is shared by governments and other relevant stakeholders, particularly stakeholders that may play an important role as 'enablers' in supporting the state in achieving the targets of reduced risk (UNISDR, 2015). The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 calls for disaster risk reduction through "all-of-society" and "all-of-State institutions" (UNISDR, 2015, p. 5) emphasizing the important role of both the local governments as well as the local communities in enhancing community resilience. In taking measures to cope with risks to their lives and livelihoods, people develop coping strategies based on what they do for themselves individually or at a household level. These strategies showcase the importance of families, friends and neighbors (UN-Habitat, 2011) in their potential to access local resources, including emergency funds, loans as well as social support.

This paper looks at settlements in Nepal, after the Gorakha Earthquake, through the lens of urban governance. A study of the role of a self-organized youth group in the town of Sankhu after the Gorakha Earthquake showed stark difference between the governance systems and decision-making process of the local government and that of the community and observed the youth group as the agent of a resilient system (Pujari, 2016a). The study is taken forward in this paper, discussing the role of yet another community led organization in Bungamati which originated as a citizens group and formalized as the Bungamati Reconstruction and Development Council. The presence of such local groups and organizations not only supports the development of local capacity but also supports lobbying for action and answerability from the government and other stakeholders.

The Context – Description of Locations

Amongst the many settlements affected by the earthquake, both Sankhu and Bungamati are located within the Kathmandu Valley. Sankhu, a part of the Shankarapur Municipality, is the historic satellite town of ancient Kathmandu, while Bungamati, within the Karyabinayak Municipality, is a historic satellite town of the city of Patan. Both the

Shankarapur Municipality and the Karyabinayak Municipality were established in 2071 BS (Bikram Sambat - Nepali calendar) or 2014-15 AD,[4] less than one year before the Gorakha Earthquake, as a result of restructuring the existing Village Development Committees (VDC) into the administrative jurisdiction of the newly formed municipalities. Sankhu is 20 kilometres North-East of Kathmandu, while Bungamati is located 10 kilometres South of Kathmandu. Although new in their current administrative structures, both these settlements are historically and culturally significant. They are predominantly inhabited by the Newars[5].

Sankhu as an ancient kingdom has been mentioned in two mythological legends – the legend of *Manisaila Mahavadana* and the legend of *Swasthani.* Although it is difficult to ascertain the time of Sankhu's establishment, beyond the legends, the oldest inscription found in Sankhu is dated 538 AD or during the *Licchavi* times (Shreshta, 2012). The settlement of Sankhu and the temple complex of its predominant deity – Vajrayogini, are in the list of tentative UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

According to the Sankhu Reconstruction Society, 67 people in Sankhu lost their lives due to the earthquake and 179 were injured. About 90% of the houses – 1,235, were destroyed and more than 4,000 people in Sankhu and about 25,000 in Shankarapur Municipality are living in temporary and precarious conditions (SRS, 2016).

Bungamati is another ancient settlement. The oldest inscription in Bungamati is also from the *Licchavi* times and of the *Licchavi* King Amshuvarma dated 605 AD. Bungamati, with 6,000 inhabitants, lies in the administrative boundary of Karyabinayak Municipality of Lalitpur District (K.U. Leuven, 2015-16). The centre of the town is occupied by the temple complex, housing the temples of Machindranath and Hayagriva Bhairav amongst others. The town is developed in a *Mandala* pattern, radiating from the centre (Gurung, 2000). However, unlike the city-states of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, are also in the *Mandala* pattern, where the central entity is the palace complex – the seat of administrative power, the central entity in Bungamati is the temple complex – the seat of divine power.

The Gorakha Earthquake resulted in seven deaths in Bungamati with 53 injuries. The temples of Rato Machindranath and Hayagriva Bhairav were completely destroyed along with 853 private houses while 315 houses, were partially damaged resulting in haphazard temporary shelters (AN, 2016).

Governance Perspectives

The understanding of the 'resilience' of a system differs from the engineering approach of a 'robust' system, as robustness relies on protection, for example, using structures such as retaining sea walls against coastal flooding. Resilience focuses on ensuring retention of functionality and rapid reinstallation of such functionality through system linkages even though some failures or disruptions may occur (Tyler and Moench, 2012). In many high-income nations, even the notion of climate adaptation is conceptualized in infrastructural solutions such as building new dykes, new dams and new drainage systems which are high-cost strategies, while the low-cost means of addressing the issue of building resilience focuses on socially-oriented strategies. The trend of focusing on social strategies, as opposed to technical strategies, stems from the realization that much of the finances channelled through national governments are not likely to reach the most vulnerable groups that need the support the most (Dodman and Mitlin, 2011). In their study focusing on urban climate resilience, Tyler and Moench (2012) refer to Berkes (2007), Folke et. al. (2002) and Gallopin (2006) in arguing that "the adaptive capacity of social organizations and individuals is a concept closely related to resilience" (p. 314). The relevance of people, or agents, is highlighted due to their ability to deliberate, analyze and process new information. Factors relating to infrastructure, societies and institutions and the connections between them are important in understanding and developing resilience, including social resilience.

Reiterating the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, which calls for an 'all-of-society' and 'all-of-state institutions' engagement to enhance community resilience, it is relevant to look into the discussion by Kwok et. al. (2016) on how recent disasters, such as the Hurricane Sandy on the U.S. East Coast and the Canterbury earthquakes in Christchurch, New Zealand in 2011 and 2012, have highlighted the need to fully integrate community-based disaster response efforts along with the responses initiated by the government. Measurement of resilience, as a mode to strengthen a society's capacity to adapt to challenges before and after a disaster, may be categorized into two – idiographic or bottom-up and nomothetic or top-down (Kwok et. al., 2016). Traditional public policy-making and implementation follow the logic of rationality and not the issues of complexity, most government approaches are hierarchical or top-down. Even in cases where public discourse is present, participation

is limited to specific professionals (Wagenaar, 2006; and Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). However, when we look into complex systems such as a city or a community with maximum, dense and intense interactions between its elements, top-down administrative approaches seldom regard the inherent complexity of the system, if ever, and thus result in policy failure (Wagenaar, 2006). Although top-down approaches in policies or resilience strategies enable comparisons across various units of analysis through large quantitative data sets, place specific measures tend to be derived through qualitative data collection in/of bottom-up approaches (Kwok et. al., 2016) as such bottom-up approaches are based on the locality and one of their most relevant strengths is the local knowledge they bring into the framework. Community based bottom-up strategies are based in local best practices (Kwok et. al., 2016); their integration in new and existing community programmes contribute to strengthening social resilience.

Often citizen-led initiatives arise as local governments are either not able to solve problems or are unable to efficiently communicate with the local people. Generally, we see a big difference between the government rhetoric and the on-ground realities, even when policies are actually based on the ground realities there may be failure in implementation due to bureaucratic inertia, oppositions from specific interest groups or misuse of policies (Wagenaar, 2006). Governance is an important factor that affects resilience (Tyler and Moench, 2012), an inclusive and transparent decision-making process means that the general population, especially the marginalized population, have access to information pertaining to resilience building and are enabled to make judgements regarding their risks and vulnerabilities. Similarly, other stakeholders such as institutions and the private sector are also involved in the decision making process, thus supporting the building of resilience through the generation, exchange and retention of knowledge as well as by encouraging financial sustainability and development. In their study of the challenges faced by Community Based Adaptation (CBA), Dodman and Mitlin (2011) say that processes developed and supported by organized citizens are likely to start political discourse and elected representatives are more likely to address the concerns of such locally based resilience strategies.

One of the key attributes pertaining to community resilience, as identified by Kwok et. al. (2016), is community governance including proper plans and strong leadership both at the grassroots level as well

as in the government. Building resilience and reducing disaster risk includes strengthening disaster risk governance – one of the priorities for action stated in the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030. Resilient communities, or communities that have a capacity to adapt to shocks before and after a disaster, must have collaborative and inclusive decision making processes in place. A good governance strategy acknowledges the importance of people's perceptions of trust, inclusiveness and effective leadership – it is vital that people trust the development process and feel included in the decision making process (Kwok et. al., 2016). Although much of the coping strategies developed by households focus more on developing their lives and livelihoods and do not necessarily start with the intention of building resilience to climatic changes or disasters, the presence of people's perception of trust and inclusiveness significantly influences the preparedness of the community in case of a disaster. It makes the general population ready to face consequences and make decisions as and for the community, that improve not just their response to and recovery from a disaster but also their livelihoods in general. Thus, it is important to note that increasing resilience in a system is not a mono-sector approach; increased resilience not only reduces climate change and/or disaster risks but also makes the local stakeholders more effective as one of the key methods of increasing resilience is by ensuring all the stakeholders meet their responsibilities (Dodman and Satterthwaite, 2008). Similarly, disaster management is also a multi-faceted sector which includes many stakeholders. In order to develop resilience towards a disaster, many skill-sets are required which perform activities before, during and after a disaster (Kwok et. al. 2016). Much like the household strategy of coping with stress, resilience to disasters includes understanding resilience at individual, household and community levels whereby getting access to emergency funds, having a social safety net and other potential manners of access to economic resources contribute to the strengthening of social resilience and at the same time also support the livelihoods of the community.

Besides such household level initiatives, it is also relevant to discuss the initiatives that are community based and self-organized, especially owing to its involvement of citizens, public authorities and non-governmental agencies whereby, unlike the traditional policymaking approaches, decision making processes are collaborative. In such self-organized and community-based approaches one single actor does not oversee all the dynamics but multiple stakeholders or systems

operate simultaneously (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011), thus both appreciating and contributing to the complexity of the system. The government here takes on a facilitative role while other stakeholders are involved in a common arena (Bakker et. al., 2012). Therefore, self-organization may be seen as a form of collaborative governance based on collective actions, where stakeholders are involved in a synergetic and horizontal decision making process. Collective actions, within the framework of self-organization may emerge from any sector of the society but they generally involve a group of people (Bakker et. al., 2012). Such approaches that either emerge from the communities, or are at least grounded in the community, appreciate the fact that local communities have the skill, experience, knowledge and motivations to undertake activities that reduce risk and increase resilience. The mode of implementing such strategies in self-organized initiatives is also through community organizations and networks (UN-Habitat, 2011). The strength of such initiatives lies in the fact that they bring to the platform the skills, knowledge and leadership already present in the community. The relevance of such qualities is very high in the framework of resilience building, as mentioned in the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030. There is a need to pay special attention towards improving organized voluntary work of citizens and assign clear roles to community representatives (UNISDR, 2015).

In a study of the concept of collaborative governance in the settlement of Sankhu after the Gorakha Earthquake, Pujari (2016a) focuses on a youth group 'Sakwo Vintuna Pucha' as an 'agent' of resilience. Deriving from the notion of an 'agent', as proposed by Tyler and Moench (2012) the attributes of the youth group were seen within the following framework:

- Responsiveness: Capacity to organize and reorganize in an opportune fashion; ability to identify problems, anticipate, plan and prepare for a disruptive event or organizational failure and to respond quickly in its aftermath.

- Resourcefulness: Capacity to mobilize various assets and resources in order to take action. It also includes the ability to access financial and other assets, including those of other agents and systems through collaboration.

- Capacity to learn: Ability to internalize past experiences, avoid

> repeated failures and innovate to improve performance; as well as to learn new skills (p. 315).

In the discussion of 'social resilience' within the context of New Zealand, Kwok et. al. (2016) discuss that agents or stakeholders and their actions contribute to the preparedness, response and recovery of a society in case of a disaster. The attributes of a community-based citizen-led agent are viewed in this paper within the framework of urban and disaster risk governance. Such aspects contributing to social resilience are grouped in three broad categories which include the development of and access to such attributes as well. These categories are:

- Knowledge
- Resources
- Networks

In discussing the relevance of local strategies and contextualization, for the development of resilience via good governance, it is important to discuss the tradition of self-organization in the historic settlements of the Kathmandu Valley. The cities of Nepal have undergone centuries of cross-cultural exchanges, thus one may find several aspects in the society that suggest a conflict between its traditions and modernity, which at the same time is also fragmented on the basis of castes and other social constructs. Within such a complex social structure, the societies of these cities have developed via collaboration and self-organization. Collective participation is recognized and utilized as a key development strategy. Such strategies have resulted in the establishment of traditional socio-cultural groups called 'Guthis' that have institutionalized citizen participation in ritual, social, cultural and public activities (Tamrakar, 2011 and Pujari, 2014). Guthis have been the custodians of the socio-cultural lives of the local Newars for centuries and although developed with the idea of collective participation, they have in most cases remained mono-caste, limiting participation in specific activities to people of one's own caste only. Yet, such mono-caste Guthis have heavily contributed to the development of urban practices in Kathmandu Valley through cohesion and division of labor. A study of such tradition based, self-organized activities by Guthis in a centuries old festival in Lalitpur revealed that the manifestation of the festival, which greatly contributes to the identity of the place, is heavily dependent on the specific roles played by each mono-caste

Guthi (Pujari, 2014). It is, therefore, important to note that collaborative practices and self-organization have been a part of the tradition of the local community, each locality habited by a Newar community generally has its own private Guthi as well as community Guthi supporting socio-cultural activities of the locality. Yet, almost all such traditional Guthis are exclusively mono-caste, a feature that has been diluted in most non-traditional self-organized groups, for example, the Sakwo Vintuna Pucha of Sankhu (Pujari, 2016a). The argument relevant in this issue is the fact that sections of the community traditionally excluded from perceived higher attributes, for example, on the basis of caste, have also been marginalized economically, politically and socially, thus, making them more vulnerable to calamities. The inclusion of such vulnerable segments of the society in the current decision making process via self-organized community based groups which are no longer mono-caste is important in recovery, rebuilding and resilience building.

Agents of a Resilient System

It has been previously stated in this paper that local groups in a society act as agents or stakeholders within the society and may support the building of resilience via their involvement. A study of such an agent in Sankhu, the youth group Sakwo Vintuna Pucha, discusses how it originated as an informal group focusing on the preservation of the tangible and intangible heritage of Sankhu via youth participation and was able to create a network of participants and volunteers in less than two years of its existence before the Gorakha Earthquake. The group followed an organic course of events by informally or semi-formally collaborating with other local groups and organizations in conducting events and trainings courses primarily focusing on their objective of youth participation in culture and heritage preservation. It was only after the Gorakha Earthquake that the group finally formalized and began collaboration with UNESCO to carry out an architectural survey and assessment of damages in the town of Sankhu (Pujari, 2016a). It is interesting to note that even in a very short span of time, the group was able to immediately respond to the situation and provide the required support, relying heavily on the network they had developed. They have not only been able to mobilize their resources, which to a large extent is in volunteered human capital, they have also been able to access additional resources with the support of the International School of Tourism and Hotel Management College, Alabama Nepalese

Association, UNESCO and the Sankhu Heritage Tourism and Environment Society – the organizations that have supported and collaborated with Sakwo Vintuna Pucha in their various post-earthquake activities. The collaborative nature of the group is also evident in its decision making process which was found to be discussion-oriented (Pujari, 2016a). The study evaluated the attributes of the group as an agent in terms of its responsiveness and resourcefulness. However, their capacity to learn was questioned in the sense that their ability to avoid failures and learn from past mistakes has not been time-tested (Pujari, 2016a). However, their reaction to the disaster in co-ordinating and participating in various responsive activities and their ability to mobilize existing resources and find new resources also showcases their potential to build and maintain networks and find resources, while at the same time also leading in implementing specific activities.

A similar argument was made in regard to the ability of not just self-organized groups but also communities as a whole to retain past knowledge. The argument is primarily based on the fact that lessons from previous earthquakes, the last big one being 81 years ago, have not been well-communicated with the current population via the existing institutions (Pujari, 2016b). The existence of culturally institutionalized processes of self-organization, which contribute to building resilience in the community, cannot be denied, however, what has been learnt in the past has not been communicated either via the culturally institutionalized Guthis, the government or via educational institutions to name a few. Therefore, a necessity in the current framework is to develop the capacity not just to create or share knowledge but also to retain knowledge.

The Bungamati Reconstruction and Development Council6 started as a relief distribution and collection committee immediately after the earthquake. The establishment of this committee included one representative from each ward of Bungamati and representatives from local political parties. This committee continued its work for one month in collaboration with different Non-Government Organisations and the local government offices. After the first month, the requirement of the community changed as hundreds of houses were destroyed and after immediate relief people wanted adequate shelters to live in. Therefore, the relief committee turned into the temporary shelter and reconstruction committee. The new-formed temporary shelter committee included locals with expertise in technical fields, teachers,

political representatives, social and civil society representatives and local youth. The reorganization of the committee was initiated by the municipality by organizing a gathering of the local community whereby the people could discuss and take decisions. The temporary shelter and reconstruction committee worked in co-ordination with several organizations including the ward offices within Bungamati. The aim of the committee in this was to ensure proper access to the support provided by several generous organizations and also make sure that the local people were engaged in the rebuilding of their settlement from the very initial phase. In this course, the temporary shelter committee signed an agreement with the Danish Peoples' Aid to build 297 temporary shelters in Bungamati, the construction of which was done by the local people from Bungamati. Between 80 and 100 locals received skills and employment for six months to build temporary shelters. Similarly, another organization called Lokachit Nepal supported the building of 25 temporary shelters and the Centre for Integrated Urban Development (CIUD) supported about 15 more, amongst other organizations. In the construction of these shelters, the temporary shelter committee was the local coordination point.

With time and with discussion with various organizations, including UN-Habitat that is functioning as an umbrella organization at Bungamati, it was realized that temporary shelters and reconstruction would only serve as a few years project so the experience of this reconstruction, if limited to the duration of shelter construction, may be lost in the long run. Therefore, the organization was reformulated to reach its current form with the name Bungamati Reconstruction and Development Council. The council recognizes that the primary responsibility of reconstruction and development of Bungamati lies with the municipality but at the same time an organization that incorporates different sectors of society is also vital in the process. The reconstruction and development council was registered on 25 Jestha 2073 or 7 June 2016, with a provision that the Mayor of Karyabinayak will be the chairperson for the council. As local elections have not taken place in Nepal since 1997, the municipality currently does not have an elected mayor, however, this provision helps ensuring the participation of elected representatives in the future. Besides the municipality taking the lead, the council has 101 members including representatives from each ward, all local clubs and groups as well as local Guthis. The executive committee of the council has a provision for a team of 19 to 21 people selected from the 101 members. Each ward shall be

represented in the executive team. The council will also have separate tole committees for each tole or neighborhood so that discussions regarding any changes that have an impact on public places or public property may be discussed at the neighborhood level itself. Currently, the Reconstruction and Development Council is in co-ordination with organizations such as UN-Habitat for the development and lobbying of plans and policies, Friends Service Council for provision of safe drinking water and sanitation, One to Watch for skill and livelihood development of woodcarvers, Bungamati Foundation for construction of seven houses and Photo Circle for conceptualization of the city after reconstruction. With the aim of proper collaboration between different organizations, the council organized a workshop on 19 September, 2016 so that the organizations working in Bungamati are aware of each other's work and may avoid unnecessary repetition. The council is currently also preparing its plan of action with a focus on increasing investments in the settlement along with possibilities of public-private partnerships. With citizen support as well as inclusion of political and local government representation and coordination with various organizations, the Bungamati Reconstruction and Development Council is active in lobbying for policies and bye-laws for historic core areas like Bungamati. At the same time the council is also lobbying for better access to finances for people rebuilding their houses and benefits and encouragement for individuals rebuilding traditional houses. The council has initiated the development of several plans, each of which will be further developed in co-ordination with the local community and relevant organizations. These plans include development of public spaces and amenities, heritage development and establishment of an institute in Bungamati that focuses on providing education on the skills learnt during the recovery and reconstruction from the Gorakha Earthquake.

Conclusions

In his seminal book, *The Architecture of a City*, Rossi (1982) describes how the character of an urban form is brought about by a historic coincidence whereby people make collective decisions based on historical, political and architectural relevance. Yet, many records of urban morphologies also discuss decisions made by an individual or a ruling house influencing the city, for example, Gellner (1996) discussing the history of Patan shows instances of political decisions made by

a Hindu king ruling over a predominantly Buddhist population. However, even in instances where all decisions are not collective, the impact on the city is collective. In this manner, the organic flow of a city from the past to the future has been described as analogous to the flow of memory in the human mind and collectively. The city is defined as a collective memory of the people (Rossi, 1982). Similarities may be found in the development of a system, a city or a community, after a disaster whereby people tend to make either collective decisions or if decisions are made individually, they have a collective effect. The skill sets of the local community and the knowledge developed and passed on in the local community through centuries of engagement in the settlement cannot be neglected. The experiences from past disasters have led emergency management agencies to recognize the importance of engaging local communities (Kwok et. al., 2016) who join with a thorough understanding of the local context. As the end-users of the reconstruction, the local community is also the group with maximum interest in the process and the group that benefits the most from a sustainable rebuilding process with inclusive decision making. The ongoing process of reconstruction in Nepal includes some exemplary involvement of self-organized local groups and organizations, however, the history of the country also shows how the memory of past disasters have not been transferred via any governmental organizations or institutions or even culturally established mono-caste groups called Guthis. It is therefore important to note the development of local community-based organizations that are co-ordinating with different organizations including local government, international agencies and private companies and working towards the development of mechanisms that support the retention of the knowledge gained during the current disaster and the recovery from it.

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5. Newars are the indigenous inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley. Their presence in the valley has been recorded as early as the 5th century A.D. Throughout history Newars have been urban dwellers (Tamrakar, 2011).

6. The information regarding the development of Bungamati Reconstruction and Development Council is provided by Prem Bhakta Maharjan, Co-ordinator for the Council, via an interview on 29 September 2016.

Tracing the Debates on Urdu Language in 19th Century Patna through Nawa e Watan

Ufaque Paiker

Introduction

A treatise on the Urdu language, *Nawa e Watan* (Call of the Country) written in 1884 by one of the most well-known Urdu laureates, Shad Azimabadi (1846-1927)[1] raked up an intense controversy in Patna. Thirty-seven years later in the year 1921, the author in his autobiography, *Shad ki Kahani Shad ki Zubani* (Shad's Story in Shad' Words) narrates the difficulties he faced after the publication of his book. The contents of the book angered the people of Patna, so much so, that they were even willing to threaten him with his life to take revenge for his words. In his autobiography, he remorsefully reminisced his travails. Admittedly, he did expect his countrymen to be upset with his analysis but he did not expect a backlash of this nature because, at the end of the day, his intentions were noble; to exhort his countrymen to improve their Urdu language and to wake them up from their slumber.

He further writes in *Nawa e Watan* that there was no public space where this matter was not discussed. In fact, the entire city was divided into two camps, one for him and the other against him. The enemy camp was growing so powerful that his friends and allies could not do much.[2] The book generated such a level of excitement amongst his countrymen that in order to give it a platform, a newspaper, *Al Panch* (1880) was started by his opponents. While *Al Panch* did give space to the opponents, it was not just a medium to oppose Shad. It was also a print medium which connected Patna with its nearby regions through its write ups and distribution (Boyk 2015).[3]

This paper attempts to understand the debate around the Urdu language in Patna, in the 19th century, by focusing on the claims and counter-claims over the language. Patna was one of the regions competing with the chauvinistic claims of Delhi and Lucknow of being the only Urdu literary center (Faruqi, 2001).[4] Rather than conforming to what is precisely and exactly the Urdu language, it is important to underline such claims and the context in which these claims were made by Shad Azimabadi. Through a detailed analysis of claims made by

him in his book, *Nawa e Watan*, this paper will attempt to understand why the book failed to establish itself as a reference book for the usage of the Urdu language. Furthermore, it is important to understand what the rejection of the book means.

Locating *Nawa e Watan*

A *tazkirah* (anthology of poems) forms an important source in understanding literary tradition, as these anthologies remain a significant repository of literary culture. The anthologies and treatise play an important role in establishing literary culture. Established scholars refer to preceding *tazkirahs* to establish literary canons for future generations to follow. Some *tazkirahs* between the early 18th century and late 19th century such as *Nukat us Shura* (Fine Points about the Poets, 1752) by Muhammad Taqi Meer (1722-1810) or '*Abe Hayat'* (Water of Life, 1880) by Muhammad Husain Azad managed to fulfil their purpose; standardize the usage of the language by giving detailed commentaries on lives and works of the contemporary poets (Pritchett, 1994).[5]

Nawa e Watan was one of the first exhaustive works of Shad.[6] He drafted the treatise, expecting it to be an important document to understand, read and write 'correct' Urdu. Since it was intended to be a didactic text for the improvement of the language, it cannot be strictly qualified as a *tazkirah.* However, his treatise does incorporate some features of *tazkirahs*, such as biographies of poets, details of their lives interspersed with commentaries on the usage of Urdu language.

Shad has attempted to locate Patna's Urdu literary culture within the 'larger' Urdu literary tradition. The writer's vision of the book is stated in its concluding pages; the treatise states that there is an urgent need of books in society and expects this book to be the *Dariya e Latafat* (River of Purity) of Patna. *Dariya e Latafat* was perhaps the first grammar book of the Urdu language written by a linguist and a poet of Delhi, Insha Ullah Khan 'Insha' (1756-1817), in the first half of the 19th century.[7] Interestingly, Shad had wanted to follow in the footsteps of Insha who had ridiculed Patna's literary culture. With similar views on Patna's Urdu literary culture, Shad was on a mission to rectify and standardize the Urdu language in Patna, possibly aiming to pose as a linguist of Insha's stature.

However, Shad's treatise, instead of establishing a literary cannon, spurred a debate on the Urdu literary culture of Patna. Instead of being established as a linguist, he was questioned, criticized and even lampooned by a section of the Urdu literary world.

The Structure of *Nawa e Watan*

The book is divided into several sections. The first half of the book deals with the Urdu language of Bihar and explains how its mother tongue, which is Urdu, is in urgent need of attention. In fact, this is the central theme of the book. The other sections of the book deal with the history of the Urdu language and argue that Bihar's Urdu had deteriorated over a period of time.

In order to support his analysis, Shad gives brief accounts of some poets of Lucknow, Delhi and Bihar. Mir Babar Ali Anis and Mirza Salaamat Ali Dabeer have been given a rather long shrift in the book. These were both elegiac poets of Lucknow and Shad believed that they were capable and talented enough to initiate a new wave in Urdu poetry. Along with them, Shad has quoted couplets of poets from Delhi and Lucknow.

However, only a few Urdu poets of Bihar managed to find a space in his book. This suggested that in comparison to Delhi, Bihar did not have much to offer in terms of poets and their works. The concluding sections explain the importance of using 'fine' language. In between chapters, Shad has mentioned that conversations with his elders and *ustad* (guide) are his sources.

Since the book is on the Urdu language, one cannot help but pay attention to the language of the author. There has been an attempt to write the book in chaste Urdu, however despite his attempts, he himself uses what he calls the 'local dialects'. Many Urdu writers have also remarked that Shad's language is not without its own share of mistakes.[8] However, the starkest aspect of this book is his complex usage of words, metaphors and analogies. These literary tropes make his writing anything but simple. It is stark because, in his analysis he writes about the 'decay' in 'old' style Urdu writing which is ornate. This is not the only ironical claim of the book. The treatise is full of such contradictions.

These contradictions would give us some cues to understanding the reasons behind the rejection of *Nawa e Watan* as a literary genre. Even if Shad was given another chance to rectify his mistakes and come up with a second edition, he would have committed mistakes of a similar nature. It was unavoidable because it is easier to declare a disassociation from one's culture but almost impossible to completely erase its imprints. Shad's literary training was from Patna, hence the impact of what he calls 'local dialects' in his writings remained.

The 'Decline' of the Urdu Literary Culture in Bihar

In order to contextualize the state of Urdu in Bihar, Shad first narrated the history of the Urdu language to his readers. He explains that the language came with Mahmood Ghaznavi and was later nurtured by Shahabuddin Ghori. The language was given concrete shape in the 16th century by Shahjahan. Although, he acknowledges the fact that the Urdu language was a product of interactions with various traditions, the same feature also vexed him. He argues that through the dictionaries there has been a standardization of the language but the intermixing of spoken language is something which he vehemently disagrees with. He says,

> "We have the market of Calcutta in front of our eyes, where Urdu has intermixed with Arabic, English, Bengali, and Chinese; due to this intermixing, this has affected the delicacy and the clarity of the language. Due to dictionaries, we are able to write Urdu but when we use the language, it appears that it has become a mixed bag of different languages". (Shad 1888, 17)[9]

As an Urdu poet and writer, Shad holds the language in high esteem and firmly believes that no other language can match its elegance and charm. He compares Urdu with a melodious song which may out beat even the finest musical instruments. In fact, in his understanding Urdu is such a delicate language that it has to be kept away from harsh and rough words, lest it becomes 'dirty'. In his understanding, only Lucknow and Delhi have been careful enough not to scar its beauty by giving it the treatment it deserves. They have been so careful that even spoken Urdu is as 'refined' as written Urdu.

Precisely for this reason, a book on the Urdu language of Patna is

inundated with references to the Delhi and Lucknow poets: Anis and Dabeer of Lucknow. He credited them with infusing new vigor into Urdu poetry which was mostly about love affairs due to their grip over the language and literary tropes. His yardstick for judging poetry is the same as Mohammad Husain Azad's. In fact, he had the *Abe Hayat* in mind while he was writing *Nawa e Watan* (Wahab, 1985).[10] *Abe Hayat*, written by Mohammad Husain Azad in 1880, was the first major book on Urdu literary criticism.

Abe Hayat, while providing details of Urdu poets also posits criticism of Urdu poetry arguing that it has not managed to adapt to the changing times, as it is still confined to the 'old' and 'ornate' style of writing poetry. According to him, Urdu poetry should be more natural to be able to express the beauties of nature and to recreate natural beauty instead of just confining itself to old themes of love and loss. Azad along with Altaf Husian Hali, were the new breed of poets who were advocating reform in Urdu poetry. Shamsur Rahman Faruqi argues that it is difficult to grasp Azad's motive, as Azad belonged to the generation who despised the English and in fact, mocked them before 1857, though things changed after the revolt in 1857. The British were the new masters, the impact of their control and dominance was felt everywhere, including literature. In his criticism of Urdu literature, one may also see an attempt to preserve the old dying generation.

Using the same framework, Shad appreciates Anis and comments that the latter's brilliance lay in his ability to recreate events of life. Shad gave an example of Anis' account of *Karbala*[11] and argued that he could recreate the morning of *Karbala* with equal ease as he could reconstruct a celebratory marriage ceremony. Shad further argues that Anis along with Meer Taqi Meer have carved out a niche for themselves by not limiting themselves to the ornate style of Urdu poetry.

Azad's influence may easily be sensed in Shad's account. Azad was at the crossroads of history; his work had to be palatable to the English taste of literature. Shad was critical of the English influence on the lives of people and partly blamed them for the diffusion in the language. Both Azad and Shad were grappling with the dilemma of being dependent and yet critical of the colonial state', however, while the latter explicitly disparaged his literary tradition, the former was tacit and artful in expressing his dilemma. The reception also varied as no history of Urdu literature is complete without reference to '*Abe Hayat*' whilst *Nawa e Watan*, remains an obscure and forgotten account of the Urdu literary tradition of Patna.[12]

The 'Decline'

While on one side Shad paints an impressive picture of Urdu in Delhi and Lucknow, on the other side, Bihar appears to be the alter ego of Urdu in his analysis. Equipping himself with complex analogies, he makes the point that although Urdu has taken different routes, its point of origin has been the same. His narrative revolves around the question of whether all with this divergence from the language may still be called Urdu.

Shad further builds his case by writing the history of languages in Bihar. His first section mostly concentrates on languages which came before Urdu such as Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. In the second part, he argues that it is difficult to script a history of the Urdu language as people have not bothered to preserve it. He says, "People of Bihar, unlike the people of Delhi and Lucknow don't preserve the works of poets".

According to Shad, *Nawa e Watan* is a book which is the first of its kind that has taken the initiative to compile a history of Urdu writers in Bihar for its future generations. However, it is noteworthy that he has claimed to write the first history of Urdu in Bihar but he has not scripted the history of the language. A scant history has been deployed to support his hypothesis.

However, his list of Bihari Urdu poets is extremely small, compared to Delhi's list. He could only come up with four names: Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil, Mullah Mohammad Alim Tahqeeq, Shiekh Gulam Ali Rasikh and Syed Shah Alfat Husain Faryad. The gap between his claim of writing a history of Urdu in Bihar and the expanse of the information provided on Urdu in Bihar is telling. It is also important to take note of the portrayal of the poets. Almost all of them have been given a space in his account because of their skill in Persian, rather than Urdu poetry.

After establishing the paltry contribution of Urdu poets of Bihar, Shad goes on to argue that because of their negligence and lack of competence they have not been able to play a role in improving the spoken language of Bihar. He expected them to play the same role as the Delhi laureates had played. He lamented that people of Patna spoke in a 'broken' language by freely mixing 'Urdu' with their local dialects. The outcome of this intermixing was that people spoke in various languages within the same region. He also objected to their gender and singular-plural usage, jarringly faulty. Giving examples of 'corruption' in language,

he notes that people around the Arrah region use 'ttho' as the suffix, likewise the eastern side uses 'che' as a suffix.

Beating a Retreat

More than his narration and history of the language, people were disappointed with the deduction of Shad's analysis. In his understanding, only the rich and elite were capable of speaking the Urdu language and it was their dearth in any city or region which led to degradation of the language. In fact, he introduces the book by saying that Patna, unfortunately, has lost both aristocratic and wealthy people and this loss has had a marked impact on the language of the people.

If their loss was to be mourned then someone had to be blamed. The fault lay with the people who replaced them. The succeeding population, hence, were responsible for 'spoiling' the language. Shad's disgust towards these people was expressed through words such as 'barbaric', 'rustic' and 'un-cultured'. These 'rustics' had migrated from villages to the town and played a significant role in 'spoiling' the language. Somehow, a makeshift arrangement had been made to communicate and unfortunately, they were comfortable with their 'broken' language. The paradox of the story is that these very people challenged Shad in his own language. In his autobiography, he mentions how they gathered to teach him a lesson by writing in newspapers.

The response shows that they were not only conscious but also very serious about their literary culture. The response was such that even Shad had to admit that he went overboard. While he was lauding the *Awadh Panch* of Lucknow, Patna came up with *Al Panch*, a newspaper which had considerable circulation and influence.[13] However, his admission was worded differently. Furthermore, an editor of the Urdu edition of the newspaper, *Indian Chronicle,* from a rural background, after reading Shad's scathing remarks on the rural inhabitants, decided to disprove his hypothesis by writing the review in chaste Urdu (Azimabadi, 1961).[14]

Shad was left with no option but to justify his stand during unfavorable times. In order to justify his unsupported analysis, he defended himself by saying he was trying to save the Urdu language from the onslaught of Dr. Fallon, the Education inspector and Deputy Inspector, Munshi

Sohan Lal. Shad claims that they held a secret meeting to replace Urdu with Hindi.

Sohan Lal argued in favor of Hindi by arguing that Urdu is a difficult language to read and write. He said that Urdu has many complexities of sentence construction, difficulties in finding synonyms of various words and the calligraphic style of writing, where meaning becomes dependent on interconnected words, rather than independent words. Most importantly, Urdu was not the language of the masses. Even people who were fairly acquainted with the language ended up committing mistakes (Irshad, 1941).[15] They went against the Urdu language by appealing to Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor, to replace Urdu with Hindi as the official language. There were plans even to intervene in the textbook committee to have Urdu replaced. Although, a movement was indeed being initiated to replace Urdu as the official court language, the fact of the matter was that Shad did not include this episode in his book *Nawa e Watan,* it was stated later in his autobiography. People argued that writing such a scathing account of Urdu in Bihar had done more harm than good. His arguments in fact supported Sohan Lal's hypothesis (Ashrafi, 1985).[16]

Shad of His Times

Shad was one of the most well-known poets of Patna. Literary critics have argued that his ability to express emotions in a variety of forms in the simplest language made him the poet he was (Faruqi, 2000).[17] It was his standing as a poet that made him a cosmopolitan figure who attended *mushairas* (poetry symposia) across the cities, from Calcutta to Dehradun.[18] Muhammad Iqbal used to write letters to him.[19] Further, when Sir Syed Ahmad (1817-98) visited Patna to spread the idea of 'modern' education, Shad was amongst the few intellectuals he planned to meet.[20]

Sir Syed was aware of Shad's credentials as a poet who wished to be recognized in wider literary circles, beyond Bihar. One may possibly read *Nawa e Watan* as an attempt to make forays into 'recognized' and 'reputed' Urdu literary milieus. By the time he was writing *Nawa e Watan,* the dominance of Delhi was already in discourse. As argued in the preceding paragraphs, his treatise did not exactly qualify as a *tazkirah.* The purpose of writing *tazkirahs* was to establish certain norms

of writing poetry and also carry forward the tradition by recording works of earlier poets (Pritchett, 2003).[21] Scathing remarks on the lives and works of other poets were part of the tradition of writing *tazkirahs.* Nevertheless, these accounts were deeply embedded in their own tradition. However, Shad's account did not incorporate these fundamental features of a t*azkirah* because it was intentionally divorced from the literary tradition whose history he was writing. It had only a smattering of the history of the Urdu language in Patna.

The probable reason for writing unsubstantiated commentary on the literary tradition of Bihar was Shad's wish to dissociate himself from the literary tradition of Bihar. Such acts and overtures of distancing may be sensed in his autobiography as well, where he mentions that his family had migrated to Delhi and despite leaving Patna, they were uninfluenced by its culture. In fact, in the later stages of his life he made repeated attempts to stay in Hyderabad (Ahmad Kalimuddin, 1975).[22]

With the increase in power of the colonial state, significant changes were felt in the day to day lives of the people. For a wide section, the British control meant not only loss of political power but also loss of the 'traditional' source of livelihood. Shad's account of Urdu writers also mentions their penury. While Rashikh could not live off his father's income for more than thirty years, Bedil had to move to Delhi to find a source of income. Along with Rashikh and Bedil, scores of Urdu poets of Delhi had unwillingly shifted to Lucknow to make ends meet.[23] They remorsefully ruminated upon their uprooting through poetry.

Lives of poets were unstable during those times. Apart from Shad, poets such as Meer Taqi Meer and Mirza Ghalib also had to struggle to make ends meet. Shad developed an interest in Urdu poetry because of the surroundings in which he grew up but those very surroundings were not amenable for him to pursue poetry. His parents did not encourage him to continue with poetry but after his debut in a *mushaira* in Kolkata, he continued with his poetry.[24] His skills, however, were not enough to provide him with the lifestyle to which he was habituated. He, like many other poets, had to survive on the allowance given to them by the colonial state.[25]

Meer had to move to Lucknow from Delhi to sustain his living. These were difficult times for people who wanted to pursue their interest. Their interest had to be relegated to the category of hobby, something which you do after you have earned your living. It was all the more

difficult for the poets because a few decades ago they were adorned like jewels in the Mughal court but now their poetry was of no 'value', rather no material value. An incident would perhaps encapsulate this transition; it is said that despite his caliber, Ghalib could not get a job in the Persian Department at Delhi College because he expected the interviewer, an English man, to receive him at the gate but when the latter did not, he left the venue disappointed. Ghalib was amongst many who could not make sense of the transition.

Shad belonged to a family of traders and survived on the allowance given to him by the colonial state. However, in the later stages of his life, he was drowned in debts (Ahmad, 1975).[26] He was given an annual pension worth six hundred rupees by the colonial state which was further increased to a thousand rupees. He was also honored with the title of Khan Bahadur and was made a Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner at various stages of his life. In spite of all these endowments, he struggled to manage his expenses because being a poet was a difficult choice to make. One may gauge the difficulty he faced by the fact that after his death, his property was worth only one hundred and fifty rupees and some tracts of land had to be given to debtors from whom Shad had borrowed around thirty thousand rupees to publish his book *Hayat I Faryad* (Life of Faryad), a book on his *ustad*.

Shad in his hope of finding a host in Hyderabad attempted to tout himself as a poet from a different league but in the end, he lost both: adulation in his homeland and an invitation from patrons. The sharp reaction went to prove that, contrary to what Shad thought, the Urdu literati of Patna were extremely conscious of their identity and image vis-à-vis the Urdu language. In fact, Patna was host to many such *mushairas* where the Urdu poets of Patna claimed to take on the challenge posed by the Urdu poets of Delhi.[27] Paradoxically, Shad also took part in those *mushairas.*

The opposition by the literati such as Fazle Haq Azad, the editor of an Urdu newspaper, *Taj,* along with the editor of *Al Panch,* went on to assert the fact that the Urdu language in Patna evolved the way languages evolve, through a process of interaction with disparate traditions. Even the Urdu language in the 18th century evolved through a process of infusion and diffusion. Traces of Urdu in manuscripts written in Maithili script (1766-72)[28] or the usage of Persian and Arabic words by Maithili scholars in the 14th century such as *Peyaz* (onion), *Muza* (sock), *Tir* (arrow), *Tahsil* (revenue), *Ohda* (post), *Swara* (a horseman),

Pik Dani (spittoon), *Hazaar* (thousands) and *Mukalla* (ornamented)[29] hint towards the fact that what Shad called degradation of language was actually divergence, an evitable outcome of the interaction of disparate linguistic traditions. A region specific Urdu genre could have emerged in Bihar had there been patronage and institutions but by that time the Urdu language had received a serious setback from the Hindi and English languages. The setback hardened the fuzzy linguistic boundaries.

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Endnotes

1. His name was [Khan Bahadur] Maulana Syed Ali and his pen name was Shad. He will be referred to as Shad in subsequent paragraphs.

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25. Shad also used to get a *wazifa* (pension) from the government. Muhammad Muslim Azimabadi, "Shad kī Kahani kī Kahani" (Shad's Story's Story). *Shad ka Kahani Shad ki Zabani: Khūd Navisht Sawanih-e Hayat-e Khan Bahadur Maulanā Sayyid Alī Muhammad Shād Azmabadi,* by Sayyid Ali Muhammad Shad Azimabadi. Anjuman Taraqqi-e Urdu, Aligarh. 1961.

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Haripur District: Impact of Urbanization on Socio-Economic Conditions and Revival of Peace through Environment Care

Ambreen Asghar, Dr. Ahmad Hussain and Khadija Asghar

Introduction

Haripur is a district in the Hazara region of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province (formerly North West Frontier Province) of Pakistan. Haripur's population was 692,228 at the time of the 1998 Census but was estimated to be 803,000 in 2005. Out of these, only 12% of the population lives in urban areas, while the rest (88%) of the population lives in rural areas. Agriculture is the livelihood of the rural population; the total arable area is 77,370 acres (313.1 kilometers). Being a part of the Potowar Plateau, the average temperature ranges from a maximum of 40 degrees Celsius in the summer to a minimum of 2 degrees Celsius in winter. June and July are the hottest, while December and January are the coldest months. This region falls within the monsoon climate region. Annual precipitation is about 350 millimeters. Humidity is a maximum of 90% in the rainy season of July and August to a mere 15% during the dry season in November. Agriculture covers a major portion of the land which is why the area covered by forests is very small. A small commercial area has been established near the village in Haripur city for providing the basic facilities of life to the residents. This area has diversified agriculture resulting from the variety of climate and land forms. The agricultural year has two main cropping seasons, *Rabi* and *Kharif*. *Rabi* crops include wheat, barley, gram and such, whereas the *Kharif* crops include maize, millets and such. Besides these crops, peas, potatoes, coriander, cabbages, turnips and radishes are also main vegetables of the area.

Primary Data Collection

Primary data was collected using questionnaires, visual observations, institutional surveys and key informant interviews.

Secondary Data Collection

A comprehensive literature survey was conducted to get a clear picture about the changes in soil quality due to industrial effluents and secondary data related to this study.

Results and Discussions

Rapid Depletion of Land Resources

Rapid urbanization has caused a drastic change in the land-holding arrangements in Haripur. Its trajectory areas have become active peri-urban land markets where subsistence agricultural lands have attained higher values. Demand for land has increased leading to increase in value prices of such lands. The people allocated parcels of land to both the natives and strangers who wanted to use the land in one way or the other. The changes occurring in land use are becoming rampant. Rapid urbanization is causing a negative impact on the form and structure of the city of Haripur. The study shows that 92% of lands acquired ten years ago were used for agricultural purposes with the remaining 8% accounting for residential and commercial activities all in the peri-urban interface. Out of the 92% of the lands which were previously used for agriculture, 60% of these lands were already being used for some agricultural activities while the remaining 40% were vacant (bare land). This shows the role agriculture plays in Haripur where the bulk of its land is used for agriculture. Changes in land uses will therefore pose serious consequences as the agricultural land base will be reduced leading to less land available for agriculture.

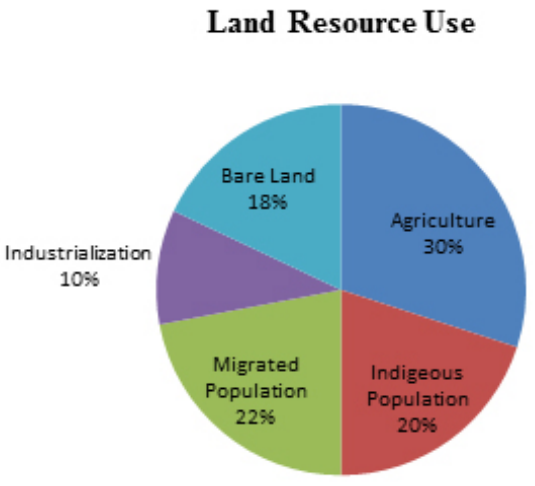

Figure 1

Use of land resource. Source:Authors

Increase in Population

The urbanity level rose continuously throughout the greater part of the last century at a steady pace. On the whole, spatial distributions of urban population are seen to be positively associated with the level of development of the non-farm sector, the social and economic infrastructure and location of seats of political power. The process of increase in urban centers is expected to continue and gain momentum with time. Frequent dwelling centers are acquiring urban characteristics all over the province naturally and also as a result of the planned spread of social and economic infrastructure, expansion of the non-farm sector and the growth of the service sector. Well over a million Afghan refugees live in various areas of KPK; a large proportion of them live in and around District Haripur. They are not included in the official census count of urban population but functionally they are very much a part of the province's urban population.

Table 1

North West Frontier Province (NWFP) Population: Distribution and Growth by Urban/ Rural Residence (1901-1998). Source: Based (on) Population Census Rep1

NWFP Population: Distribution and Growth by Urban/Rural Residence (1901-1998)									
Year	Population (000)			Population (%)			Inter-Censal Year Variation (%)		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
1901	2042	259	1783	100.00	12.68	87.32	9.90	10.89	9 9.76
1911	2197	292	1905	100.00	13.28	86.72	7.61	12.66	6.88
1921	2251	336	1961	100.00	14.92	85.08	2.50	15.13	.54
1931	2425	386	2039	100.00	15.92	84.08	7.72	14.99	6.43
1941	3788	547	3241	100.00	14.44	85.56	56.19	41.61	58.95
1951	4557	500	4057	100.00	10.97	89.02	20.29	-8.57	25.16
1961	5731	758	4973	100.00	13.22	86.77	25.77	51.54	22.59
1972	8389	1196	7193	100.00	14.25	85.74	46.37	57.79	44.63
1981	11061	1665	9396	100.00	15.05	84.95	31.85	39.21	30.63
1998	17744	2994	14750	100.00	16.87	83.13	60.42	79.82	56.98
variation 1901-98	769	1056	727	-	-	-	-	-	

Mismanagement of Natural Resources

Most of the population is suffering from scarcity of life utilities due to rapid urbanization. The process of urbanization has on the whole been haphazard and proper urban planning has been conspicuous by its absence with the consequence that the urban population is faced with numerous problems in all spheres - housing, health, education, sanitation, transport, security and jobs. This will increase with time if there is no proper planning.

Socio-Economic Impact of Urbanization

A continuous and rapid rise in urbanity level, such as witnessed in Haripur during the last three decades, brings in its wake benefits as well as problems. Normally, the benefits should outweigh the negative fallout but the opposite can, and does, happen if the urban growth is unplanned and the spread is uncontrolled. A situation of this kind is being experienced in Haripur and threatens to escalate further and very rapidly. All urban centers in the province have a population far beyond their capacity with regard to community services, social services, transport, housing, jobs, security, sanitation and more. Planned urban development is conspicuous by its absence, resulting in the emergence of slums and shanty towns in all major urban centers. There is overcrowding in schools, heavy rush of patients in hospitals, overloading of buses, traffic jams, crowded bazaars and pollution. In short, the urban population's expansion has outpaced the urban facility and amenities with the above mentioned and other numerous problems. For a long period, economists have measured the well-being of societies, economies and people by the yardstick of income. Growth was measured on the basis of economic indicators such as per capita income, production and productivity of the economy, and the status of employment. In effect, an economy that produced more goods and services than another was deemed to be better off. Growth was consequently measured by the increase of aggregate income in an economy.

Human Development Reports have asserted that human development is the process of expansion of people's choices. They have highlighted that there are three essentials of human development – to enable people to lead long and healthy lives, to access knowledge and education, and to possess the resources needed for a reasonable standard of living.

Consequently, three areas have been identified as being of primary social concern – health, education and material well-being.

Municipal Waste Management Issues

The "Municipal Solid Waste" includes commercial and residential waste generated in municipal or notified areas in either solid or semi-solid form, excluding industrial hazardous wastes but including treated bio-medical wastes. Environmental changes may be driven by many factors including economic growth, population growth, urbanization, intensification of agriculture, rising energy use and transportation. Poverty still remains a problem at the root of several environmental problems. Poverty is responsible for both the cause and effect of environmental degradation. The circular link between poverty and environment is an extremely complex phenomenon. Inequality may foster unsustainability because the poor, who depend on natural resources more than the rich, deplete natural resources faster as they have no real prospects of gaining access to other types of resources. Moreover, degraded environment may accelerate the process of impoverishment as the poor depend directly on natural assets. Poor housing conditions, overcrowded environment, poor sanitation, occupational hazards, group rivalries and clashes, stressful conditions together with lack of open space for children's recreation are detrimental to the health of people in the slums.

Health and Hygiene Issues

The loss of income and expenditure on health care due to rapid urbanization has increased due to increased pollution. About 30% to 40% of the people of every family are affected and are ill. Not being able to fulfill their basic needs most of their expenditure is on health. Most of the people borrow money to spend on their health and still do not get better and are not healthy.

The Health Status of the villages in the study area was assessed through questionnaires from Basic Health Units and doctors of the District Hospital who identified the symptoms as those of waterborne diseases. Health problems such as skin allergy, respiratory infections, general allergy, gastritis and ulcer were scanned among the villagers who visited the hospital. It was medically accepted that the polluted water had a

significant influence on these diseases. It was assessed that one-fourth of the villagers had any one of the listed diseases.

Under the study of case application of dynamic models for full-scale systems, it requires essentially a calibration of the chosen Activated Sludge Models (ASM). After the beginning of ASMs in 1987, modeling Activated Sludge Systems had gained a rising momentum. Frequent full-scale model applications have been performed which were mostly based on ad hoc approaches and expert facts. Further, each model study has followed a different calibration approach: for example, different influent wastewater characterization methods, different kinetic parameter estimation methods, different selection of parameters to be calibrated and different priorities within the calibration steps. In short, there was no standard approach in performing the calibration.

- Evaluate different calibrations of ASMs with each other
- Perform internal quality checks for each calibration study

To address these concerns, regular calibration protocols have recently been proposed to bring guidance to the modeling of Activated Sludge Systems and in particular to the calibration of full-scale models. In this study, four existing calibration approaches (BIOMATH, HSG, STOWA and WERF) will be vitally discussed using a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats (SWOT) analysis. It will also be assessed in what way these approaches may be further urbanized in view of further improving the quality of ASM calibration. In this respect, the potential of automating some steps of the calibration procedure by use of mathematical algorithms is highlighted (Gürkan et al. 2005).

Similarly, the recent study had also some limitations and threats but also some suggestions and opportunities, hence, the SWOT analysis was the best way to verify the significance of the results gathered by questionnaires and interviews. The study contains both social as well as laboratory analysis. The quality of water had been checked by analyzing the pH levels, heavy metals, nitrates and some other parameters. While the impact of pollution on the health of village residents has been checked by questionnaires, there are some things which may be studied and further investigated for better results.

Conclusion and Recommendations

A very harmful consequence of urban growth has emerged in the form of alteration of large tracts of agricultural land for residential and commercial buildings. This is happening especially in Haripur. The damage done to the farm sector by this has not yet been determined, however, it appears to be significant and alarming since the process is continuing unchecked. The list of negative socio-economic impacts of the ongoing chaotic urbanization is long. It is likely to get longer and more threatening if remedial measures are not taken. However, on the whole, urbanization has greater benefits than detrimental aspects. It will and should continue but with suitable safeguards, to minimize the negative impact and keep urban growth within manageable limits.

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Hinterland – A Registered Corporate Entity

Gudrun Wallenbock

Figure 1

hinterland skirts, still from “walking skirts”, 2008. Source: Author

It all started with a skirt in 2008: the hinterland label was born from within a unique environment of design, architecture and art. Contemplation of space is reflected in the textiles of these typically idyllic Austrian motifs. Panoramic views of the Alps, apple blossoms and traffic mirrors in vineyards are truly eye-catching. The beauty of the rural idyll embraces the stereotype and breaks it at the same time. The hinterland collection is completely made by hand and is produced only in Austria. hinterland co-operates with small manufacturers in Austria and selected social projects in Vienna.

As a motif, hinterland prefers nature as designed by humans as opposed to untouched “real” nature; the setting, however, is always rural. Each piece of clothing is considered a border between man and environment and it is this border which is the main theme in hinterland’s motifs and clothing, the border between man and nature, between the natural environment and nature as designed by man. Austrians like to see themselves as nature-loving, down-to-earth people who wear a dirndl (traditional dress) or lederhosen (traditional leather pants) and they present these ideas to the outside world to create a national identity – hinterland reflects this quest for identity and public space.

In 2008, hinterland went public with its first fashion show without any bodies/human beings – virtual fashion show, skirts walking on the white walls of a gallery. An invitation to have this show in Iran followed immediately – the first fashion show in Iran where men and women could attend at the same time without any covering: the first steps towards the Middle East started with these “walking skirts“.

In 2009, hinterland also opened as a „real location“ - a shop, an exhibition space, a platform, a place to meet. As the next step, hinterland galerie (a non-profit art association) was founded in 2011 as an independent

art space and platform dedicated to the promotion of intercultural and interdisciplinary projects with emerging and established artists from the Middle East with a focus on Iran. hinterland is now an international meeting point where social, cultural, political, creative and other relevant contemporary topics are discussed and put into practice.

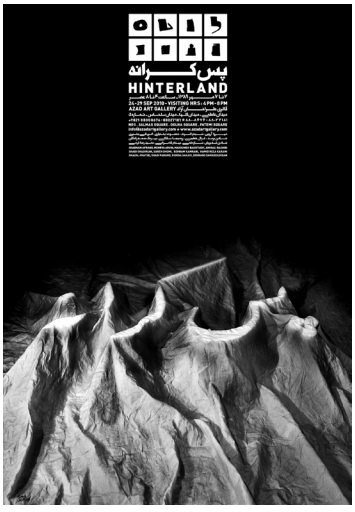

Figure 2

hinterland meets Iran, exhibition poster and invitation (Sharzad Changvalaee), Azad Gallery, 2010. Source: Author

The world is changing: social and cultural changes reorganize our lives. The uprisings in the Middle East have brought it into focus as a troubled area. However, at the same time, a lot of interesting art is coming out of these countries. Underground art scenes in the big cities are becoming bigger and more visible at large contemporary art fairs and important biennales, for example, in the Arab Gulf region. In the past, the Orient and the Occident influenced each other in cultural, artistic and scientific ways – this mutual fascination still exists and should be expanded further. hinterland uses this fascination, sets its sights on intercultural understanding, international co-operation and exchange. hinterland acts as an intermediary for establishing international cultural dialogue: to build bridges that allow insights into the artistic and creative scene in this mostly unknown region – an exchange between East and West. The framework for discourse is expanded to encompass the whole Middle East and further.

In 2010, the first international project was launched: hinterland meets Iran. Eight weeks of workshops with artists from Tehran – dealing with hinterland (as an idea, as a subject) and textiles: hinterland in art, literature, mysticism, past and present. An interdisciplinary and intercultural project that was the initial step to create a platform for art and culture. This first exhibition of hinterland – all artists worked with textiles – was a big success in Tehran (Azad Gallery), Iran and also in Vienna, Austria.

Since then, hinterland has been working with artists from Iran. The more I worked with artists from Iran, the more I was confronted with their roots, traditions and their cultural identities. Identity is everyone's main issue: we have our own identities, we are brought up with special

Figure 3 (L)

Workshop for hinterland meets Iran, Azad Gallery, 2010. Source: Author

Figure 4 (R)

Exhibition for hinterland meets Iran, Azad Gallery, 2010. Source: Author

traditions and cultural topics, wherever we move, we need to adapt but still keep our personal roots alive – in the age of migration, changing living conditions and places, we also change or at least have to adapt our identities. This is hinterland's main issue: researching identities, trying to understand different cultures and identities, building bridges between these differences, finding similarities, creating networks and friendships, building an international intercultural platform for better mutual understanding.

International and National Co-operations

Some of the global and local co-operations hinterland has had with other organizations are as follow:

International Co-operations

- Emscherkunst Festival 2013 – presentation of hinterland as an international platform and art space
- Marrakesch Biennale 2016 – presentation of hinterland and Krongarten – public art project
- Since 2015: Karsi Sanat – Istanbul, Ahmed Art Gallery Diyabarkir: exchange, trainee program (exchange of interns, students), exhibition collaboration
- Exhibition, talks and workshop in Pakistan in co-operation with Austrian Embassy in Islamabad, 2016
- Morocco: exchange program and exhibition in 2017 with Rabat (Le Cube) and Anima (Marrakesch)
- Exhibition, talk, workshops, film and lectures and exchange –

Azad Art Gallery, Tehran, Vista Art Gallery Tehran, New Media Society Tehran, Isfahan

- Supermarket 2016: art fair, platform for international art associations, Stockholm Sweden

National Co-operations

- Summer Festival Carinthia (Carinthischer Sommer)
- Porgy and Bess – Music Jazz Club
- Salzburg Festival

Talks – Literature and Theory and Further

- Exhibition/Talk on Tahrir Square, Cairo/Egypt – architecture/ public space
- Film screenings with international artists
- Dinner and cocktails to bring together journalists, artists, collectors and museum officials for networking
- Literature and theory: talks on literature, psychoanalysis and such other, creating an interdisciplinary platform

Figure 5 (L)

Literature at hinterland, Vienna 2012-2016. Source: Author

Figure 6 (R)

Music at hinterland, Vienna 2012-2016. Source: Author

Music Program – "Open Loose"

Artists search for opportunities to present their ideas and projects to an engaged and open-minded audience. "Open Loose" is a platform created by and for musicians, artists and those who wish they were lovers, haters, critics, hippies, hipsters, bobos, troglodytes, everyday people. In other words, Open Loose's goal is to offer artists of all types an intimate setting to present their work and to encourage artistic dialogue.

Ongoing Intercultural / International Projects

Some of the ongoing projects of hinterland are:

"Being Kurdish" (on Kurdish Identity with international artists and guests)

It is an art project in Vienna in 2 galleries, in a public space. It includes:

- An exhibition
- 15 shop windows transformed into a "public library"
- talks/discussions with artists (Kurdish/non-Kurdish) and curators

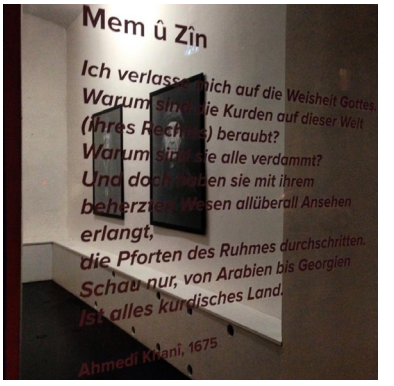

Figure 7

"Being Kurdish" literature and photography, Spektakel, Vienna 2015. Source: Author

"Where are we?" – An exhibition on artists´ personal identity and their approach towards it. Includes international artists living in Vienna.

2015: Exhibition in Tehran, Iran and Vienna, Austria

2016: Exhibition in Lahore (Alhamra Arts Gallery) and Islamabad (COMSATS Gallery), Pakistan

Since 2011, hinterland has created many international, intercultural and interdisciplinary art projects – exhibitions, talks, film screenings, discussions and workshops in Austria and abroad: in Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Sweden, Germany and many more.

hinterland is looking for new multidisciplinary approaches: a direct confrontation with art, culture, sociology, history and the present. It seeks international cultural exchange to deepen mutual understanding, break barriers and bring people together; it seeks to maintain everyone's cultural background and traditions.

Background Information

Lack of information and communication is the main problem causing a lack of cultural co-operation. There are varied cultures, traditions and

histories within Vienna – but we hardly know any of them. We want to become a catalyst for art and artists: finding them, connecting them, selling their art works and promoting them. We want to pioneer a form of international competency center for cooperation and collaboration between the Middle/Near East and Europe. We want to increase cultural networks and create a basis for mutual understanding and collaboration.

Contemporary art from the Middle/Near East is (slowly) becoming established in the international art world but unfortunately, not yet in Austria. In Austria, there are numerous migrants from the Middle/Near East, everyone knows someone but in fact knows nothing about them: a typical parallel society. However, there is plenty to find out about each other. In the Middle East, there is a vibrant and very active art scene, mostly unknown in the West. These artists' works show life, energy and sympathy with the social, economic and political situation in their countries. Art is not only based on the idea of aesthetics, creativity and beauty: these works are a witness to their culture, maintaining identities and traditions and translating them into art. The rising number of galleries, artists, art academies and magazines indicate the enormous quality of these art works. There is a lack of communication and understanding between Europe and the Middle/Near East. Art is – at least in my opinion – the best tool for broadening understanding, initiating communication and mutual understanding and promoting togetherness.

Krongarten

In 2009, hinterland opened its artspace in a small street in the center of Vienna. The street had a parallel street parking system. In 2010, we invited an Austrian artist, Josef Trattner, to set up his project in front of our doors – on a parking space. "SOFA" with cubes and sofas cut out of foam, put on the street, was born. We invited people to take a seat and enjoy this uncommon free public space. After some hours, we were expelled by the police who were called by an angry neighbor who wanted to park his car in front of his house.

The next year we started over – this time with official permission to use the site of one parked car for one day: an artificial lawn and a small swimming pool – for a short refreshment in the hot summer. The first passersby stopped and engaged with each other. The idea of offering a free, non-commercial public space for everyone during the whole summer months came into our minds. Hence, long and nearly endless

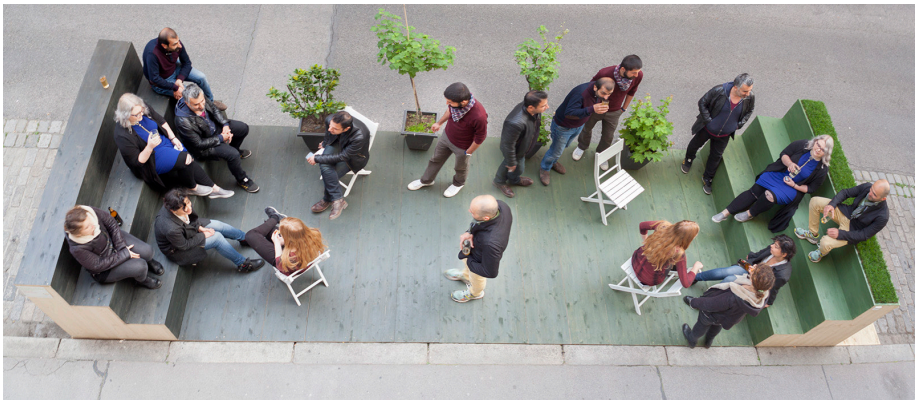

Figure 8

Vooria Aria "how to be not thankful", 2016, photo: Jakob Winkler.

discussions and talks with different departments of the city council began, until we could finally put up our first "Garden" in July, 2012. Krongarten – garden in Krongasse (the street where hinterland is based) – was born. In 2012, we planted a garden in between the cars: fences of earth filled boxes full of plants, a lawn on the floor. We created an oasis within the city: an oasis of nature, of communication, a place to meet, a place of art and nature, solitude and contemplation; a place to think about public space within a city like Vienna, to give back some space that has been occupied by cars. Since then every year the Krongarten takes place in front of our hinterland galerie. Every year, one artist is invited to design the Krongarten.

The Ambiguity of Sacredness: Images, Symbols and Narratives Exploring the Mazaar of Bibiyaan Pak Daaman, Lahore

Saniya Jafri

> "Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning." - Clifford Geertz, '*The Interpretation of Meanings'*

Sacred architectural spaces, symbolic since early man, have been used for spiritual experiences and religious or meditative purposes. Primitive man built spaces for worship and gathering, ranging from cave dwellings, underground alcoves, to temporary structures that revolved around the promising elusive presence of the divine.[1] In the subcontinent, *mazaars* (shrines) and other such sacred spaces imply the idea of offering a similar glimpse into a chance encounter with holiness that seems unreachable for man.

In the summer of 2016, a driving along the streets of Garhi Shahu in Lahore I came across the Mazaar of Bibiyaan Pak Daaman quite by accident. I had long forgotten memories of a space I had last visited almost twenty years ago. I came to question and delve deeper into the ideas of a sacred space and what made it so for its people. If temples, sanctuaries, mosques, monasteries, cathedrals, chapels, meditation rooms at airports, hermitages and basilicas can be, areas of subjective spirituality for varied individuals, what is it about this little unexpected nook in the heart of Lahore that enhances a momentary escape from reality and provides its visitors with a feeling of spiritual comfort? Based primarily on personal reflections and internal experiences, I will be investigating its phenomenological aspects through a process of introspection. The human condition, the idea of religious experience itself with reference to Carl Yung, supported by Arthur W. Frank's concept of socio-narratological analysis, is an interrelation between the narratives of the people that create its essence alongside the social structure of the rituals that rhetorically configure the inherent edifice of the space.

Arthur W. Frank illustrates how we "think with stories", how we are "born into stories" and, if we co-operate by allowing them to "do things with (us) people, we can become part of their perpetuation".[2] Stories act upon us and use us for their own purposes, which may be for good or for ill. That is perhaps how we, as agents, act back to influence the story's narrative to change and develop it, to serve the life we choose. Arguing that we must learn to live in greater companionship with stories, Frank theorizes stories as our material semiotic companions.

During my time of research around the *mazaar* of Bibiyaan Pak Daaman, I observed that the community of devotees was almost like a social network, replacing family with the love of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), his cousin Hazrat Ali and his children and grandchildren serving as an emotional anchor.

Bibiyaan Pak Daaman is the mausoleum of Ruqayyah bint Ali, wife of Hazrat Muslim ibn Aqeel (emissary of third Shia Imam Husayn ibn Ali) and daughter of Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) cousin and son-in-law, Imam Ali ibn Abu Talib, and his wife Umm al Banin bint Huzaam. Legend has it that she, along with three sisters and two daughters of Hazrat Muslim, travelled to the subcontinent, after the battle of Karbala in Muharram, 61 AH (October 10, AD 680). When the Hindu Raja of the time tried to arrest them because of their influential presence, Bibi Ruqayyah prayed to God to open the earth and take them in. The earth split into two upon the soldiers' arrival and they were swallowed inside with just the *daaman* (edge) of her *dupatta* (scarf) remaining. It is believed that that too slid into the soil when the lead soldier tried to get hold of it. Thus, the name Bibiyaan Pak Daaman, referring to their chastity that could not be touched.

The ambience of the space acts as companion to its history; most sacred spaces have various layers upon layers of meanings and associations, making claims of tradition and culture, hiding layers of meaning intended and meaning perceived by personal experience, holding a grave emotional power on the visitor to the site. These layers of associations and narratives are, more often than not, superimposed on a significant audience.

The routes to the *mazaar* itself may be classified as transitory experiences of a spatial and temporal pilgrimage. Accessed from either Police Lines or the main Davis Road, the adjacent gullies are blocked with police

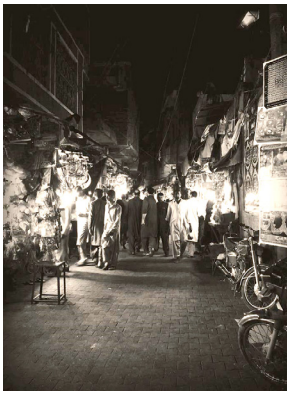

Figure 1 (L)

Enroute to the shrine. Photograph by Author.

Figure 2 (C)

Enroute to the shrine. Photograph by Author.

Figure 3 (R)

Shopkeepers along the road. Photograph by Author.

barriers. The pilgrims have to walk down a broad bazaar, lined with shops displaying an array of jewelry items and other religious paraphilia paraphernalia. A woman I befriended told me, with a distant mystical look in her eyes, how she often walked barefoot along these streets that steered her to the grave of the *Bibi*. Almost maniacally, she kept insisting how disrespectful it was to be here in shoes. A narrower street opens up on my side, with yet another police barrier at its entrance. The atmosphere of this gully is thicker with pilgrims in black and varieties of jewelry, roses, small clay oil lamps, *alams* (a small handmade icon of metal with inscriptions) and religious text set up on ledges of shops that are almost like niches on two sides. This street has its own realm, a special physical relationship with life. With subsequent visits, I managed to get on talking terms with the shopkeepers and dervishes that sit along this street. One shopkeeper by the name of Liaquat Ali and his brother Nizam Ali excitedly narrated stories and myths revolving around the *mazaar*, claiming that his family had been living here for 50 years. The female and male dervishes, however, are usually not let inside due to their impure way of life. I devised my own names for them as they either refused to divulge their real identity or were just unaware of any name that they might have ever had. I call one Malang Sahib. His tired face has long vertical lines of age that seem carved in stone. Always dressed in black *shalwar kameez* and laden with heavy steel chains, red and green interwoven threads, mud beads, colorful stone rings and metal hand bands with dervish symbols, he can always be heard chanting *'Ya Ali Madad!'* (O Ali help us!) in a muffled voice holding an oval shaped metal begging bowl *(kashkul)*. His eyes are alert and attentive; sometimes he seems to be looking inward and a barely perceptible smile comes to his lips, quietly leaning back, almost never responding to any questions but eventually being comfortable with my presence beside him.

Figure 4

Barefoot at the shrine. Photograph by Author.

The rich street acts as the background for the activities that go on in and around it; a sensitive transition to the end of the bazaar lane leads to the loud rhythmic clapping of *maatam* (mourning) which may be heard from within the mazaar. There is clapping more muffled than the sound of clapping and more like the sound of a whip. This is accompanied by the cries of mourning for the two grandsons of the Prophet (PBUH): '*Ya Hasan! Ya Husain!*', by the Shia flagellants in tribute to Karbala. Security check at the final entrance slows me down as I am checked thoroughly by female officers. The first hall is a large one, tiled in off-white and acting as a relatively informal communal area to deposit shoes and any items, such as cameras that cannot be taken inside; offices and stairs lead up to visitor rooms.

Two smaller openings lead to the main *durbar* (court). There are immediate views of a large tree, decorated with colored threads and cloth, a golden dome, red and black masts with richly embroidered slogans of Ali and Husain. There is an array of spaces at various levels, usually three to four steps up or down and panels of surrogate steel fixed in the roof. As I look up and glimpse the moon in the sky, I wonder where on the threshold I stand; can this space be classified as interior or exterior? Lying somewhere in between, the dark blue clouds above me and this old *waan* tree in front of me, add to the goings-on; the courtyard vibrates with the hypnotic rhythm of the powerful, booming beat of *maatam* and chants on my left side. All are barefoot. Jurgen Wasim Frembgen quotes in '*At the Shrine of the Red Sufi*' that a barefoot dervish enlightened him with the idea that if God had indeed spread the earth like a carpet for us, then why wear shoes?[3]

Behind the *waan* tree are the relics of a small *hujraa* (room) just enough to fit 5-6 prayer mats, the first and oldest brick construction on the site, it's inside falling apart. Only months later, in peace and quietness was

I able to appreciate the aesthetics of the place and especially the shrine - the walls painted with deep colorful blossoms, calligraphy fading away, pilgrims praying in the midst of beautifully sung *manqabat* (Sufi devotional poem), the marble clad gravestones and the numerous sized engraved *alams* under the expansive skirt of two *waan* trees in opposite corners and a roof that gives its visitors unexpected glimpses of the sky adds an other-worldly character to its interior. Standing on a higher level, just below my eye level lies the grave of Bibi Ruqayyah, surrounded by solid walls, golden *jaalis* (perforated screens) and other smaller nooks with bustling activities. On my right side is an expansive space for communal and family sitting. People are praying, eating and sleeping, among other things. Another corner on my right, just four steps below, has a niche in its blackened wall with sacred oil in lamps. Over the course of the past few months, the caretaker who stands there has narrated various stories to me. He dates back to the family of Abdullah Shah Khaki and with imposing authority over the *mazaar*; he looks around at the *malang* and Sunni pilgrims with reproachful eyes. He shows me how pilgrims wet their lips and foreheads with sacred oil from the lamps. They pray as they pour the benevolent liquid from bottles they have bought from the adjacent bazaar into the heart shaped stone set in silver stands. This corner is for the *chillaah* (a spiritual practice of penance and solitude in Sufism) a spot dedicated to the name of Data Ganj Bakhsh, considered a great Sufi saint of South Asia, who himself was a devotee of Bibi and received holy knowledge from this auspicious shrine. The caretaker tells me more; the two trees in the *mazaar* are the female and male camel that had transformed into trees when the ground had swallowed Bibi Ruqayyah and the group of pilgrims. He shows me the shape of the tree, "Doesn't it look exactly like a camel?" he excitedly asked me once, referring to how its hump was where the tree stored rain water for its self-nourishment. I found it interesting how the caretaker so-to-speak and generations of people inhabiting the area had fit their own personal stories and ideas into a mere myth handed down orally over the years; a myth that I had not yet been able to find concrete physical evidence of in history books of significance. What a living cosmos of interpreting the sanctified!

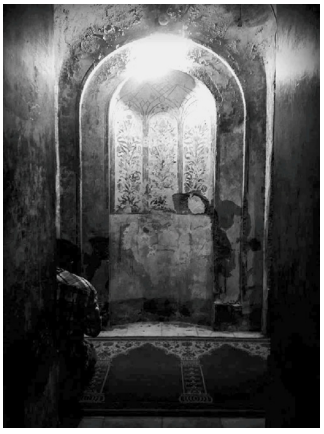

Figure 5 (L)

The *Chillaah* spot. Photograph by Author.

Figure 6 (R)

The trees in the shrine. Photograp by Author.

Interestingly, the leaves of the tree have been known to gift the miracle of children to barren women. Another woman once told me how the couple was supposed to eat two and half leaves of the tree each and when gifted with a child, they were expected to bring two gold leaves to place on the grave of the Bibi as an offering.

In a conversation with Jurgen Wasim, a scholar on the sacred, I was told that in Muslim, Sufi-inspired folk religion, at everyday religious practice at Sufi shrines, one could often come across trees, not only in Pakistan. In his opinion it is pointless to speculate about the actual age of a tree. As in this particular case, what matters more is its correlation with mythology and not history. On the contrary, making myth more meaningful, a tree at Pakistani saints' shrines is almost a *sine qua non*, there seems to be no shrine without a tree, the symbol of fertility and life.

For all people the forms, vehicles and objects of worship are suffused with an aura of deep moral seriousness and meaning. Meanings tend to be "stored" in symbols: a red thread, baked clay lamps with burning oil or just petals of roses. According to Geertz, such religious symbols, related in myths and rituals, are linked somehow, to what is known about the world, the quality of the emotional life it supports and the way one ought to behave while in it. Such symbols are thus not mere expressions, instrumentalities, or correlations of our biological, psychological and social existence but are prerequisites of it.[4]

Another corner with lighted oil lamps lies under the 20 foot tall *alam* dedicated to the martyr Hazrat Abbas. Tradition has it that this Shia

Figure 7

Corner with lighted oil lamps. Photograph by Author.

saint had both his hands cut off in the battle of Karbala as he tried to fetch water from the Euphrates for the thirsty children of his step brother, the Prophet Mohammed's (PBUH) grandson, Imam Husain. Again with blackened walls, a similar tradition is followed out with the lamps. A female caretaker standing there once asked me if I was married yet and, on my response, patted some oil on the center parting line of my hair, adding that I would *Inshallah* (God willing) be married by the end of this year, with the auspicious blessings of the Bibi.

Around the *mazaar,* at various corners, are red and green threads tied by the devotees for *dua* (prayer). These threads may often also be seen around the wrists and foreheads of the devotees, or as red turbans on their heads; others are wearing black *shalwar kameez* or carrying black pennants. The colors and accessories are symbolic; green is the symbolic color of Islam, black the mourning color of the Shia sect and red is the iconic color of the great Saint, Lal Shahbaz Qalander, of the 'Red Falcon'; the color of mystic love and fulfillment.[5]

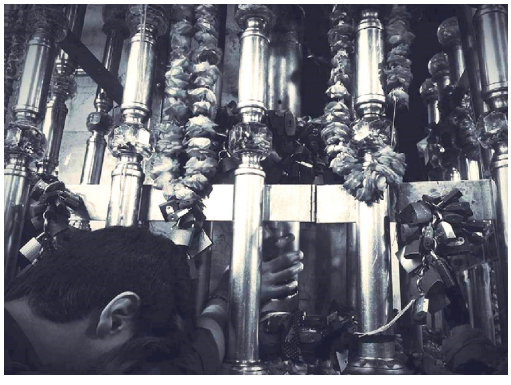

Figure 8

Iron locks on grills at the shrine. Photograph by Author.

Much like threads tied around the branches of trees, there are iron locks on grills and nails hammered into trees (which may be observed at shrines between Iran and India and are also found in the Near Eastern Muslim folk religion). Whenever the devotee is granted what he prayed for, he comes back with the key to unfasten and remove the lock. Through this ritual the devotee seems to connect himself with the saint and reminds him of his vow.

Humankind is unique because we are conscious of our consciousness. So far as we know, no other species is capable of this self-reflection and awareness of inner realities. I had visited this *mazaar* as a child, following everything my elders were doing with a feeling of pride and satisfaction. During recent subsequent visits, I had begun questioning the rituals that had been a part of me as a child. The one recurring theme during casual conversations with devotees was their continuous unwavering belief. Jung presents a discourse on the idea of sacredness by delving deeper into the concept of religious experience. According to Jungian philosophy, far below ego consciousness, and personal memories that have become a part of the unconscious, lies collective ancient wisdom, years in the making, upon which we build our lives here and now. He emphasizes the human quest for wholeness (integration of conscious and subconscious components of the psyche) that may be achieved through an individual process.

According to Jung, God is an archetype of our collective unconscious, the part in us responsive to that which signals sacredness, the medium from which the religious experiences seem to flow – responsive to mysteries that both terrify and fascinate simultaneously. Products of evolution, encoded in our DNA are built-in expectations, demands and patterns of response, equipping us with human existence. It makes us all feel the transcendental presence of a God, the truth of all inner religious teachings.[6] Perhaps this is the serenity that the devotees feel in their resolute belief in a higher power, this *mazaar* in particular being an extension of the divine spirit in and around him, truly experienced as unreflecting belief. A female devotee I befriended told me that she was there to pray, with unfaltering certainty, for her application to the US to get accepted.

Figure 9

Female devotee at the shrine. Photograph by Author.

Another female devotee, by the name of Sana, twenty one years of age, had travelled from Dera Ghazi Khan and had been living at the *mazaar* for five days, praying for her family to accept the marriage proposal of her teenage love. Her life stories had an unbearable ache that were reflected in the lines of her hand, yet she was sanguine; her optimism in a future so bright, it made her shine.

The subjective experiences of the devotees were the anchors holding onto their steadfast belief in a higher power. They kept coming back because they believed it to be the place that would give them the peace they needed. Acting as a counter narrative to psychiatry, with the catharsis not on the couch, but indeed, in the midst of a space thick with emotions and expression, the *dargah* (shrine) being the space that never sleeps; the language of silence almost grasps the inner self. The *mazaar* is the one space that allows you to let go of your inhibitions and even strongly built men may be seen weeping with tears and cries of help, often clutching onto the grill surrounding the grave. One woman, by the name of Shahida, was at the *mazaar* crying every time I saw her. Her tears paid tribute to the martyr Hazrat Ali Asghar and Bibi Sakina, the infant son and young daughter of Imam Husain, among others. After a few days of fits of unconsciousness and hysteria, she opened up to me about stories of her father's desertion, bad relations with her stepfather, conflicts with step siblings, feelings of betrayal and guilt upon the death of her mother and subsequently an unhappy marriage that she had run away from. The tears that flow out of the eyes of the devotees are not necessarily only the pain of Karbala but a cleansing of your and collectively, the pain of everyone. Is this *aqeedah* (translated as creed) a determined faith in the power of the divine or a necessity of man to believe in a higher power responsible for his care? Is belief and creed an anchor of our unconscious? People call faith the true religious experience but they do not stop to think that in actuality, it is a second phenomenon arising from the fact that something happened to them in the first place that instilled the faith

Figure 10

People sleeping at the shrine. Photograph by Author.

in them, that is, trust and loyalty. This experience is the standpoint of the creeds, is archaic, full of impressive mythological symbolism. The thing that cures the neurosis must be as convincing as the neurosis, a real, illusory, healing, religious experience.

A female dervish, called Ama Malangni by regular devotees, has been living at the *mazaar* for over two years now. Originally from the Shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalander in Karachi, she is always seen in red, with dreadlocks and an array of beads and stones around her neck. The first time that I sat with her, she told me that what had happened with her was something which I could never even imagine. When I asked her questions, she was angry scolding me not to ask her of what I did not know. With ensuing days of visits and nights of continuous presence, she opened up. She kept mentioning the exalted status of her human sacrifice. As a young woman, she had had dreams of Hazrat Ali and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. She said she had cemented the relationship between herself and her benevolent ancestors (she claimed to be Syed, a direct descendent of the Prophet - PBUH) renouncing everything she had for them; her husband, her children, her parents and siblings; she lighted a lamp for them every day. She claimed to be the manifested form of her Sufi master at the *mazaar* of Lal Shahbaz Qalander, after whose death she had moved to Lahore. She was now a wanderer, going from one sacred place to another, rarely staying in one place for long. She felt she had the power to utter prophesies during her moment of *haal* (a state of grace in which a person is lost in intense spiritual ecstasy), a truly divine gift for her sacrifice, with the appearance of Lal Shahbaz Qalander himself within her. I witnessed one of these moments of supplication; supporting herself with her arms on the ground she was whirling her head rapidly, breathing heavily, screaming and sweeping the floor of the courtyard with her hair. The climax of the trance was when, bathed in sweat, she fell cataleptically to the ground, lying there for several minutes. Does the moment of *haal* also serve healing purposes here? Swept by power dynamics, another devotee whispered to me at this point, that the higher spirit couldn't possibly come to a *malangni* as impure as her, it was only the *jinn* struggling within the woman's body. Another female *malang* wrote manically in her diary disconnected words and sentences in English, Arabic and Urdu whenever in a state of *haal* and at other times stripped herself of her clothes with no care of her surroundings, held back by other women. Often, she was taken home by one of the female devotees, bathed and changed into fresh new clothes.

On Friday nights, another man may be seen chanting exaltations for the devotees. A police officer by day, on Fridays he is seen in white *shalwar kameez* with a black scarf around his neck. With a faraway look in his bloodshot eyes and the notion of being possessed, he does an intoxicating performance in the courtyard. Like a mad man, he wraps his scarf around his mouth and looks around at the crowd of men and women surrounding him. The women have their *dupattas* spread out in front of them, looking at him pleadingly. He waves one bangle after another, knotted with red or green thread, chanting along and drops it into the spread cloth of whoever he chooses, blessing him or her with his blessing. With twists of his arms, he shoves children and women away as others push through crowds to get closer. As he tossed me a bangle with a red thread once, he cried out saying that the thread was a direct gift from Angel Jibrael himself and the color was the color of Lal Shahbaz Qalander, emphasizing on how lucky I was to receive it.

This paper is part of an ongoing research revolving around the *mazaar*. It has formed the basis for a proposed research project of the Society of Cultural Education that focuses on consecrated spaces.

Religious experience is absolute and cannot be disputed. With an approach unaffected by critical rationalism, I ask questions with uncertain answers and no absolute conclusions. Reasons set the boundary far too narrowly for us; we tend to accept only the known within limitations and a known framework. As one of the regular devotees once said to me, he felt that through the *mazaar* he had achieved a great treasure, something that had become for him a source of life, meaning and beauty, had given a new splendor to the world and to the whole of mankind. He asked me if anybody could say that such a life was not legitimate and that such an experience was not valid; a mere illusion. The moment reminded me of something I had read just the other day. The unconscious is capable of convincing the modern man for a very old-fashioned

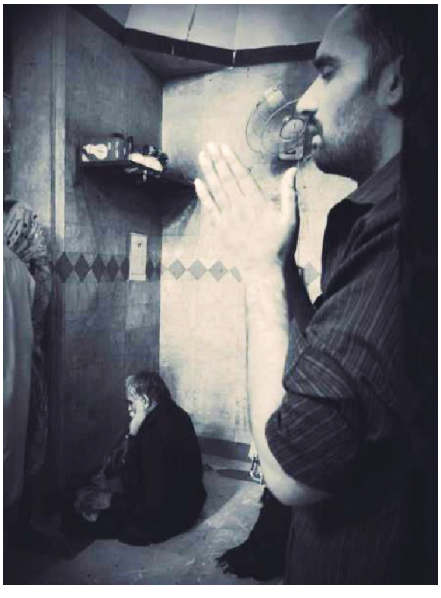

Figure 11

in supplication. Photograph by Author.

reason: these sacred places are "over-whelming," which is precisely what the Latin word *"convincere"* means. These people are here because they really want to be here. As Carl Yung once said, "The decisive question for man is: Is he related to something infinite or not? That is the telling question of his life."

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[In]Tangible Boundaries – The City of Karachi

Maria Aslam-Hyder

Peter Zumthor encapsulates in his seminal words the dilemma of the present and the past – present and the future:

> Presence is like a gap in the flow of history,
> Where all of (a) sudden it is not past and not future.
>
> Peter Zumthor

It is surprising how an extremely painful, fearsome yet appallingly true event changes the course of direction of how you view objects and their subjective meanings. One such event opened a pandora of questions on the parameters of the profession of architecture for me on a personal basis. The Vitruvian triad: *Utilitas*, *Firmitas* and *Venustas* have been promised to mankind through architecture.[1] Architecture was born when man needed shelter; the evolution of the primitive hut is also the evolution of architecture. History and theory is dedicated to this subject; from Vitruvius, Alberti, Perrault and Durand, architecture has not only provided shelter but is historical and has created history in its varied expression, reinforcing the belief that architecture is political and the most powerful expression of art. I reflect on something that we hardly pause to consider: 'boundaries'. The structures that are known as boundary walls, barriers, ramparts within the living parameters of the present city in Pakistan, dividing society in multifarious ways, have been a question for some years now. They are everywhere; despite their delimited and focal character, the range is enormous; they are tangible and intangible sets of lines that forever surround us. I question their significance as physical construed manifestation and their extensivity in conjunction with our insertion into the spatial world.

These boundaries in an urban context create diverse dialogues of built and un-built structures and their manifestations on a contextual, cultural, environmental, architectural and individual level are immutable yet in question. The role of boundary walls is complex and highly ambiguous. Today it is the first element of discussion in a residential design, as the client questions what will be the design of his boundary wall. How can that wall address my stature, wealth and security aspects in society,

since the front elevation is hardly visible or whatever of the elevation is visible is only beyond the height of the boundary wall. Walls are supposed to protect us (from threats on the other side) and at the same time to block us (from moving further into the property or make the house/building visible to all). Hence, walls are obstructive elements both in movement and visibility and have acquired a status of pseudo protection that is in current times embellished further with barbed wire, spiked metals, electrocuted mesh and now technology in the form of cameras (Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1 (L)

Boundary wall of a residence, obstructing the view of the elevation. Photograph by author.

Figure 2 (R)

Boundary wall with barbed wire for added protection. Photograph by author.

Walls, built and imaginary, loom large around us. I question their nature, validity, meaning and physicality in a world today that is porous, boundary-less and virtual. Or are we more confined within intangible boundaries? The unfailing, forever stretching, ubiquitous presence of the boundary wall that surrounds each and every residence, demarcating its territorial zone in Karachi and in other cities, more so in the subcontinent; and that which was always taken for granted personally, considered as the norm, is under scrutiny - the fallacy of which has yet to unfold.

This study focuses on the bounded fabric of the city and how it has manifested itself as barriers in the urban framework and the peculiarity of an architectural intervention that has transformed itself as a political statement. An unemotional object that absolves its function though sandwiched in a complex, charged zone of both inside and out. I wonder whether these gigantic walls are safeguarding the people inside or making the people outside vulnerable to strife.

The typological study of these walled structures that we call 'boundaries' has been under investigation more as a curiosity and has developed into an explorative and speculative journey, that does not necessarily

provide answers or solutions but questions the social context, the architectural intentions and the evolving urban paradigm. The primary question that the study focuses on is how these boundary walls are perceived, rather than used and more so abused. I do not dwell much on the later aspect, as that is an extensive study. The paper traces the psychosomatic evolution of boundary wall typologies in Karachi that evoke the same in other cities as well. Architecture is political and much of it in contemporary times is derived by political agendas.

Karachi was a small village tethered to the shores of the Arabian Sea, inhabited by the local Mekran fishing community. The East India Company captured the town in 1838 and they developed this small town into a trading port that flourished and increased in population of mainly migrants and the English people.[2] At the time of Partition, 'Karachi was well-planned and well-run with wide streets, open spaces, a sufficiency of public buildings and most of the conveniences that a thriving merchant class required'[3] with classical and Colonial buildings lining the city's thoroughfares.

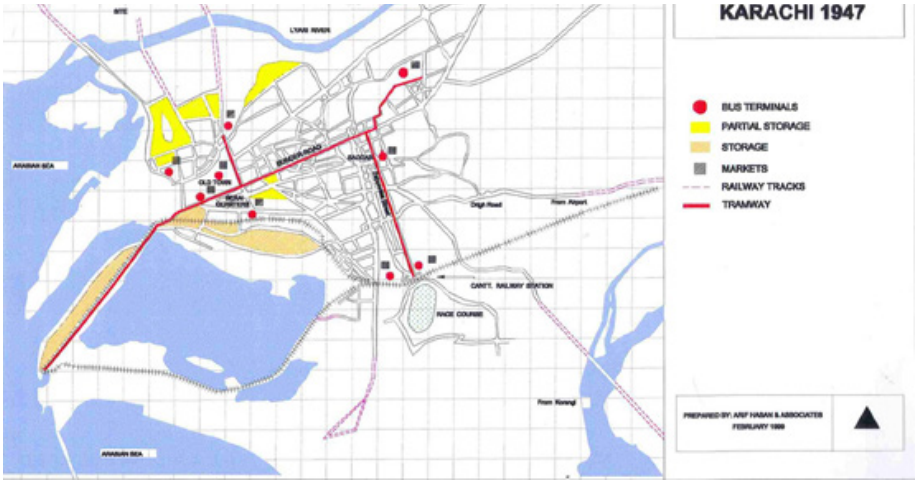

Figure 3

Map of Karachi (1947). Source: Arif Hasan and Associates

At Independence in 1947, Karachi had a population of less than half a million[4]; then the capital city of the country, Karachi went through exponential growth, not only in population but in the industrial and financial sector as well. It saw the opening of many educational institutions. An advanced city at the time of Partition with a port and an airport, it was still a sleepy town which metamorphosed, changing the city, its inhabitants and the future course of development in

varying ways. The changing political climate and the upheavals of a nascent country struggling for its identity in the global spectrum, the unprecedented struggle for power and widespread corruption stalled the creative growth of the country. Riots in the name of extremist religious factions and socialist groups, damaged the meteoric rise of the country, affecting its major cities, Karachi primarily. The Capital shift to Islamabad, designed by Doxiadis, left Karachi with no ownership. Soon in the 1990's, Karachi was dubbed the most dangerous city in the world.[5] Parallel to this reputation, surprisingly though, these are also the times when the city made inroads into education and art and culture thrived in its varied manifestations and reigned supreme. This dialectic hinge of strife and progress resulted specifically in the efforts of public and private sectors to protect themselves through the wide use of barriers as a form of conflict infrastructure.

Initially, at the time of the British Raj, residences were bound by fences and that was the sign of demarcating territorial limits or safeguarding private gardens from wandering cattle.[6] The boundary walls raised were those of the English population to protect their privacy from the local subalterns. It is true; changes in the values of society reflects on architecture; Karachi notorious for its unrest and strife in the 1970's resulted in the clause of a boundary wall six feet high as a mandatory structure for building a residence on the Karachi Municipal Corporation limits in 1976.[7] This ambivalent clause changed the face of Karachi forever. The urban sprawl took on a new dimension and a culture of boundary walls was originated. This came, in effect, due to the eroding security issues and sectarian violence that the country witnessed for the first time during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime 1973-1977.

Today Karachi is the largest and the most populous metropolitan city of Pakistan. With a population currently estimated as exceeding more than 24 million, it is the third most populous city of the world within the city limits, the seventh largest urban agglomeration and the largest city in the Muslim world. Karachi today is spread over 3,527 km resulting in a density of more than 6000 people per square kilometer.[8]

Considering the immense population explosion and with it the parallel increase in housing, the divide between the haves and have-nots seems insurmountable. The immense concretization aggravates the situation further. My study over time reveals that boundaries do more harm than safeguard their inhabitants. These walls alienate, subjugate and barricade human connection and interaction, forming a city of walls

within walls. This has resulted in the inhumane ramification of an architectural element that was supposed to give shelter. They have developed into armatures of impenetrable surfaces that kill human contact and with it the humane nature of man. I wonder at the social phenomenon from where these walls have erupted, that have made our being isolated in dreams and fears. What has the city transformed itself into, the layers of barriers that have erected themselves over the passage of time, eroding human contact, shriveling our worlds to microcosms confined within walls? At present every structure of mankind is walled in the city; from residences, malls, mosques, parks, high rises, schools, universities to even the streets. The walled streets are now at a height of eight feet forming an enclave for the residences, running parallel to the streets, an inescapable feature converging within and out.

It is also noted that gated communities where all traffic, whether vehicular or pedestrian, is checked, sifted and frisked still have bound walls around each house. Boundary walls have acquired a cultural significance and are an iconic architectural feature treated unequivocally by the architect and designers. What Bachelard penned some two decades ago seems dialectic in context to the contemporary life style;

> For every resident, his house constitutes a body of images that give him proof or illusions of stability. We are constantly re-imagining its reality: to distinguish all these images would be to describe the soul of the house; it would mean developing a veritable psychology of the house.[9]

The boundary walls are an intrinsic feature of any residence. They are also the first glimpse of what is to come in its multilayered folds of arrangement, collective compositions of walls within walls; each a story in itself, an architectural visualization of the inhabitants' dreams and aspirations in the society. Each dwelling creates a microcosm of its world, immune to its surroundings, floating in its own sphere, creating a hemisphere of immediacy of laughter and tears, frustrations and jubilation in its square footage of space. The boundary walls have their own peculiarities, pejoratives that are synonymous with a particular area. It is the wall within a wall that confines more walled structure, sans empathy, sans sympathy swathed in uncertainty, oppressive in its claustrophobic demarcating surroundings.

As an architect, architecture to me defines space for the inhabitants who reside or use the internal spaces. Simultaneously its physical

manifestation organizes the spaces in context, changing forever the surroundings where it sits; configuring the external manipulation of space that we place in the realm of the urban zone. Similarly, a wall reacts with the city, is in constant dialogue with animate and inanimate objects, reorients space, changes the face of the environment and continuously responds to human proclivities on both sides.

The study examines the interaction between architecture, infrastructure and topography through an analysis of a particular Clifton junction in Karachi, an area that faces unique complications especially since historicity; modernity, walled precinct and infrastructure collide in a unique scenario that leads to many discoveries. My particular interest stemmed from my quest of the walled structure that was forming itself when I left the country some twenty months ago. It was an evolution of an inception that changed the dynamics of that particular area. The question could be why the particular development? The other question is: should a sole intervention of infrastructure or an architectural structure be allowed to transform the historical identity of the area? These words from Calvino's *Invisible* Cities reverberate in my mind:

> A city is a combination of many things; memory, desires, signs of a language; it is a place of exchange, as any textbook of economic history will tell you – only these exchanges are not trade in goods, they also involve words, desires and memories.[10]

I initiate a walk from the vicinity of Abdullah Shah Ghazi *Mazaar* (shrine), the precipice of Karachi at Partition. Today, due to land reclamation the *Mazaar* (shrine) is part of the city sprawl and the shore is now many kilometers away from its origin. A walk in the area some time ago was a nightmare. The pedestrian pavements had completely disappeared. The infrastructure now soars high in convoluted curves for the heavy vehicular traffic that glides through. The high walled structure dominates the area. It seems that every inch of mother earth is either a tarmac or has a built structure. The parks adjacent and the Kothari Parade have also taken the brunt of the new development and are unkempt and locked away from the reach of the masses. Old trees have been hacked and new ones planted for various reasons.

Figure 4 (T/L)

The Mazaar of Abdullah Shah Ghazi, Karachi (before the adjoining structures). Source: Author

Figure 5 (B/L)

The Mazaar of Abdullah Shah Ghazi, Karachi (with adjoining buildings and fortification during construction). Source: Author

Figure 6 (R)

The Mazaar of Abdullah Shah Ghazi, Karachi (new entrance way and fortification). Source: Author

The *Mazaar* has disappeared behind heavy fortification. A sixty-story shopping mall and office building is now its neighbor (figure 5). The *Mazaar* has been given a facelift to match the upcoming economic hub of Karachi: a structure that seems to incongruously juxtapose itself in the inchoate expansion of the urban fabric (Figure 6). One questions; who are the policy makers and what is the civic policy for imposition of insensitive intervention? History has shrouded this aspect literally behind walls. The Sufi priest enshrined in the *Mazaar* - as the myth goes, held off natural calamities and safeguarded Karachi – he has been enshrined once again in the name of modernity.

> […] who is to know the fate of his bones and how often he is to be buried.[11]
>
> W. G. Sebald

I feel lost, or am I searching for a lost city under the many layers that the city has accumulated. I search for the Mahadev Hindu Temple in the same vicinity, said to be in use for the last 3000 years.[12]

The *Mazaar* catered not only to the city but the entire country, to masses that believed in the Sufi saint who lies enshrined. The proclivity of various activities, the *thelawalas* (pushcart vendors), the crafts people, the fortunetellers, the food sellers, the *mannat* (votive offering), the *daigh* (cauldron), the *chaddar* (a large piece of cloth) had been the focus

since centuries. The street, kerb and surroundings managed an age-old custom, a ritual, a part of the city culture that has been erased in the name of economic development in a matter of months. Now it is a sanitized area of cars whizzing by with the entire traffic re-engineered. However, the social divide currently reigns mammoth - completely sidelining the 90% of the marginalized population as if it does not exist. They now find respite in the road parallel to the east side of the *Mazaar*. They live on the footpath fearing the day when a developer finds a reason to throw them out once again. It is a thought to ponder for if the funds in creating this alien structure had been used for cleansing the place and incorporating the much-needed support structure for the ease of the visitors, such as toilets, seating, shaded communal space, drinking water supply, handicapped access and reorganizing of social and cultural activities to facilitate people in a historic precinct, the fragmentation and the disorientation may not have occurred.

Questions of continuity and transformation can be addressed by analyzing the current states of our historic precincts overlaid on barely hidden foundations. Seminal forms and remnants of cultural intent are latent embodied experiences of these dense urban compilations. After all, even today the Piazza della Signoria in Florence does not necessarily celebrate the meetings of the Roman Cardo but is still a sacred place for the masses and remains an important junction for the focus of political and social life in the city even after hundreds of years. Whereas, traces of the original values remain in the inherited patterns of the Piazza, a similar situation cannot be voiced regarding the Abdullah Shah Ghazi *Mazaar* in the Clifton area of Karachi. The changes in the *Mazaar* environ, its precinct, the *Mazaar's* façade inflection posits a varying sensibility that is amazingly new for the citizens: it is an imported face from the Gulf region within its notional border. It marks a symbolic boundary of the contemporary arbitrariness in a series of reoriented views.

The polemic Partition of the subcontinent and the formation of a new country is itself history in the multitude of layers of the city. Layers of materiality, technological advancement and modernity have plastered the fabric and the walls of the city. History has to be scraped from the edifices to be found. With the passage of time new histories are being written and re-written. Standing on the ruins of the new construction that enshrouds the *Mazaar,* I wonder about the layers of historical significance that have been lost or buried beneath the latest construction. The loss is far beyond a building, it is the historical significance and the

memories that are associated and form a part of that significance that has been lost. Some decades ago, the *Mazaar* stood at the precipice of the shorelines. Today, history is at the precipice that has inscribed an accumulation of invisible memories on the site.

The spirit of the paper is to engage in deep explorations and question rather than provide ready answers. An exploration that initiated itself from the query of the import of the walled structure that we call boundary walls collided with the boundaries of the *Mazaar* area and chartered its course to relevance of historicity and modernization, from cultural diversity to intangible lines drawn by social strata in society. The tangible and (in)tangible lines around us are at once the emblem and the concretization of the radical contingency of our lives, provided that we notice this peculiarity. Despite the folds that protect and comfort us, it only marks the limits of our knowledge and actions. Boundaries do not tell us anything; they just reinforce that little is certain in the next spatial or temporal phase. They also clearly illuminate that we should expect neither a plenum nor a void on the other side. To imagine our city(ies) without boundaries today is a difficult paradigm. The notion of our residences without the boundary walls frazzles our minds, is difficult to comprehend; it is not the absence of the built structure that is in question here – it is a question of the values, ethics, morality and stability of our lifestyles that have been unhinged. Hence, in true magnitude today, the boundary wall reveals an uncertain world whose very fullness is shot with gaps, whose certainties are themselves uncertain, whose near side is already far and whose entity cannot be taken for granted. A bounded space reveals – indeed it finally is the acute limit of the place-world itself. It signifies the place-world's endgame right up front since its beginning is our end. The other side that it reveals accentuates our ignorance, the end of perception and in some cases the very end of a life.

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Endnotes

1. Vitruvius is famous for asserting in his book *De Architectura* that a structure must exhibit the three qualities of *firmitas, utilitas, venustas* – that is, it must be solid, useful, beautiful. These are sometimes termed the Vitruvian virtues or the Vitruvian Triad.
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Remembering Manto: City, Architecture and Fiction

Razia Latif and Prof. Dr. Gulzar Haider

Writers look at the city and the circumstances within the city from an insightful and multifaceted point of view. Saadat Hasan Manto in his *afsanas* (novels) puts forward the inner, dark side of human nature. He was a keen observer of politics. In his "Letters to Uncle Sam" in his forthright and satirical style, he is critical of American policies. Manto's style of writing is very distinct and bold. He makes his point by gradually leading us to a realization rather than directly revealing what he has in mind. The revelation never fails to shock the reader to the core. He also writes about issues that are otherwise seen as taboo in our society.

Manto's Writings as a Muse

This paper examines three short stories from Saadat Hasan Manto's later, more mature work to understand the essence of Manto's writings. In these, he is focused on the darkness of the human psyche as the values in society declined dramatically around the Partition of 1947. Manto's writing style is very direct and clear. He uses his sentences with characteristic economy and directness. He starts writing with a simple introduction which is sometimes ambiguous as he does not want to give too much importance to the geographical whereabouts or the time period although these are self-evident to the reader. He carries the reader into the story peeling off layers of events one by one. The reader is not sure what he might be led to as there is not a lot of clarity in what the possible consequences of what has happened, will be. At the end, there is a sudden realization that this is the climax of the story. We are shocked and we try to comprehend what the author has written. In his writings, he is not trying to please any one, he writes with great honesty and clarity and makes sure that his message is conveyed. In the three narratives used in this paper, the key issues are touching and tragically awakening about the worst possible realities of human nature.

The first narrative in his short story '*Toba Tek Singh*' is set two to three years after Independence in 1947. The story revolves around the real and

imagined ruminations of a mental patient Bishen Singh, who is about to be forcibly sent to India, as part of an agreed upon exchange of mental asylum patients on either side of a new Pakistan-India border. Bishen is a Sikh but his home town is Toba Tek Singh in the new Pakistan. The story starts with dialogue about the exchange of the lunatics and then it goes on to the point when the lunatics were informed of this happening and what they understood by this. There is an atmosphere of confusion in the asylum as the lunatics do not understand what is about to happen and somehow they seem to be asking and thinking very important questions about the "Partition" that others are afraid to raise.

Passage extracted from *'Toba Tek Singh'* (Hasan, Saadat 2000, 10):

> "As to where Pakistan was located, the inmates knew nothing. That was why both the mad and the partially mad were unable to decide whether they were now in India or in Pakistan. If they were in India, where on earth was Pakistan? And if they were in Pakistan, then how come that until only the other day it was India?"

'Toba Tek Singh' is not just a story of a mad man's confusion at the division of India and Pakistan but it is also a story of millions of people who were forced to leave everything, their land, their homes and their belongings, to go to a new land, forced, like Bishen Singh, to leave behind their home with all their memories and attachments.

Another passage extracted from *'Toba Tek Singh'* (Hasan, Saadat 2000, 15):

> "When Bishen Singh was brought out and asked to give his name so that it could be recorded in a register, he asked the official behind the desk: 'Where is Toba Tek Singh? In India or Pakistan?'
>
> 'Pakistan.', he answered with a vulgar laugh.
>
> Bishen Singh tried to run but was overpowered by the Pakistani guards who tried to push him across the dividing line towards India. However, he wouldn't move. 'This is Toba Tek Singh,' he announced. *'Uper the gur gur the annexe the bay dhayana mung dal* of Toba Tek Singh and Pakistan.'"

Manto ends the story by emphasising on the helplessness and the tragic submission of Bishen Singh, a man who had not given up in any circumstances gives up because of the Partition. For the reader there

is a strong realization that Manto was using Toba Tek Singh not as a geographical location on the map but as a conceptual idea. The following extract illustrates this (Hasan, Saadat 2000, 15-16):

> "Just before sunrise, Bishen Singh, the man who had stood on his legs for fifteen years, screamed and as officials from the two sides rushed towards him, he collapsed to the ground.
>
> There, behind barbed wire, on one side, lay India and behind more barbed wire, on the other side, lay Pakistan. In between, on a bit of earth, which had no name, lay Toba Tek Singh."

'Thanda Ghosht' is again a story rooted in the violent events of the Partition. The story revolves around two characters, Ishwant Singh and his mistress, Kalwant Kaur. Ishwant Singh fails to make love to Kalwant, as a result of which Kalwant suspects infidelity. In a fit of jealousy Kalwant stabs Ishwant. While dying, Ishwant Singh admits to having killed a Muslim family. He also admits to having tried to rape a Muslim girl. The story ends with the realization that the girl that Ishwant had attempted to rape was, in fact, already dead.

The following is the end of the short story (Hasan, Saadat 2000, 32):

> "'Kalwant *jani*, I can't begin to describe to you how beautiful she was.... I could have slashed her throat but I didn't.... I said to myself ... Ishr Sian, you gorge yourself on Kalwant Kaur everyday .... how about a mouthful of this luscious fruit!'
>
> 'I thought she had gone into a faint, so I carried her over my shoulder all the way to the canal which runs outside the city .... then I laid her down on the grass, behind some bushes and .... first I thought I would shuffle her a bit..... but then I decided to rump her right away.....'
>
> 'What happened?' she asked.
>
> 'I threw the trump... but, but...'
>
> His voice sank.
>
> Kalwant Kaur shook him violently: 'What happened?'
>
> Ishwant Singh opened his eyes. 'She was dead ... I had carried a dead body ... a heap of cold flesh ... *jani*, give me your hand.'

Kalwant Kaur placed her hand on his. It was colder than ice."

'Khol do' is a story of a father looking for his daughter who has disappeared at the time of the Partition as millions leave their homelands to save their lives. The father meets some young Muslim boys who have been doing a good job of bringing back lost women and daughters. He describes his daughter, Sakina, to them with hopes that they will bring her back. However, gradually the story reveals that the boys have already seen his daughter but do not report this to him. After a few days a half dead female is found near the railway tracks. The body is brought to the hospital. Sirajuddin, Sakina's father, goes to the hospital hoping to find his daughter. He finds that this is in fact his daughter. However, this reunion is very quickly translated into a horrific realization for the reader.

The shocking end of the story by Manto (Hasan, Saadat 2000, 19-20):

> "That evening there was sudden activity in the camp. He saw four men carrying the body of a young girl found unconscious near the railway tracks. They were taking her to the camp hospital. He began to follow them.
>
> He stood outside the hospital for some time and then went in. In one of the rooms he found a stretcher with someone lying on it.
>
> The light was switched on. It was a young woman with a mole on her left cheek. 'Sakina', Sirajuddin screamed.
>
> The doctor, who had switched on the light, stared at Sirajuddin.
>
> 'I am her father', he stammered.
>
> The doctor looked at the prostrate body and felt for the pulse. Then he said to the old man, 'Open the window.'
>
> The young woman on the stretcher moved slightly. Her hands groped for the cord, which kept her *shalwar* tied around her waist. With painful slowness, she unfastened it, pulled the garment down and opened her thighs..
>
> 'She is alive. My daughter is alive', Sirajuddin shouted with joy.
>
> The doctor broke into a cold sweat."

This story is very much like the others based on the events of the Partition. The other theme important in the story is that people are not what they seem and crimes were committed by both sides at the time of the Partition. The boys who had abducted Sakina were not Hindu or Sikh, they were Muslim. Muslim boys abducted and raped the Muslim girl and the father of the girl had asked these people for help to bring his daughter back, thinking that they would not harm her. The magic of Manto's writing is that in this story he never mentions what has happened to Sakina but how she reacts when the doctor uses the words 'open the window' reveals her plight without Manto saying what had happened to Sakina.

More than ever the issues addressed by him have become relevant to us today. The cities of today have become the hub of madness and injustice described by Manto. We focus on Manto as our muse for an architectural design studio project. Through architectural design, we create an environment where people of the city may come and have thought-provoking discussions and fictional interactions with the reincarnated Manto. Two distinct sites have been chosen for two phases of the project. The first is a distorted, left over space between two buildings on the Mall road. The second site is near the Lakshmi Chowk, a vacant plot along a road intersection. Through architectural interventions the young architects have been challenged to create spaces conducive to reading and storytelling and also spaces where the design awakens us to the struggles and issues in Manto's writings.

Architecture students interpreted Manto's writings in different ways. Some analysed how he established the sequence of the narrative, slowly coming to his point although never entirely revealing how he is to end the story and always managing to shock and awaken the deeper selves of the readers. Others focused on the intensity of the message conveyed in his writings and how his writings always focused on the darker side of the human psyche. While there were some who understood the boldness with which Manto wrote, as the strength of his writing. Manto was accused of pornography several times but he was never convicted. All of his writings make it very clear that there are no sexual feelings evoked in the way he wrote, neither for himself nor for the reader. However, his writings repeatedly use sex and sexual desire to give meaning without which many of his stories cannot be understood. Many students understood this as the rebel in Manto who wanted to write about what was considered the taboos in our society. This also led to students

studying Manto's personality and his life.

Introduction to Design Project 1

The first part of the project involved designing a small story-telling space. It was important that this space becomes a monument to the narratives of Manto and captures the essence of his writings. This first step involved the selection of the site. Several factors were considered while selecting the site such as the accessibility, the noise, the physical identity of the site and the historical importance of its location. After discussions, we decided on re-inhabiting a narrow oddly shaped piece of land left in between two buildings very close to the Pak Tea House. This site is currently encroached by the tyre selling shop next to it. The reason why this site seemed suitable is that firstly the site is deformed, secondly the site is violated and abused, and lastly, the site is easily accessable (located near the Mall Road, Anarkali, Young Men's Christian Association, and National College of Arts). The entrance to this unique piece of left over land is from two sides as this area is connected by two different roads; one facing the east and the other facing the west (see Figure 1).

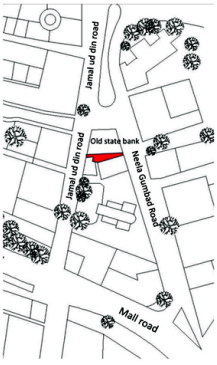
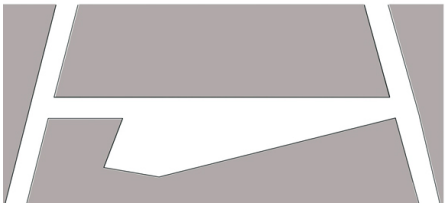


Figure 1

Site: Design Project 1. Source: Authors



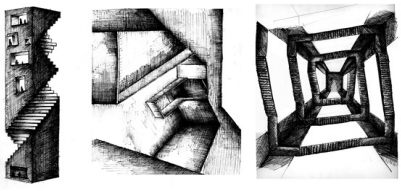


Figure 2

Drawings capturing the experiential qualities of the imagined architecture. Source: Authors

The students began by making experiential drawings. They began exploring different spaces that they thought depicted the intensity and shock of Manto's writings. Students' drawings depicted a play of intense contrast between light and shade, a sense of continuity, deliberate use of stair cases and confusion through visual illusions (see Figure 2).

Final Design 1

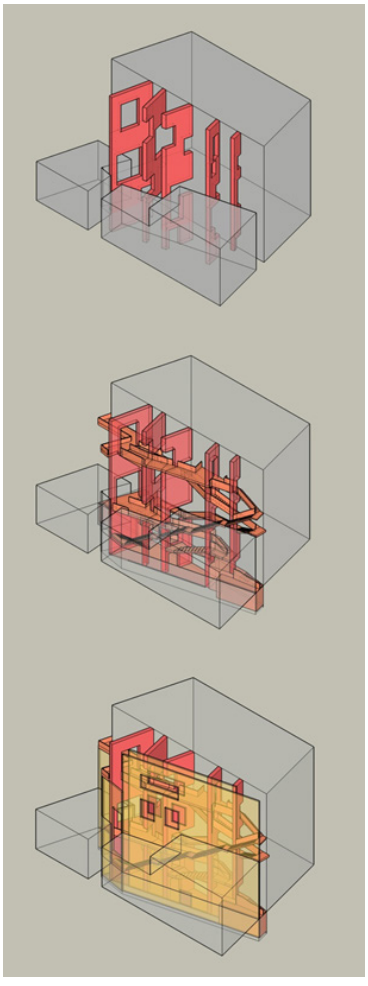


Figure 3

A series of drawings showing the different architectural elements in the design. Source:

Authors

In this paper we have decided to concentrate on two student design proposals; one for each phase. In the first proposal, the student took the idea of walls as barriers. She understood Manto's work as a rebellion against the norms of society. The norms of society were then compared to barriers which were later translated into walls within her design. She then punctured these walls to show what Manto did; Manto exposed the hypocrisy in society and he was the odd one out. His work is a satirical commentary on the ills of our society. Therefore, the physical walls and the apertures in these walls depict society as Manto rebels against it. The whole building is designed like a pathway. The experience of the building is intense and not necessarily comfortable. A lot of stairs have to be climbed up to get to the destination on the top. This experience is enriched by connecting pathways and walls, cut to allow for the person to move through but when one reaches the top, there is a realization that this is not the destination. A separate staircase from the top takes one down but this time it is a continuous series of steps making the journey more arduous. From the top, the destination itself is the abrupt journey down to the basement. The basement is the place where the story-telling activities will take place. The building is also exposed to light and the elements such as rain and storms as it lacks a proper roof. The lack of a roof also enables light to filter down in a more pure form.

Introduction to Design Project 2

The second part of the project involved designing a space for Manto himself; where a reincarnated Manto spends his time. In essence, this

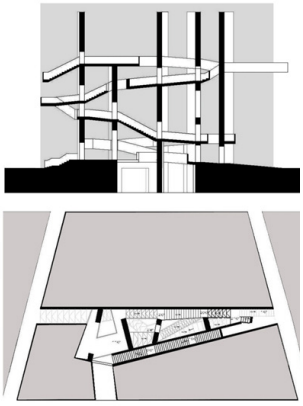


Figure 4

Section and plan through the centre of the proposed building. Source: Authors

part of the project imagined the spirit of Manto inhabiting a space. The students had to imagine what kind of a space that would be. After various discussions, it was decided that the site should be such that it allows for Manto to observe people. Students located a road intersection near Lakshmi Chowk, an empty plot was also identified on the site. This site too is an oddly shaped site with an encroachment squatter from the time of the Partition. We decided to keep the encroached part of the site as it is and took up space behind and above the encroachment.

Final Design 2

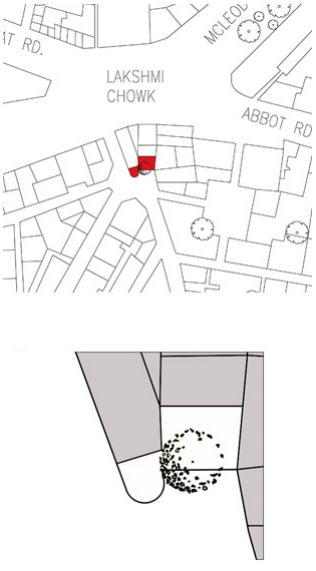
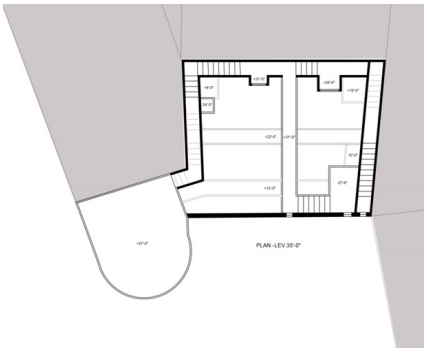
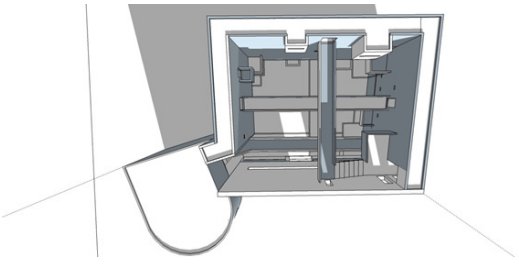


Figure 5

Site: Design Project 2. Source: Authors

This design proposal results in a space having a central courtyard and walled staircases and passages along the sides. As Manto was a keen observer of people, he would like to know people in their true nature. People tend to behave differently when they are aware that they are being watched and they tend to be their true selves when they are not being watched. For this reason, Manto's space is the space in between two walls while the courtyard is the space for the public. As the courtyard has a narrow entrance, only people who need privacy or seclusion will be entering the courtyard. In many different ways Manto's interaction with the people in the courtyard space has been allowed but when Manto does not want himself to be apparent he may become completely invisible. The wall has been kept porous at several locations to allow Manto to observe people when they are not aware of his existence. On top of the circular encroached edge of the site is designed an enclosed observation space for Manto which will also act as his rest and rejuvenation space. This is the point in the centre of the *chowk* and this is where the maximum activity will take place, creating an ideal space for Manto to observe people when carrying out their daily routine.





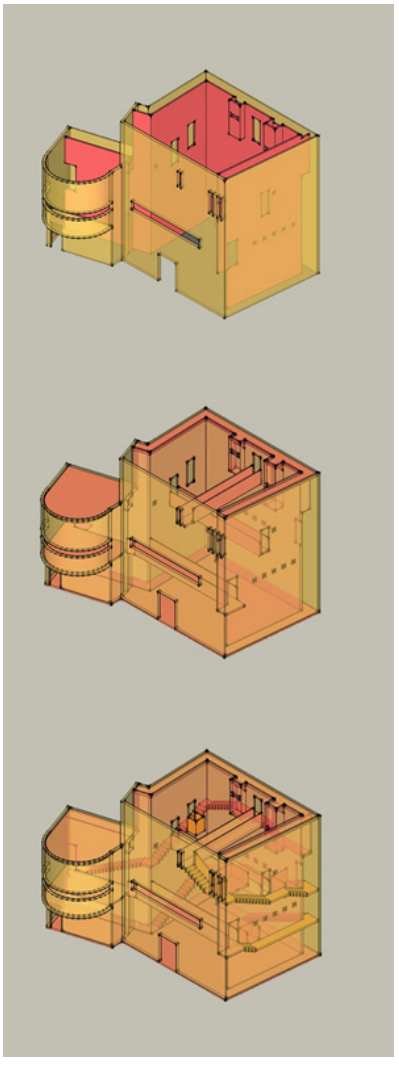


Figure 6 (T/L)

A series of drawings Plan cut at +35'-0". Source: Authors

Figure 7 (T/C)

Section through the proposed building. Source: Authors

Figure 8 (T/R)

Axonometric drawing: top view. Source: Authors

Figure 9 (R)

Transparent Axonometric drawings showing the architectural elements. Source: Authors

Conclusion

The problem of establishing a relationship between architecture and the literary arts is an intense and vigorous exercise. Writers write about the city while architects construct within the city. Writers and architects keep

on referring to each other during the process. The process of writing a piece of literature involves imaging architectural experiences and places where the events take shape, while the process of an architect involves coming up with a narrative to determine how the building will be used in the long run. A simple building such as a house has the ability to become a stage to play many different narratives.

We have chosen not to make a set for Manto's narratives but to take elements of human emotion, which we have attempted to depict in the architecture. As an artist with his paint and brushes depicts through color, shadow and light very complex emotions such as love, suffering and desire, the architect also may depict these emotions through the buildings. Architecture in our society does not address this. Sadly, the architect has become subservient to the physical needs of society and has been kept away from the emotional needs of the people. Architecture has the ability to surround us and to depict emotions in ways that are otherwise not possible. When we walk through a building all our senses are active, our visual senses are very active but also senses such as hearing and touch become active. In architecture it is the sense of a journey and change that is very strong and this sense of journey and change is what becomes very difficult for a visual artist to capture.

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Emerging Trends in Public Art - People Owning their Cities in Pakistan

Sadia Pasha Kamran

Introduction

In a course of 'people' owning their cities in Pakistan, Public Art has become the latest trend. This study aims to define "Public Art" in the contemporary scenario and tests it against the vast variety of Public Art and examples of work done in Pakistan. Through selected public artworks, it also chronicles the period in which artists, administrators, patrons and the audience or the community has reinvented public art in Pakistan. It is apparent that, for better or worse, a new art form has emerged here and is expected to take the stage for the next few decades.

What is Public Art?

In the most popular and common understanding, "Art placed in public places and spaces, open to everyone to use and to enjoy" may be categorized as 'Public Art' but as Hilde Hein would say keeping a tiger in a barnyard would not make it a domestic pet.[1] Placing an art object in a public place would not qualify it to be 'Public Art'. This means that there is more to Public Art than just 'being in a public place' or 'being visually approachable' to the public. The issues of the size, type, aptitude or disposition of the public, the intentions of the artist or the patron, reception of the artwork, in other words the politics, economy, anthropology as well as sociology also become significant here.

To some critics, like Cher Krause Knight, the inter-relationship between 'content and audience' defines Public Art.[2] Such an approach highlights the 'communicational' aspect of an art object. But then, art as a means of communication is not relevant only to Public Art. It has been linked with many other disciplines and genres of art since ages. Thus, could the larger audience endorse the 'publicness' in an artwork as proposed by Mariane Doezena[3] or the emotional and actual consequential effects as suggested by Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff.[4] Patricia Phillip would suggest that Public art is categorized on the basis of "the kind of questions it chooses to ask or address and not because of the accessibility

to the wider audience".[5] C. K. Knight would add to Patricia's definition of Public Art and would hold the quality of artwork and its impact on the audience as essential characteristics of Public Art.[6] Moreover, the term 'Public Art' itself becomes ambiguous in our times when, owing to 'the modernist sensibilities', art is an individual's inquiry or a personal expression. Similarly, the concept of 'public' and 'private' has become flexible in today's societal set-up as we may simply bring the 'public' in to the privacy of our room through a television or a computer screen.

The other issues related to Public Art include whether Public Art should be owned by the public? Or could it be created by the public or simply engaging the public is sufficient. It is to be noted here, that Public Art should not be defined in terms of 'art of the Public, for the Public and by the Public'.

In the local Pakistani scenario, Public Art must also be comprehensible and appealing to the general public. It must be congruent to the prevailing socio-political and religious mindset of the general public. Popular political and religious dogmas, *Islamization* and *Pakistaniat* have made art socially convoluted and politically relevant here. Aesthetic concerns and symbolic meanings that are only coherent to a trained professional or someone who has been to the great museums of art such as the Louvre or the Tate - the affluent and the elite class of society, become secondary here. At the same time such characteristics, that is, simplicity of form and directness of content, usually lend the notions of deterioration of tastes leaving the artwork in the category of PopularArt, Kitsch or Street Art. These terms too, in our culture and especially in the 21st century, demean the artistic expressions and denote the classifications of 'High and Low Art' to an artwork. As a result, the few books written on Pakistani art never include the genre of Public Art rather most artworks that may be classified as 'Public Art' are always discussed as a mural or a sculpture.

Keeping the intrinsic as well as the extrinsic role that art could play in a 'modern' Islamic society like ours, it may be observed that art could fulfil utilitarian, moral and educational functions. Overlooking the subjective approach of 'art for art's sake', it may be used for the good of society, highlighting the civic sense of art.

Public Art in Pakistan

It is to be noted that the history of Public Art in Pakistan is more likely a history of intentions of,

1. Patrons - may that be the State itself, private institutions, personnel or simply the propagandists

2. Artists who could also be the protestors, activists or simply enlightened civil society members

The most common and abundant type of Public Art in Pakistan is 'Art in Architecture'. It so happens that the rulers of particular time periods built architecture mostly for private use and eventually it landed in the public domain as the State and people took ownership of these buildings. In such Public Art, regional, cultural and historical aspects are important. 'Art in Architecture' also includes art as monuments that aim to commemorate an event, a hero or mark a loss or tragedy, allowing the public to celebrate or grieve together on shared experiences: for example, the Minar-e-Pakistan and the Summit Minar in Lahore or the APS Memorial in Peshawar. Murals are also included in this category of Art in Architecture. The greatest example may be the *The Saga of Labor* by our national artist, Sadequain at the State Bank, Karachi. According to Quddus Mirza, Sadequain's murals are Public Art as "he never made a distinction or segregation between his audiences, so his work regardless of its size, material or place, remained relevant for his wider audience".[7] The other example is the site-specific sculpture of Zahoor-ul-Akhlaq at Mangla Dam, which to Yamini Chaudhri is not an example of Plop (Plonk) art rather it may be critiqued as art "formally and aesthetically…We know what kind of work it is, what its means of production are, and what histories of form precede it".[8]

Under the category of Street Art comes the famous graffiti campaigns in Karachi and Lahore which seek to eradicate unpleasant wall messages and communicate a discourse on peace and cultural solidarity.[9]

More recently, as observed by Nilofer Farrukh, "public space in Pakistan is a contested site on which the state, extremists and civil society were laying claim", thus, "the public art [in Pakistan] is geared more towards empowering people and artists which has entered the realm of activism".[10] Be it Asim Butt's mural at Abdullah Shah Ghazi's

Figure 1

Graffiti, Asim Butt, 2007, Image Courtesy asimbutt.pk

mazar which invited the appreciation and rejection of Public Art at the same time or the eject and stop signs (Figure 1) and the arrows sprouting on the streets which introduced the genre of subversive graffiti. Butt's graffiti was spurred on by the imposition of emergency in Pakistan in November 2007. However, the message was not singular, nor was it a reaction to a single event. While the eject sign literally referred back to the eject button or eject seat, it was, Asim says, a nudge to "eject the military from the presidency". "The sign could also be a red house (parliament dominated by the left) or simply a curious shape that reappeared in different parts of the city around the time of the emergency".[11] Artists also took a "Clean Karachi" initiative to deplete the city's walls of hatred and vulgarity; a new visual vocabulary has been introduced to the people as well as the city itself.

Faraar Gallery in Karachi came up with the idea of *Jumma Hafta Art Bazar* (JHAB) as a 'Peace Niche Public Art Project' and claimed that they "simply wished to cultivate a new audience for the arts. Make art available and accessible to all". Later, in early 2013 they set up a *Pyaar Pop-Up Shop*. That was an idea born on the closing night of JHAB 2, to fulfil the organizers' aspiration to do something *Rangeen*, something *Shouqeen*.

Another public art project worth mentioning is *Art for Humanity*. It aimed to strengthen the relationship between the artists and society. This project, the brain child of a faculty member, Farida Batool, ushered the beginnings of a new elective subject at the National College of Arts, Lahore. The project strives to improve the conditions and functionality at the Mayo Hospital Cancer Ward. Similar concerns were shown by the faculty and students of Habib University, Karachi who set up *Numaish Karachi* – Urban Intervention in Public Space in 2015 with a key concern to create an ambience of social interaction in Karachi through *Numaish* by stimulating healthy exchanges among the public. The curator, Saima Zaidi claimed that "while we were busy in the launch of this project, we realized this is what people want".[12]

Figure 2

Hum Jo Tareek Raho Ma Mare Gai, 2015, Awami Art Collective (AAC). Image courtesy, AAC.

In 2015, Awami Art Collective (AAC), an initiative of some like-minded artists of Lahore engaged "not just connoisseurs of artworks and art critics but people from all walks of life in an act of mourning and remembering those whose ruthless killings have been forgotten in the fabric of time".[13] Their project was called *Hum Jo Tareek Raho Ma Mare Gai* (Figure 2). It was the time when public spaces dedicated to art and culture in Pakistan were restricted due to security reasons. As part of their core ideology, Awami Art Collective considered it important to intervene in the public space to promote peaceful coexistence and celebration of diversity.

Similar ideas of bringing art to the public is shared by Lahore Biennial Foundation (LBF). Rashid Rana, the founder member believes that they "want to break institutional boundaries, reach out to as many people as possible and encourage platforms where dialogue can go on".[14] Rana set up an installation *My East is Your West* in Liberty Market, Lahore. It replicated Palazzo Benzon in Venice. This space in Lahore featured a video projection of live feed from a mirrored space in Venice. The backdrop was the same, yet one viewed completely different faces and activities on either side of the world (Figure 3). It was "in one sense a replication and yet a dislocation of space". Many people visited it on a daily basis and experienced something that caters to the definition of cutting edge contemporary art. LBF and British Council also sponsored a project, *Rooted*, a program of permanent artworks for Bagh-e-Jinnah

Figure 3

Inside view of the installation My East is your West, 2015, LBF, Image courtesy Lahore Biennial Foundation (LBF)

(Lawrence Gardens), as part of wider Twinned Cities framework between Glasgow and Lahore promoted by the British Council. Most seen and experienced art projects of LBF are the decked up bus stands in the city which replaced the old shabby structures with brightly colored and designed ones, adding charm to the overall landscape of the town (Figure 4).

Figure 4

Where the Bus Stands, 2016, LBF, Image courtesy Lahore Biennial Foundation (LBF)

Conclusion

Art is fully public when it extends emotional and intellectual access to its viewer with an aim to initiate a discourse. It is public if it cannot be purchased by a museum or private buyer. Some public arts scream loudly in a particular surrounding while others make their presence felt in a more relaxing and romantic manner. There is no popularity contest attached to Public Art. A fan club is not an issue. In the absence of any program for art in Public Places, Public Art had not been the favored discipline of art and artists had been avoiding the label of being a 'public artist'. They would prefer to be known as artists involved with "acceptable genres", for example, installations, performance art, art activism, contextual or social practices. Quddus Mirza rightly observes that "they [artists] enjoy great fame and prestige as successful

artists after marketing their works through galleries and dealers but feel compelled to do public art works as part of their 'civic duty'".[15] In other worlds, Public Art shares the characteristic of other finer genres of art but the notion of public always remains central to Public Art.

The scope of Public Art in Pakistan is vast, overwhelming and may be far-reaching. The recent projects that implicated community or public engagement are promising and announce the revival of an art form that would have a positive impact on the overall art scenario. The artist community and intelligentsia, while bridging the gap between the elite class that has always been considered the major producers as well as consumers of fine arts, have started playing the role of mediators of social discourses bringing awareness of all kinds among the masses, enhancing the visual literacy while allowing them to own their cities.

Endnotes

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9. In Lahore, the project was headed, for the second time, by the Message Welfare Trust Organization and Master and Nippon Paints. In Karachi, the graffiti campaign, titled 'Re-imagining the Walls of Karachi', was directed by the 'I Am

Karachi' initiative and is the first project of its kind in the city. Despite differing trends in street art, the dominant message promoted by both campaigns has been one of peace and the promotion of cultural diversity and traditions of Pakistan. Saman Tariq Malik – *Youlin Magazine*, *A Cultural Journal,* July 24, 2015. Available at http://www.youlinmagazine.com/story/street-art-in-lahore-and-karachi/Mzk3#sthash.8HrOXXc0.dpbs

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Being and the City

Mehwish Abid

You creep inside me
Without a warning, without hesitation
I ask you
Who are you?
Then I forget, again and again
You walk beside me
Holding my hand, embracing my waist
I ask you
Where are you from?
Then I forget, again and again
You work with me
Tying my hands, Opening my mind
I ask you
How do you do it?
Then I forget, again and again
You sleep next to me
Embracing my bones, occupying my dreams
I ask you
Why are you with me?
Then I forget. Again and again
Sometimes I run,
Towards you.
Sometimes I run,
From you.
Each time I forget, again and again[1]

Introduction

The general area of research is the existence of being and its relation to cities. The question is whether urban spaces have a sense of life that pre-exists. Its further exploration is the link between cities and inhabitants. The expression 'phenomenology' may be formulated in Greek and it means, as explained by Martin Heidegger, "to let that which shows itself be seen" by itself in the very way of research. He explained that the term informs us of the How? With which? What? It means that anything that is up for discussion must be treated by exhibiting it directly and demonstrating it directly. Heidegger explained if the question of being is to have its own history made transparent, then its hardened tradition must be loosened up and the concealments which it has brought about must be dissolved.[2] Designing an experience is the unique responsibility of an architect and an urbanist. The theory acknowledges this responsibility by implementing sensory design in order to establish experiential architectural/urban space. Initially, phenomenology demonstrated inbuilt environment was considered as the manipulation of space, material, and light and shadows. It considered that the listed created a memorable encounter through an impact on the human senses. It opened a wide door towards various new thoughts of materials and technology.

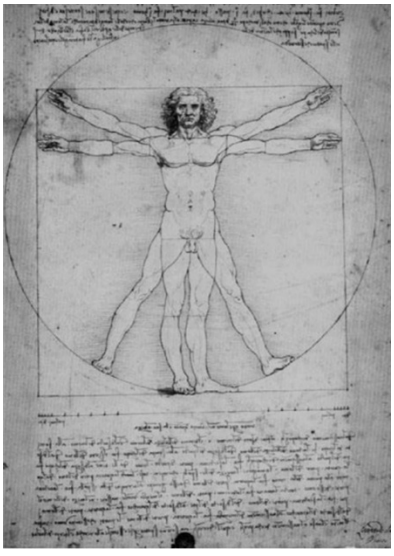

Figure 1

Leonardo Da Vinci, Vitruvian Man (c.1490 AD)

The current research looks into the understanding of the phenomenon of "Being" from the perspective of experience. The arrival at the topic is through a personal experience. About five years ago, the researcher had a peculiar experience of falling from the fourth floor of a building that eventually changed her perspective of the experience of spaces. During the fall, there were experiences of heightened senses and continuous struggle to hold onto something to survive. There is a vivid recollection of all the sounds heard, minutest details of things seen, while in search of a ledge on which to hold. Concisely, the experience was taken as a natural reflex to save the body in the given

present time. In its purity, it was a miracle and an unadulterated form of experience. It evoked immense fear, to the extent where one becomes despondently optimistic, all for survival. Similarly, anyone who is lost in the mountains, in a mist or rain, will witness the fear it evokes. In the face of these elements, human powerlessness is sharpened. Adam Sharr argues that catastrophes and natural disasters also evoke the same feelings harmoniously in all.[3]

The Element of Experience in Space

Mallgrave suggests that Alberti became the first architect who largely formed the theory of architecture. He wrote books on sculpture and artistic outlook. His work elevated painting above the status of artisanship. Alberti has explained the use of geometry, that is, a divine rule that he relates to the divine creator. For him, it is the humanization of space. He developed his theories around the parameters of the human body. His work consisted of *Depictura* - proportions of the human body and *Historia* – commands; the artist through his creativity produced a work that captivated the spectator for a long while with a certain pleasure and emotion.[4] Vitruvius' work also signifies an exact system of the correspondence to the likeness of a well-formed human being. Mallgrave discussed Leonardo's *Vitruvian Man* not just as an isolated drawing but part of a larger group of astronomical studies while Palladio expressed architecture in terms strikingly similar to Alberti's notion, that is, the humanist worldview.[5] This background is essential to understand how this facet of experience in space has evolved over time. In the later era, Le Roy explains that the renaissance architecture/urbanism has moved towards sensuous forms. From the humanist architecture based on human proportions, the trend shifted towards physiological experiences of space. According to him, architecture becomes the constructed form of neurological exploitation.[6] Mallgrave has further shed light on John Locke's theory that the judgment of beauty or good proportion is thus relative and based on the user's memory.[7] On other hand, Krell analyzes and compares the works of Plato, Kant, Hegel and Heidegger on the subject of "being".[8] He sees in the projects of these thinkers a growing liberation of chronic space from time, culminating in an ecstatic interpretation of human spatiality. He explains that ecstatic spatiality is not familiar.[9] The above-mentioned scholars have discussed "un-home-like" spaces in their writings. This is what the research paper

will focus on in the perspective of cities. The important point to note is how the shift has taken place from the human being, the God-like figure for whom the design should work, to someone who is a user of a larger system where he is exposed to various aspects of experience and a sense of being, which will be explained later in the paper.

Krell summarized Heidegger's early work in relation to time and space: it is "time" and not "space" that is the ultimate "horizon" for any sense that the "being" might have. He explains that "the present" is the true sense of being in relation to time and space.[10] It is in human nature that one keeps thinking of the future or the past and ignoring every passing moment of the present.[11] A space may play an important role in bringing a person to their present, truest form. Krell explains that according to Heidegger, human existence for "being" is, not at home; that is to say that the being is in a state of eternal journey and unrest.

With the success of Gestalt Psychology (1971), Norberg-Schulz followed Martin Heidegger's phenomenon of being and defined space in six types (pragmatic, perceptual, cognitive, abstract, existential and architectural). He introduced two other phenomenological studies, 'meaning in western architecture' (1975) and 'Genius Loci', towards the phenomenology of architecture (1979), whereby concretizing both of these works, and exploring further insight in the sensory and emotive terms of architecture and built environment.[12] On the other hand, Frampton explored Heidegger's theories of 'being' after studying works of Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse. He was enthusiastic about the concept of "place" by Heidegger in 1970. Frampton explored the poetics of tectonics in much more detail in his later work. Mallgrave suggests that until this date Pallasma had explored the phenomenology of architecture and urbanism in a more encompassing way. He concluded that one feels pleasure and protection when the body discovers its resonance in space. Sensory experience between architectural/urban elements should be complementary and critical. Such setting revives emotion-evoking design through space, material and light. Be it compositions and beliefs of Alberto Perez-Gomez, Steven Holl or Peter Zumthor, the main approach to design is towards the management of space, material, light and shadow. The utilization of interstitial space, flexible program and development of fluid, determines the space.

> Fore ground, middle ground and distant view, together with all the subjective qualities of materials and light, form the basis of "complete perception". (Steven Holl)[13]

Scholars theorize that the overall image and aura that is created by the three dimensional reality, forms the bigger reality. Peter Zumthor in his publication, titled 'Atmospheres' articulates architectural atmospheres as "this singular density and mood, this feeling of presence, well-being, harmony and beauty ... under whose spell I experience what I otherwise would not experience in precisely this way".[14]

Atmosphere is also a key term in phenomenology. Following Hermann Schmitz, it is not one of the five senses but the corporeal feeling with which atmospheres are by nature experienced, namely by their tendency to affect the human being. It is largely driven from Heidegger's work that the user is his present. Once his senses are awakened, he leaves the research in shaping towards as to how one may induce such "present-ness" in the user. According to Zeki, explained by Mallgrave in his work, the brain is only interested in the permanent properties of an object; the brain's selection process works this way. Mallgrave speaks of Zeki's exploration of works of many artists such as Mondrian and Kazimar Malevich, regarding them as neurologists. Mallgrave's research probes the works of Alberti, Frank Gehry and Steven Holl for visual ambiguity in architecture.[15] Buszaki describes "representation" of external reality as a continual adjustment of the brain's self-generated patterns by outside influences, a process called "experiences" by psychologists.[16]

One's home is usually a place of familiarity and comfort. Since the world is a temporary place, Man thinks of every space as transitory on a larger scale of his belief. However, homes become to an extent a place to settle in, at least, for a lifetime.[17] There is an ease of habit in the monotony it offers. It is human nature that our senses of sight, smell, touch, taste and hearing are driven towards the uncommon attributes of the surroundings. The human senses have heightened sensitivity in unfamiliar and "un-homely" environments, allowing the perceptions to be stimulated.

The Concepts of Being that are Entrenched in the Cities/Spaces

Heidegger argues that people may occupy buildings but not feel at home, he by this refers to the "nearness" that he discussed in his

essay, *'The Thing'*. He referred to the mass building production by a distant architect for an unknown stranger. He regarded this as a product of consumer driven society.[18] He suggested that a building is not merely a means and a way towards a dwelling. To build in itself is already to dwell.[19] He then also refers to the concept of the making of a room or a space which he pleases is an immersive and inclusive act that signifies of "being in the world"[20]. He argues that with being in the world, space is inherently found in the spatiality and this is a remarkable sign for the access of space, to enhance cognition. The concept lies in conceiving the building and dwelling as one but not as separate entities.[21] He persists that it is based on the usage which makes it architecture or not. Sharr gives the example of a table as a building and its usage as dwelling. He also suggested that it is due to the vested interests of various people involved in making the house that it forgoes the element of building and dwelling.[22] The philosopher gives away his manifold theory that our cities are like jugs that hold in them life which is the true essence and that shape does not matter. It is the character of cities to inhabit, sustain and hold among them life.

Elements that Harness Experience

The overall image and the aura that is created by three dimensional reality forms the bigger reality. The criterion developed by the above research includes scale, lighting/light, journey, threshold and color.

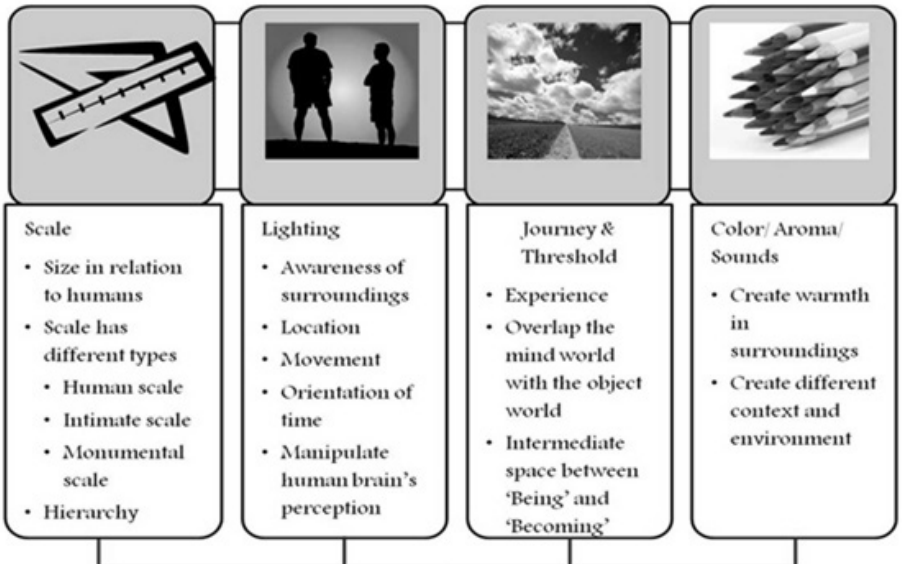

Figure 2

Factors that aid in evaluating the built environment and process of perception/ integration.

Gernot Bohme continues that corporeal feeling not only allows us to feel something but to feel our sensitive state and to be put in a certain mood. Considering atmosphere as a strategic tool to re-structure spatial experience, through its immaterial features and transient qualities and a tool to constitute the aura of an object - a room - then it may be employed to design a streetscape with the most ephemeral of means – color, smell, light, darkness, texture, imagination, transition and play.[23]

Scale

As per observation, scale is the size in relation to humans and the world around us. Human scale is used for houses. Another subcategory of the human scale is the intimate scale. It is a scale smaller than normal. There are other types of scales such as monumental scale, which may be described as impressive, such as government buildings.

Figure 3

The Air Shard of War Museum by Daniel Libeskind. Photograph by author.

Light

There is a continuous human need to be sure of its surroundings. It is the human body's natural urge to know all the necessary surrounding information.

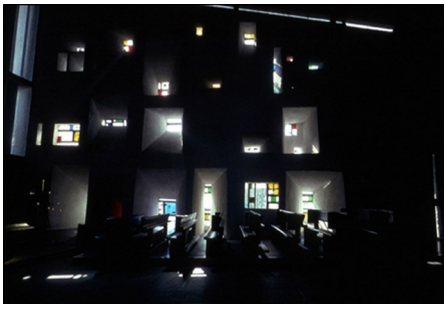

Figure 4

Le Corbusier in the Cathedral of Notre Dame du Haut, France. Photograph by author

Even in sleep, the body needs an awareness of its location and movement. Lam M. C. discusses various aspects of lighting and its perception. He explains there is constant need for the body to know its horizontal for orientation.[24] Lighting plays an important role for positioning of the time of day. Light is an important factor that can manipulate perception. It is due to lighting exposure or non-exposure that various shades, shadows and meaningful interaction of spaces are created. There is a whole range of complementary sensory perceptions which are registered by the Labilea body; the intensity of light,

darkness, heat and cold; the feeling of humidity; aroma of material; the palpable texture of masonry and the relative inertia of the body as it transverses the floor, the resonances and acoustic quality; all add up to the Genius Loci of the space.[25] Therefore, lighting enhances the effect of the spatial aura of the human body and the mind experiencing it. Colors and materials play a vital role in the surroundings.

Journey and Threshold

Figure 5

Riverside Museum by Zaha Hadid Architects and Museum of Liverpool by Architects 3XN. Photographs by author.

A traveller's personal experience is the reflection of their participation in the shared culture. The journey and threshold mark the change of one place to another. The intermediate space between "Being" and "Becoming" is the journey. There are various methodologies that may be applied to experience the above. The thresholds also hold in themselves stories and narratives of life that unfold once they are tread upon.

Methodology of the Research

The project is envisioned to look into the city with the gathered research and analysis. The methodology for the research is mainly through the historical literature available and its critique. The field trips to the site are driven through the notion of 'Derive', that means drifting. It is an age-old situationist practice. It involves frisky-positive conduct and awareness of psych geographical effects[26], and is thus quite different from the classic notions of journey or a stroll that Heidegger had indicated in his famous essay of mountain walk. However, it still has the capacity to document nature and its characteristics in a systematic manner. In a Derive, one or more persons, during a certain period, drop their relations, their work and leisure activities, and all their other usual motives for movement and action, and let themselves be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they

find there. Chance is a less important factor in this activity than one might think. The chosen site, Rang Mahal, was visited eight times. The data gathered is subjective, in perspective to the existing research.

The mobile application, "Map My Walk", is used to document the walk and movement on the site.

Figure 6

Streets, Shah Alami Road towards Rang Mahal Chowk. Photograph by author.

Rang Mahal and Kinari Bazaar, Lahore (Critique and Analysis)

Going through the narrow streets of the Walled City *(Androon Sheher)*, one realises that there are many spots, areas and doors that had life existing in and around them, keeping those areas alive and breathing.

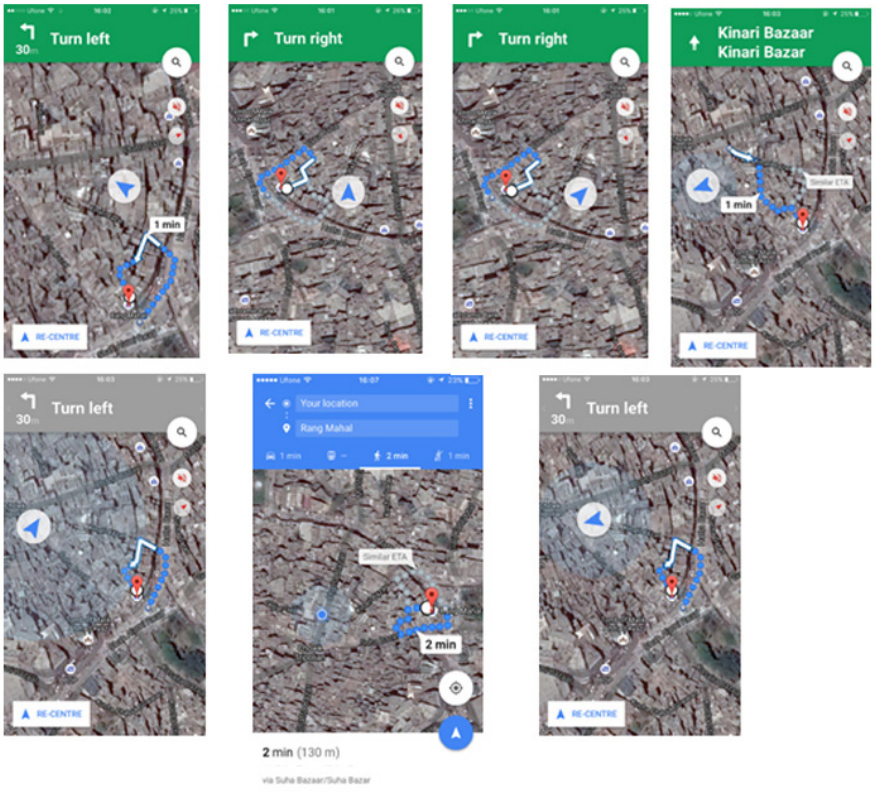

Figure 7

Walk map via "Map My walk".

Figure 8

Side Alley of Government Rang Mahal High School. Photograph by author.

The unoccupied spaces cast shadows on the habited road network, half occupied by the shadows of past actions, half by the lives of the present but are vacant inside. Their experience changes as per changes in time and Concern.[27] 'Concern' is the temporal meaning which "being in the world"[28] has for human beings and it is the time configuration of human life which is an identical concern that human beings have for the world. Warnock argued that it is the temporality of the world that establishes the relationship which human beings have with the world, which is through concern. Figure 8 shows a small niche that runs along the Government Rang Mahal High School wall, abandoned and reclaimed by the pupils of the city. A repairman is using this space as his alcove for livelihood. This is the immersive character of the "Androon" city street that has allowed the user to mold it according to his wishes. The space is sustaining the user and his tasks. The element of light (sun) that aid this swift dwelling is friendly. It is a narrow street that shades the opposite side. It is the little things in life that give temporary relief.[29] It is the presence of life in those surroundings of complete abandonment.

The theory suggests that disciplined 'openness' is needed to hear and see in detail the veracity of the surrounding world.[30] Walking through the streets of Rang Mahal, one finds little shops 'claimed' and 'personalised'. They are owned to be given out to someone else, while in reality, these nooks and corners belong to no one.

Figure 9

Side alley of Government Rang Mahal High School. Photograph by author

'Nearness', a relation in something that one feels due to proximity and it is this characteristic that one is drawn towards.[31] It was explained in relation to the objects of use. However, one may infer the characteristic for cities also. The side alley of Government Rang Mahal

High School engages the user due to its ideal location that signifies 'nearness'. This one niche has been fitted with a small stall of box boards and is used by the repairman for utensils and jewellery as his shop (Figure 9).

Heidegger believed that the human presence is the most significant part of the built environment. He also thought that it was one of the most neglected topics. Thinkers like Hegel and Schopenhauer perpetuated the debate in terms of the phenomenology that Heidegger responded to. It is most important to understand that Heidegger summarised his writings with the term "place". By this he did not mean only those spaces where he himself thought but also the importance of thought placed in particular contexts.[32] He insisted that it is the reasonableness of everyday life which first brings humans into the contact of life, be it the physical or the intellectual realm.[33] The building in return also has a vivid effect on the dwellers. He further suggests that the inhabitants' lives are so much so that they are configured by the building. The narrow streets of Kinari Bazar give glimpses of the sky with its patchy corrugated ceiling. It also leads the researcher into another time zone by just viewing the details of the structure above. Sharr writes that for Heidegger the form of a building could be the informer of the ethos of those individuals. The details of the building may be read for their inspirations and ideas.[34] Similarly, these streets hold and sustain in them life. Heidegger's essay, *The Thing* explores the quality of sustaining as mentioned before. Heidegger suggested the ability of the jug to pour, it is an intentional feature. He related all this with the

Figure 10

Kinari Bazar, view from the bazar at the ground floor. Photograph by author.

empty state of the jug. For him, this example served as a metaphor to the rest of the world as to how it holds and contains everything within. He credited the same role of buildings in his essay, *Building and Dwelling*.[35]

Moreover, the figure of the building deals in presence as well as absence. The residences, shops, mosques and vacant schools show the presence of the inhabitants in their absence. The raw materials used are the ones which are readily available. The urban pattern also adapted to the local microclimate. The narrow streets were made out of the necessity to provide shade and security to one another. The once made residence had adapted the purpose of being bazars. No longer do people only want to live there but also turn it into a space for earning their livelihood. This research further raises questions of design of public spaces dependant on usage or aesthetics by a distant designer of sensory perception but also of imagination, thought, emotion, desire, volition and action.

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Wood Craft and the History of the Chinioti Artisans

Meeza Ubaid

History of Chiniot

> "...these works by unknown carpenters are completely satisfactory. [...] The survival of so much executive skill, to say nothing of so much design, under discouraging conditions, is one of several difficult questions relating to Punjab craftsmanship." (Kipling 1888b: 69)

Chiniot is a city in the Punjab province of Pakistan and is the capital of the district. It is located on the left bank of the Chenab River on the Sargodha to Faisalabad Road. The population of Chiniot is 2 million. This city is famous for its furniture industry and the labor force of this area is especially skilled in woodwork.

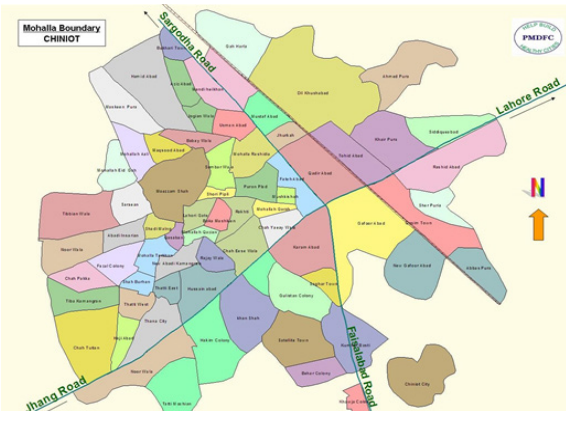


Figure 1

Map of Chiniot. Source: Tehsil Municipal Authority

Chiniot is one of the very old towns of the Punjab. It existed long before the British annexed the province in 1849. Chiniot's recorded history may be tracked from 326 B.C.[1]

During the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, Alexander attacked Chiniot and the town came into the possession of the Greeks. However, the victory was short-lived as the area was taken back by the family of Chandragupta Maurya. In 471 A.D., White Huns came to India and took over various areas of the Punjab, including Chiniot. In the same year, Chandra, belonging to the family of Maharaja Bekriya Jeet, provided the army to fight the White Huns and succeeded in getting back the areas. He died in the process. A mandir (temple) was built in his memory in Chiniot which was later replaced by a castle for Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir.

The first Muslim ruler of Chiniot was Dawood Tai, who ruled for two years. In 1218 A.D., the Ghulaman family ruled over Chiniot. The ruler of Bhera and Khushab, Machi Khan was killed by the ruler of Chiniot. Machi Khan's sister, Channi, put on male attire and led her army towards Chiniot to avenge her brother's death. The armies met on the bank of the River Chenab. A horrifying war was fought and Channi was the victor. The town was badly affected, therefore, Channi ordered it to be rebuilt, leading some historians to believe that the city was built by Rani Chandan.

After several attacks on the town, Zaheer-ud-Din Babar ruled over Chiniot till 1540 A.D. After defeating Humayun, Sher Shah Suri took over the city and several developments were witnessed by the inhabitants. During the time of the Mughals, the town was considered of great value. Starting from the reign of Jalal-ud-Din Akbar to Bahadur Shah Zafar, Chiniot remained under the direct control of the Government of Delhi and seldom under the control of the local leaders.

During the reign of Jehangir, Ilm-ud-Din Ansari from Chiniot was appointed as the Governor of the Punjab and the people of Chiniot gained access to the Royal Court. The town of Chiniot enjoyed its most prosperous time during the reign of Shah Jehan in the 17th century.

Nawab Sadullah Khan Tahim was a Chinioti physician who later became the governor of Lahore and the minister of Emperor Shah Jehan. He was granted the title of Wazir Khan by the Mughal Emperor. He was in charge of constructing the Wazir Khan Mosque in Lahore in 1634-1635 and later the Shahi Mosque in Chiniot in the 17th century.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh attacked Chiniot in 1809 A.D. and conquered it. At this time, Mian Sultan Khoja was the administrator of the castle and Chiniot's army. Mian Sultan Khoja defended the castle despite defeat. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was deeply impressed by his loyalty and awarded him the land of Kalo Wal and Changer Wala, which had primarily been in the custody of the Rehans. This is how the Khojas of Chiniot became powerful.

After enjoying a glorious period during the Mughal Era, the town suffered from the Durrani invasion and later became part of the Sikh Empire from 1748 until 1848. The town belonged to the British administration from its annexation in 1849 and Hamilton was appointed as the first Deputy Commissioner until the Partition in 1947.

Not everyone accepted the English as their rulers. While some families made peace in the circumstances, there was the family of Saadat Gilani and the people of the Basaan Tribe who fought them continuously. The families are still remembered for their bravery.[2]

In the 19th century, a number of apparently skilled woodworkers lived and worked in Chiniot, who caught the attention of the colonial administration. The combination of the artisanal heritage, the existence of a contemporary large-scaled carpentry and woodcraft cluster and the phenomenon of carpentry being the prevalent occupation in the city, makes Chiniot an interesting case for a historical study of the socio-economic conditions of carpenters in society.

Chiniot now consists of thirty mohallas (neighborhoods). The bazars are alive with people. The town has numerous streets and lanes which facilitate the people moving around the whole city within hours. Now the people of Chiniot have adopted various professions which have greatly improved their standard of living. Teenage boys are mostly seen working in furniture-making and handicrafts. Agriculture is also improving day by day raising the economic graph of the people. Chiniot is a flourishing city. Its frame and status in woodwork and handicrafts have influenced even the remotest parts of Pakistan. This paper is an attempt to study the history of Chiniot, the lives of the artisans in the past as well as in the present and the caste systems that have prevailed.

Architectural Marvels of Chiniot

Shahi Masjid

The Shahi Masjid was built by Nawab Saad UlIah Khan (1595-1655) during the regime of Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658). It was built between 1646-1655 A.D. It is a stone structure with intricate stone carving and is one of the great marvels of Mughal architecture.

Figure 2

Collage of Shahi Mosque. Photographs by author.

Shrine of Shah Burhaan

There is a mausoleum of Hazrat Pir Shah Burhaan-ud-Din, which is situated in Mohalla Shah Burhaan. This is another piece of Mughal architecture. Its construction began in 1061 A.H. and took almost 3 years to complete.

Figure 3

Images of Shrine of Shah Burhaan. Photographs by author.

Umar Hayat Mahal

Umar Hayat Mahal is a masterpiece of indigenous art and architecture, located in the center of Chiniot city. It is a great attraction for local and foreign tourists. This four-storied palace is adorned with unique art work and is one of the most artistic buildings in the architectural history of the subcontinent.

Sheikh Umar Hayat decided to construct a palace for his son in 1923. The palace's building is perhaps the last of Mughal architectural style. There is unique carving on the doors and windows and the *jharokas* (balconies) reflect a color of their own. The roofs, balconies, stairways, terrace and the stucco designs make a perfect interior. The façade of the building is decorated with a fine inlay of bricks, the dazzling shine of marble and picturesque shades help it rank among the great palaces of the Mughal era landlords.

Figure 4

Umar Hayat Mahal. Photographs by author.

Wood Craft and the Artisans in Chiniot

The carving skills of Chinioti artisans caught the attention of the British:

> "Chiniot [...] has long had a reputation for its carpentry and wood-carving. [...] The design of this really admirable work, though ornate and tending, like many other branches of modern Indian art, to excessive minuteness, is still remarkably pure and good. The carving is sharp and clear." (PG 1884: 129)

Figure 5

A wooden carved door (left) and its sketch by the carpenter Pirjha (right). Photograph by author.

In Pakistan, woodcarving dates back to the Gandhara civilization, which is famous for its rock and wood carved sculptures. With the passage of time, this art has changed its shape and been influenced by the regional patterns of artwork that depict the cultural and traditional local designs. This art is being practised in various regions of Pakistan, including Swat, Gujrat and Chiniot, which stand out as the most famous producers of woodcarved pieces that include wall hangings, window panes, doors and indoor furniture.

Giving an overview of Punjabi wood manufacturing, O'Dwyer concluded about Chiniot: "The work done at Chiniot is perhaps the most refined as well as the most artistic carving executed in the Punjab" (1890: 35). Their work may be seen not only as architectural features of several havelis of the Khatri and Khoja traders but also as tazias made in the 1920s, which are still used for the Moharram processions (Abbas 2007).

The largest of four antique traders in Chiniot speaks openly about his kind of work and his dilemma:

> "I was born in Chiniot and learnt the antique trade from my father. During the last decades, I have seen and sold the most beautiful wood-carved doors, frames, jharokas and old furniture. I estimate already 90 percent of historic wooden architectural structures have left Chiniot. If the trade continues at the same pace, nothing will be left in 10 or latest 20 years. It

hurts my heart to see how my customers buy our rich heritage for just a few rupees. I feel guilty because I sell the soul of my own city. But what should I do? If I quit my job another one will conduct the trade in my place and I will be a poor man."

Analyzing Furniture Production in Chiniot

A vast amount of woodwork produced presently in Chiniot is furniture. Contrary to the past, wooden architectural features are no longer produced. The city has a good reputation throughout the country as the center for high-quality wooden furniture. Many customers desire furniture "made in Chiniot" with its typical woodcarvings. One may say that the name of the city functions as a brand.

Emergence of Furniture

In Chiniot, earlier there were earlier three families involved in wood-carving: the Pirjhas, Saharan and Khuda Yar Kay. Later, many new families became involved in the craft. The artisans mostly worked on architectural features with ornate decorations on prestigious buildings for wealthy customers, such as doors (*chaukats*), doorways, pillars, balconies (*jharokas*) and the typical Punjabi lattice work (*pinjra*).

Some patterns are designed in symmetrical and a-symmetrical order

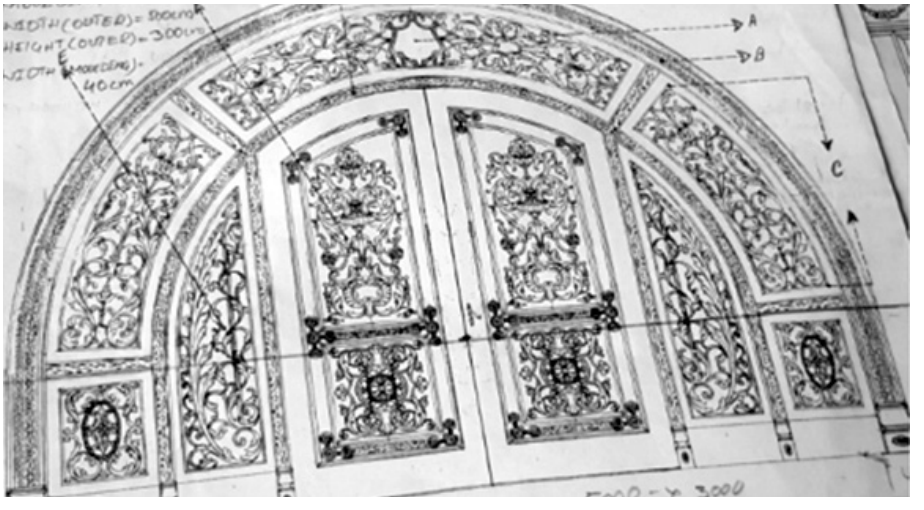


Figure 6

Symmetrical patterns involving geometrical shapes. Photograph by Author. Sketch by Ali Akbar Pirjha.

involving the geometrical shapes in clusters or in simple ornamental shapes.

Floral designs involve motifs that are carved in floral patterns involving various kinds of flowers and veins spreading on the whole wooden area. These designs are complex and are carved with delicacy.

Animal motifs involve the carved designs of various animals in several positions. Elephants, horses and peacocks are usually carved, descending from the Mughal traditions.

Figure 7

Floral patterns involving various kinds of flowers and veins spreading on the whole wooden area. Source: Author

Some pieces are designed using several motifs together: floral patterns, geometrical designs as well as animal figures. These designs are more complex and require greater effort on the part of the artist. Pieces designed specifically for religious places such as mosques, shrines and cemeteries involve carvings of Holy verses. Designs inspired from Muslim artwork are exquisitely carved over pillars, window panes, domes and roof interiors.

Figure 8

Peacock patterns involving various kinds of floral patterns. Photograph by Author

However, the cultural contact between skilled crafts and the British yielded not only new styles in architecture but also new styles of interior decoration and furnishing for urban consumers; the architectural wood-carving "has managed to maintain its purity in spite of decline" (Maffey 1903: 11). By the end of the 19th century, all the new palaces of the former princely states were now furnished.

In the Mayo School of Art, Kipling and his students developed new types of furniture with hybrid designs that combined European with Indian characteristics (Naazish Ata-Ullah, 1998)

Today, the main product produced in Chiniot is wooden bedroom furniture comprising of a double bed, two bedside tables and one dressing table. Very often, the back of a bed, the taj, is adorned with richly carved features like floral or geometrical patterns. The other commonly produced types of furniture are sofa sets for the living room composed of two one-seater sofas, one three-seat sofa and one coffee table. Minor products include chairs, household and religious accessories, toys, low chairs (*peehra*) and charpois among others. Most of the designs are copied from the catalogues brought by the customers. The standards have collapsed because this profession is no longer limited to a few families in Chiniot. Instead, now a major proportion of the Chinioti population is involved in the craft, hence resulting in poorer quality work[3]

The vast majority of wood used is Sheesham, which is a convenient material for wood-carving due to its hard consistency. Another wood resource is Kikar, which is less sturdy and therefore cheaper.

Caste Characteristics

The term "Caste" is derived from the Portuguese word, "Casto", meaning pure or chaste. This term has been exploited by the former Portuguese colonial rulers who tried to describe a phenomenon of social segregation and structure in the Indian subcontinent through it.

"Caste" is commonly used to describe the two phenomena of *jati* and *varna*. *Jati* refers to one's birth group and can identify people precisely. The meaning of varna corresponds to the meaning of color. Taking a reference from the *Rig Veda*, it is described that there are four *varna* that emerged from primordial man *Purusha*: the *Brahman* (priests) emanated from the mouth (color: white), the *Kshatriya* (warriors) from the shoulders (red), the *Vaishya* (merchants) from the thighs (yellow) and the *Shudra* (servants) from the feet (black).[4]

The British Use of the Caste

The British administration wanted to expand their social knowledge of India in order to have stronger control and surveillance over the people as it was not easy to control such a large population. This was especially in the decades following the Great Mutiny (War of Independence) 1857. Therefore, the caste system was incorporated in the everyday life by the British administration, primarily to attain their imperial objectives. Vast amounts of statistical and ethnographic data were produced. In 1891, the first all-India census was carried out. The formation of this British census fortified the caste system and consolidated the pre-existing social stratification of the Indian society (Böck and Rao 1995: 123).

Figure 9

HHierarchical categories of selected Punjabi Castes as seen by Ibbetson 1883

Caste Name (Jati)	Caste category used by Ibbetson (1883)
Syed	Priestly caste
Khatri **Khoja**	Mercantile caste
Rajput **Jat** **Arain**	Agricultural and landowning castes
Machhi **Tarkhan** **Lohar** **Kumar**	Menials
Julahe **Mochi**	Leatherworkers and weavers
Changar	Vagrants and criminals
Mirasi	Gypsies
Musalli **Chuhra**	Sweepers

Ibbetson's Perception of "Castes and Tribes" In the Punjab

Sir Denzil Ibbetson was the British census officer and later appointed as the Governor of Punjab. He published the first official colonial ethnography of the Punjab in 1883. It depicts the "castes" and "tribes" in a remarkably detailed and comprehensive way.

The Syeds are on top as they assert they are direct descendants of the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) - the last prophet of the Muslims and therefore named a "priestly class". The Syeds of Chiniot acquired large amounts of landholdings. They had been favored by the British government and were consequently able to acquire many political positions (such as *Zaildar*)

The main occupation of the Khatri was trade and as Ibbetson puts it, "no village can get on without the Khatri who keeps the accounts, does the banking business and buys and sells the grain" (1883: 247). They claim to be direct descendants of the *Kshatriya* but Ibbetson doubts the validity of this claim. In Chiniot, Khatris showed their wealth by inhabiting houses with intricately carved wooden doors and windows (PG 1930a: 162). Another business group was the Khoja. In Chiniot, they lived in big houses and they had large business dealings with Amritsar, Kolkata, Mumbai and Karachi, trading items such as hides, leather, bones, cotton and wool (PG 1930a: 69, 128, 167-168).

The Jhang District Gazetteer of 1929 mentions a wealthy Sheikh from Chiniot, Sheikh Umar Hayat, who had a large building constructed (PG 1930a: 160). It is very likely, but cannot be taken for granted, that this specific Sheikh and other Sheikhs from Chiniot are the same group as the Khojas mentioned in the District Gazetteers.

Among the agricultural castes, were the Rajput, the Jat and the Arain. He stated that the Jats were in many ways very similar to the Rajputs but of a lower rank "because jats practise widow-marriage" (Ibid: 103).

The Machhi are characterized as the "highest of the menials" performing a considerable variety of jobs. They were especially concerned with water as they were the watermen (*bhishties*), fishermen and well-sinkers. Beyond this, Machhis were involved in agricultural labor and they worked as cooks, midwives and basket-makers, among others (Ibbetson 1883: 307).

The Tarkhan were the carpenters and wood-workers in Chiniot. Lohars worked as blacksmiths - they made the iron implements for agriculture. In some places of the Punjab, the Lohar's work was not to be distinguished from the Tarkhan - both produced and mended agricultural implements.

The Julahe were the weavers (Ibid: 302) and higher than the Mochi, who worked in leather and/or produced and mended shoes. The Mochi were considered impure because of their occupational duties treating the hides of dead animals (Ibid: 300–301).

A similarly lower status was ascribed both to the "Gypsies", like the Nat and Qalandar (Ibid: 284-290).

Tarkhan's Position in Chiniot

The Tarkhan's position in society was of a low status. Some saw the carpenter as "the most important menial" because "the carpenter's presence is often urgently needed". Therefore, a farmer had "to keep on good terms with his carpenter" (PG 1930b: 193).

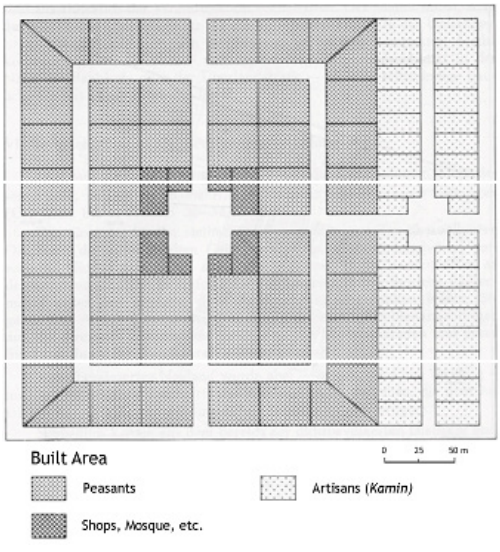
Earlier, the duties of the Tarkhan varied; they were tasked with the production and maintenance of wooden agricultural implements, such as ploughs, pitchforks and the handles of sickles and spades. These and household furniture they maintained without financial payment. Carpenters also fulfilled customary obligations at times during life-cycle ceremonies. They made toys when a child was born and they shaped the wood required for wedding ceremonies. For both, they received a small compensation. For their services at funerals they were not rewarded.

The production of carts, Persian wheels and sugar-presses were not part of their customary service duties but they were paid for the construction of roofs and doorways in the colony.[5]

Figure 10

Separation of artisans in a village plan in Lower Bari Doab Canal Colony.

In addition to this, the Tarkhans' living quarters within villages, towns and cities were separated from the other social groups. In the planned villages of Chiniot, the Tarkhan were gathered with the other service groups in a separate neighborhood at the edge of the village. This was to replicate the social structure of the traditional villages as perceived by the British within the colonies. In Chiniot, carpenters lived inside the Mohalla Tarkhana, which was the edge of the town in those days.



Ustaad-Shagird System (Informal Education)

Since its inception, wood craft has always moved ahead in the form of *ustaad* (guide) and *chota* (apprentice). The master craftsman teaches his *shagird* (student) and this is how the skill is transmitted from generation to generation.

Each interviewed carpenter had an *ustaad* who trained him for an average period of three years and two months. Five respondents mentioned that they had only a period of one year's apprenticeship. The maximum period of apprenticeship was five years and six months. None of the carpenters had any kind of formal vocational education.

The *ustaad* works closely with his trainees and sometimes provides education beyond carpentry. For example, one ustaad completed a religious education parallel to his carpentry occupation. He already trained 23 apprentices in the past. The apprentices' wage is always paid by their *ustaad*, even if their *ustaad* works in a workshop. On the one hand, it is possible that some apprentices are, to a certain degree, exploited by their *ustaad*, who uses the cheap labor to make more profit. For example, one 13-year-old carving *shagird* has already three years' work experience and currently works nine hours per day but he earns only 300 PKR per week. His current wage is far below the market price of the items he carves, adding to the income of his *ustaad*. On the other hand, exploitation within the *ustaad-shagird* system is constrained by the fact that the apprentice may leave his *ustaad* at any time and offer his skills to workshop owners. Therefore, the empowering potential of the *ustaad* clearly outweighs the exploitative potential.

Figure 11

Ustaad and their shagirds in a workshop. Photographs by Author

The Prevailing Problems in Chiniot Wood Craft

Direct exports from Chiniot are negligible because only four to six workshop owners are exporting furniture. One of the major problems faced by the industry is lack of innovation and quality of products. New products are only based on designs copied from brochures and catalogues while Computer Automated Designing (CAD) is not used.

The Middle Man

Due to lack of patronage and exposure, the craftsmen are at the mercy of the middlemen. He dictates the terms and the craftsmen having no other choice are forced to accept his terms and conditions. As a result, the craftsmen are deprived of their due, legitimate and entitled share sufficient to make the practice of the craft satisfying and fulfilling.

Modern Education

The sons and daughters of the traditional craftsmen mostly do not follow their parent's profession. Vocational guidance based on traditional art and craft should be made part of the secondary school curriculum in Chiniot.

Education

Together with visual exposure to various skills, education in the form of new learning techniques for bettering the quality of the craft is essential. This will result in infusing vitality in the artisans who will not be just craftsmen but will also possess some traditional techniques, together with being better educated.

The Economic Situation

The economic condition of an artisan is hand to mouth. The *tarkhans* interviewed in Chiniot all agreed that their monthly income is very low. One *tarkhan*, Elahi Bakhsh Pirjha pointed that a major issue is that many *shagirds* do not get proper training and start their work by setting up a workshop. They do not care about the seasoning of wood and other minute details that add to the quality of the product. This way they sell cheap furniture of low quality. When a customer visits the market, he is confused as to why some people sell expensive furniture while others do not. This effects the market. Their children are leaving their family profession to have a better standard of living. Economic dissatisfaction is the main cause of the decline of this craft. Also, the artisans are not getting an attractive price in comparison to the skill and

value of the raw material.

Interviews

Social Groups

The 30 interviewed carpenters identified themselves within various social groups. 16 percent belonged to the Tarkhan caste, which has the biggest share of the represented social groups. The second most prominent social group is the Machhi (14 percent).

It was observed that not every Tarkhan is a carpenter. Five out of eight Tarkhan households have or had household members having occupations other than carpentry. To be precise, these household members work as construction workers, bike mechanics, car mechanics, government officers and doctors.

Hierarchy of Social Groups

Through the interviews conducted, it was perceived that the Syed are the social group that hold the highest status within Chiniot, then the Sheikh, Arain, Qazi, Machhi, Lali and Tarkhan. The lowest rank was ascribed to the Musalli.

The Syed still own large landholdings and hold important political positions, although some of them no longer reside in Chiniot (Hasan 2010: 48).

Several Sheikhs from Chiniot are even involved in business sectors with far more scope and scale. Literature tells us that Chinioti Sheikhs have become one of the most important business groups in the Pakistani economy as a whole. Although they no longer live in Chiniot, they still call themselves Chinioti.

After the Khatris left the city during the separation of Pakistan and India, a number of Chinioti Sheikhs were able to replace the roles they had vacated and thereby widened their business activities. Many Sheikhs acquired good positions in the textile industry in Faisalabad. Some

Figure 12

An aged Tarkhan ustad and workshop owner in Mohalla Tarkhana. Photograph by author.

Chinioti became members of the Chambers of Commerce in Karachi and Lahore.

The Tarkhan were able to improve their social and economic status in Chiniot. Many Tarkhans became workshop owners. Some Tarkhans even became showroom owners and thus benefited from higher profit margins as they already owned property in Mohalla Tarkhana. Today, Tarkhans are proud to be the social group that historically held the occupation that is today the most prevalent one in their city. They are aware that they "owned" the skills for a long time before the furniture business flourished in Chiniot.

Well-respected Tarkhan *ustads* passed their skill over to apprentices from other social groups.

The oldest Tarkhan interviewed was a 72 years old man who has five married sons, of which four have already left his household. As he is a Tarkhan, all his sons are married to Tarkhan women. Two of his sons are craftsmen in Saudi Arabia, one is a carver in Lahore and one is a doctor in Chiniot. His household currently has five people, since one of his sons lives in the household with his wife and his two children. It is the same son who works with him daily in his workshop.

Conclusions

Similar to the colonial period in Punjab, woodwork remains the leading occupation in Chiniot and vitally contributes to the income of many households. Carving is the dominant feature of Chinioti woodwork which prevails until today. Furniture emerged in the subcontinent with the arrival of the British. By adapting their woodworking skills from architectural features to furniture, carpenters could adapt to maintain their markets.

This research has shown that out of the three predominant characteristics of caste identity, the social division of labor is the one subject to the most distinct change. Two major patterns become apparent: first, the historical carpenter caste, Tarkhan, persist in their carpentry occupation. Secondly, other social groups are increasingly joining the occupation of carpentry. Members of all social groups have access to carpentry as an occupation. Furthermore, in Chiniot, carpentry is no longer subject to a low status.

However, other features of social group identity remain. The concept of the rank of social groups still exists in large parts of society. The perceived high and low status of social groups is very similar to the one described by Ibbetson in the late 19th century. Syed and Sheikh have still the highest rank and Musalli the lowest rank. The status of Tarkhan in Chiniot improved due to their hold of key positions in the production system of a prospering woodwork economy. The low rank of Musalli overlaps repeatedly with low household incomes and debt. However, today, they at least have access acquiring woodworking skills and can participate in the furniture production process. To conclude, caste remains a real force among Chinioti carpenters and in Punjabi society in general.

The study has also shown that a carpenter's livelihood today is much more strongly influenced by the economic forces of supply and demand than they were in the 19th century. In the heavily commercialized present day furniture industry, carpenters have to compete for an income. Provided that they have the physical condition and are willing to spend around three years in training as shagirds, which unfortunately most of them do not, then this occupation may provide for them a stable and comfortable income.

To acquire the necessary capital, some households manage to borrow money, typically with the help of their social networks, mostly from their own kin. Only a few households own property in advantageous locations that they could convert into a showroom.

It also became clear during this study that the centuries-old *ustad*-centered system of apprenticeship still exists in the city of Chiniot. It is one important factor explaining why the skills of Chinioti carpenters and carvers has survived up to the present day.

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End Notes

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6. Made by Dettmann 1980 and modified by Martin Enzner.

The Denizens of Mithi: Life in Changing Times

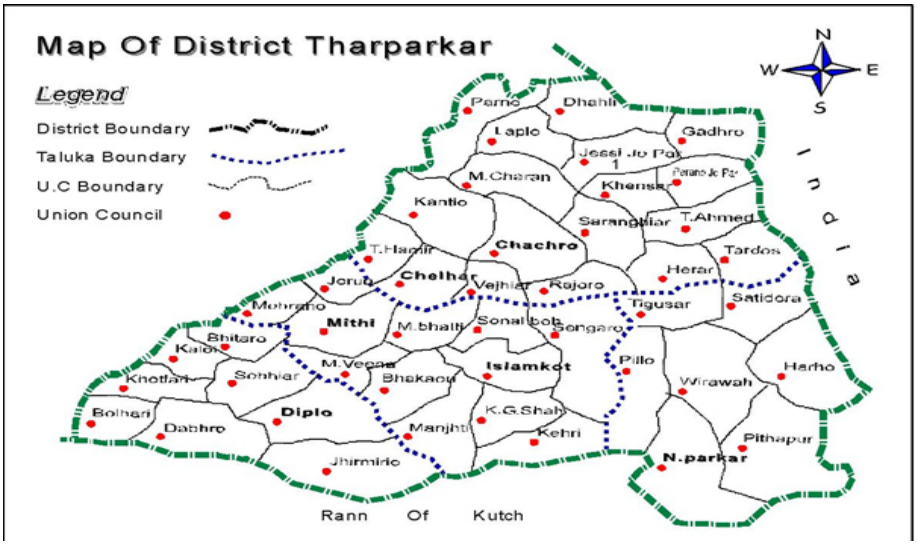
Dr. Khataumal Lohano and Dominic Stephen

It is extremely difficult to imagine and describe a city without its residents and vice versa. The city and its people which are seemingly two separate entities, complement each other when it comes to the dignity, image and reputation of each other. Within each city, there are many "sub-cities" without any clear boundaries based on the markers of socio-economic inclusion and exclusion. Much depends on the status of the inhabitants of a particular locality within the power structure. For example, recent settlers and migrants who often live on the peripheries are identified from their place of origin and they sometimes face discrimination on the basis of that. They get "grace marks" in social status when their names are entered in the voters list and the candidates realize their importance in the city during the elections.

I quote the example of my home town Mithi in Tharparkar where everyone is identified by their caste label even in the age of globalization where people are purchasing designer items from Karachi and conducting online businesses with the help of WhatsApp and other communication tools. Before the mid-1980s, it was very common to identify one's caste with the type of dress one was wearing. With the arrival of the metaled road in Tharparkar, this started changing.

Figure 1

Map of District Tharparkar.



In the good old days, there was a life-long relationship between the skilled and blue-collar workers and their patrons. People used to have specific masons and construction workers associated with their households. Now, due to the construction boom in Mithi, hundreds of skilled and unskilled laborers are found in the city center looking for work in the early morning. The traditional livelihood options for many artisans has, however, changed tremendously as, instead of local-level small manufacturing, everyone prefers to purchase machine or factory made products. The traditional work of potters has been hit the most as people prefer plastic, metal or glass crockery and utensils, over the ones made of clay. In Mithi town, refrigerators have pretty much displaced the good old clay pitchers. Due to the late monsoon in recent years, the agricultural activity has been affected badly. This has resulted in decreased business for blacksmiths who used to make and repair various agricultural instruments, such as ploughs and cultivators. Even the local barbers now prefer to get their scissors repaired from Hyderabad.

With the advent of the road and mobile phone network, in the last fifteen years, a lot has changed in Tharparkar. Mithi city is a manifestation of the changing times. Here social norms have changed significantly; old labor arrangements are disappearing gradually and the tyranny of occupations tied to caste has broken tremendously. These are interesting times, indeed. Now the old generation is worried over the engagement of users of smart phones which has reduced eye contact and the traditional mode of socialization, despite the physical presence of everyone in the same area.

Fifty years ago, people dared not invite any people of other castes to wedding occasions. Sharing crockery and other utensils was unthinkable but now caste discrimination is decreasing among various peoples due to education and by moving away from their caste occupations. Once upon a time, the livelihood of Kolhis was to bring firewood but now they have entered waged labor which is an opportunity to interact more with others, thinking out of the box slowly and gradually. Fifty years ago, only Manganhars used to sing and beg for alms without any hesitation but now anyone can do this with or without any justification. Previously, youngsters did not use the names of the private parts of a body in front of their elders, as doing so was considered taboo. Previously, people used locally made shoes which protected the herders from snakes and their feet from the heat and the cold but now the use of open *chapals* in the desert area is creating many medical problems. Earlier, government

offices and health facilities were virtually closed during the Hindu festivals as employees used to go to their villages but now non-Hindu "outsiders" have settled in Thar who work when their colleagues are celebrating religious festivities. Mithi is now the hub for soft drinks, chips, wheat flour and other consumer goods produced by Multinational Corporations (MNCs) which are sent to other towns and villages of Thar. This is quite a reversal as earlier it used to get *bajra*, the only staple food, from villages.

In the recent years, it is quite common to hear of a joint *iftaar* (breaking the fast) party hosted by Hindus for their Muslim friends. Similarly, Muharram is also observed by both in a very solemn manner. Fifty years ago, the local Muslims only shared sweets during the Eids but now it has become a trend to share the *qurbani* (sacrificial) meat on Eid-ul-Azha and *aab-e zamzam* (holy water) and dates on return from the Hajj pilgrimage.

The women of Mithi become nostalgic when they remember the *saawan* (monsoon) days when, amidst rains, they used to visit the topmost dune in groups, singing folk songs. With the city becoming overcrowded, this does not happen anymore. Moreover, the pedestrian track has been converted into a *pakka* road and there is heavy vehicular traffic on it. The people of Mithi still remember the days when the main road used to get flooded with monsoon rain water. This has been converted into a highway connecting various towns of Tharparkar. Similarly, *katcha* houses or thatched huts are gradually disappearing from the city centre, which is beneficial for the residents, as scorpions and snakes used to come out in the summer heat and kill many residents. On the other hand, the leading cause of accidental deaths and disability is now motorcycles and rickshaw accidents, due to the improved road network.

The people still remember their cool and open houses made of mud but women and the younger generation like closed and *pakka* houses which protect them from the heat and dust. This also means that there is no need of engaged in the routine repair and maintenance of mud structures in October before Diwali.

Women, who once used to prepare all necessary food ingredients (such as spices) at home, have started preferring packaged mixed spices. A majority of people living in Mithi city these days happily eat junk food which is available on cash from the bazaar. This was not an option before the advent of the road network and electricity. In those days, the best snack was a roti of *bajra* with *lassi* or tea. In those days, people used to

collect mushrooms after the monsoon rain, especially after making an early morning trip to the field for open defecation. They also used to get cultivated and uncultivated vegetables after the rains from nearby villages, mostly as a gift. Now vegetables are to be purchased at the cost of chicken from the market.

Some fifty years ago, keeping a buffalo was a major status symbol. This has been replaced by having cars and generators. As many as fifty percent of households used to have cows and goats which were treated as family members. People with a higher number of livestock had a higher social status, as the neighbors used to receive milk and its by-products free of cost. On the one hand, MilkPak has made inroads and on the other, the amount of remittance from Karachi or abroad has become a determinant of social status. The elderly people still remember rising early, singing in a group and doing yoga, while the womenfolk were responsible for milking the cows. After a breakfast of roti, made of *bajra*, *lassi* and butter, they used to hand over their livestock to the herders.

It is a good thing that school enrolment has gone up from ten percent to fifty percent. With education, livelihood and income opportunities have also improved. It is a reality that cash in hand fulfils physical requirements and also helps people break away from coercive labor arrangements. In any case, cash economy has replaced the barter method of labor exchange in almost all of Tharparkar.

It is evident that the city and its populace are always necessary for each other. Thus, it is necessary to draw terms of reference for the newcomers, so that the new settlements do not become a burden on the growing city but compliment it. Such a development will not create isolation and alienation for the old residents as it would be inclusive and equitable.

‘Feeling at Home’ in Contemporary Cities of India: A Phenomenological Study of Homes in Gurgaon and Visakhapatnam

Jennifer Walky

‘Feeling At Home’: The Cultural Process

Modern houses are commodities by virtue of a social relationship with them and not because of the thing in themselves, so their commodity phase is one side of their social existence which is dependent upon the social milieu in which they are present (Appadurai, 1986: 13). Therefore, a cultural perspective becomes important in order to understand this social relationship with modern homes in cities. The phrase ‘feeling at home’ is meant to capture the cultural process of living in modern homes. Cultural as opposed to the word ‘culture’ helps to enter context and differences while ‘culture’ conceals associations that it carries of substances which it signifies (Appadurai, 1996: 12-13). Is it just power, prestige or some other value that one wants to corner by acquiring these modern homes? The contexts and the differences have to be traced through cultural practices linked with various types of societies. The focus of this paper is to study the cultural practices which give rise to values that make modern houses exchange-worthy.

We replaced ‘cultural practices’ with ‘spatial practices’ and then explored spatial forms in modern homes, much like watching theatre that has different characters on one stage brought to life by its occupant (the writer/maker).[1] Spatial practices by themselves do not make any sense but have to be understood in the context of a structure of social relations. The structures of social relations under which this study wants to analyze spatial practices are in the built-environment of houses situated in the industrial society and post-industrial society of a capitalistic regime (Harvey, 1988: 22).

Structures are actively produced and reproduced by actors embodied in them. Therefore, space is always in the state of becoming. This is because original space and body co-exist (Tuan, 1979). This is what Lefebvre had argued in *The Production of Space*: Space is not just a container of social and cultural activity/body but is produced by such activity/body. While Lefebvre and Bourdieu have laid sociological conceptions of spaces as determined by larger social conditions, Merleau-Ponty (1962) and

Ricouer (1965) showed us the most fundamental connection between body and space. 'Feeling at home' may be compared with a 'sense of space' (Feld and Baso, 1996 in Clark, 2012: 24) or 'being-in-the-world' (Heidegger, 1967). Both entail a connection with the natural world of man through original space which is not geometrical in shape. It may often be known through resistances to human space. When one does not 'feel at home', one always distinguishes between the objective reality from one's needs and the imagination that we always invoke (Tuan, 1979: 390). Tim Ingold (2000) puts forward a dwelling perspective based on Heidegger's (1971) ideas on primary dwelling habits and our primary engagement with our environment as constituent parts of it. Ingold believes that 'dwellings' arise due to an ongoing activity with a relational context to their surroundings,[2] for example, farming, hunting, fishing, mining, factory-work and such others.

In recent times, 'globalization' debates dissociate 'space' from 'culture'; post-modernists have questioned their existence as categories. Akhil and Ferguson (1997) had remarked, cultures are not fixed to a place.[3] Spatial markers that distinguish them from other groups govern some perceptions. These spatial entities therefore become not just a geographical entity but are also symbolic. For instance, when people say they are from the hills or the plains, they do not just inhabit this geographical space but have turned it into a symbolic model of identity; such perceptions have led to re-territorializing and re-linking culture to space.

Perceptions must be factored in for the constitution of spaces as this affects the overall senses of people when they connect to a space or social good.[4] However, this is highly subject to selection largely dependent upon socialization of persons. Thus, phenomenological studies become necessary for study of such perceptions.

This study is set in the cities of Visakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh, South India) and Gurgaon (Haryana, North India), it is the writer's claim that the suburbs thriving in these two cities have witnessed a rise of two different sets of middle-class homes in correspondence with the changing economic policies of the country, while being set in different time periods. Though Visakhapatnam is not a satellite town of any metro city like Gurgaon is to Delhi, the search for cheaper vast lands for larger economic motives has changed the dynamics of these regions to the effect that the social fabric of both the places has remained most unique in different time periods. Visakhapatnam had a small Russian expat community living next to the

heterogeneous crowd drawn from different parts of the country when the steel industry was first set-up in the 1970s. While Gurgaon had over a period of seven years attracted expat communities from all over the world, living next door to a very metropolitan crowd, pulled from different states of India by the turn of the millennium. Here are two ethnographic accounts of dwelling sites situated in these cities, subscribing to two very different ideals for dwelling, followed by an analysis of what 'feeling at home' entails and how perceptions on dwelling spaces have shifted not with time but because of the kind of economic and social relations.

Figure 1

Location of Visakhapatnam Port in context of other ports in the country.

Subsidized housing for industrial workers first found mention in the 1st Five Year plan itself. Thereafter there has been expansion in the housing sector with the introduction of new programs but this clearly marks the beginning of housing for a newly created middle class as a result of industrialization. In 1938, when Bose became the President of the Indian National Congress and presided over the 51st Session at Haripura, the first seeds were sown for industrial development, under state ownership, during a conference, by the Ministers of Industries in the Congress-ruled provinces, concluding that the best way to move ahead to eliminate poverty and unemployment was to go the industrial way. A committee was set up, called the National Planning Committee, whose chairmanship was offered to Nehru, who out right rejected it due to a busy schedule but took it up on the insistence of Rabindranath Tagore through Anil Kumar Chanda. Bose and Nehru were two modernists who steered an industrial revolution in India while holding on to socialist lines. Nehru gave a call for setting a minimum standard of living, which had to be fixed and assured. After Independence in 1947, the plan was that the government would guarantee 2400-2800 calories to every person daily, 30 yards of cloth every year and a covered area of 100 square feet for housing to all.[5]

One such significant marker of heavy industrial development is the industrial port city of Visakhapatnam, on the Eastern Coast of India, facing the Bay of Bengal connecting India to South-East Asia for trade, located in the important state of Andhra Pradesh, equidistant from the port-city of Kolkata in the East (West Bengal) and Chennai in the South (Tamil Nadu). Originally a fishing hamlet, it gained prominence during the British rule in India as an alternative port due to its natural harbor. It surpassed Mumbai's port in tonnage for cargo handling. From the various types of cargo that it handled, iron ore, coking coal and thermal coal were also included, giving rise to India's first port-based steel industry, an area which happens to be a concern for this study. Endowed with large public sector investments, it saw rapid industrial employment growth from 97,910 in 1971, 149,292 in 1981 to 215,700 in 1991, as per the registered workers shown in the census.[6] It gave rise to professionals and a new middle class in India which eventually began to settle down in the same city and saw the rise of a mini-real estate boom in Vizag in the later years.[7] The township under study here is called *Ukkunagaram*. In Telugu, the spoken language of the region, *Ukku* means steel and *Nagaram* means town. The whole township is a suburb, situated at some distance from the main city of Visakhapatnam and is modeled around communal living with separate apartments for separate families, without having to share the kitchen, washroom and living room, like in the soviet apartments during the Bolshevik's time where bourgeois houses were subdivided to create *kommunalka.*[8] Until Nikita Khrushchev started a drive to build separate houses for families, the houses in *Ukkunagaram* were churned out on a massive scale to make sector after sector on a horizontal spread of land, along with communal facilities such as co-operative markets, parks (in every sector), subsidized schools, club (community center/recreation center) with cinemas, swimming pool, snooker room, library, party room and restaurant. All located within a driving distance from most of the houses. It showcases very modern and intensively planned dwelling units produced for newly formed middle class families oriented more towards a socialistic everyday life. As the architects carved a private sphere, they laid even greater emphasis on community living while espousing the state's objective of a closed-mixed economy for advancement.

Contrasting with this is Gurgaon, best known as the Millennial City. Gurgaon, once a parched patch of land for suburbs[9], gained prominence when the fortune 500 companies started to make it their

destination. Geographically smaller than most other suburbs, it was developed by a consortium of private builders, after getting a free hand to do business from the Government of Haryana. The satellite town of the capital of India, Delhi's National Capital Region (NCR) was apt for demonstrating the changes in cultural/spatial practices surrounding homes and therefore one's feelings about being at home, for it was home to a 'new suburban phenomenon'[10] influenced by an open-mixed economy and a flourishing new finance industry run by global corporate houses. It has a great hand in dramatically changing the face of the middle-class residing in luxuriously laid-out gated or semi-gated communities, having recently attained prowess, affluence, high disposable incomes and attitudes.[11] This is reflected in the lifestyle adopted by the millennials[12] making homes in Gurgaon, which is very different from the reveries of homes one finds either in a metropolitan, traditional or archaic town/city.

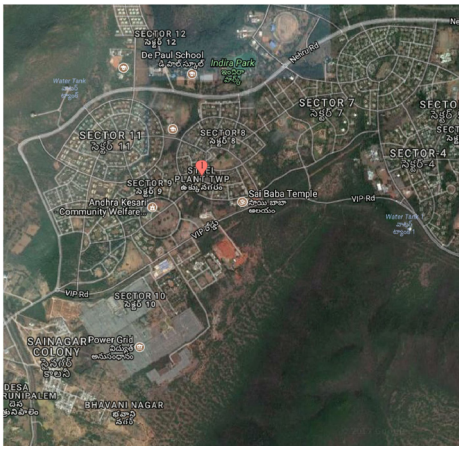
An Ethnographic Account from Visakhapatnam

The Physical Structure of the Houses in Ukkunagaram

The first dwelling site is located at the port-city of Visakhapatnam steel plant, where the informant lives with her parents. The steel industry has set-up one large settlement area for the occupancy of its industrial workers after acquiring land from villagers who were mostly fishermen. The population, as already mentioned, is very heterogeneous - migrants from different regions of the country. They speak various languages and have varying cultures with diverse social backgrounds. It is the state that becomes the employer in this case and becomes directly responsible for providing housing to every worker/employee.

The houses designed by Auroville Trust (Pondicherry) are commonly referred to as 'quarters' rather than flats, apartments or houses. On these quarters are inscribed serial addresses that act like a formal definition of one's location and also distinguish these similar looking buildings. The address contains objective facts such as the sector, type of quarters (single/double/triple storied) one lives in and the direction of the house (left-hand side/right-hand side) indicated with letters from the English Alphabet (A, B, C, D). The imposition of extremely rational spatial ordering to bring the settlement under a disciplinary framework is a kind of conception of space that had been imposed

earlier by main force through conquest, imperial expansion or neo-colonial domination.[13] Contemporary geographical imagination is de-politicized through mathematical ordering of spaces which brings uniformity. Such standardization should not be associated with monotony as it has a positive effect of bringing about solidarity by eliminating feelings of high or low. No doubt, it created homogeneity and neutrality that forms the basis for equality, freedom and mobility of residents.



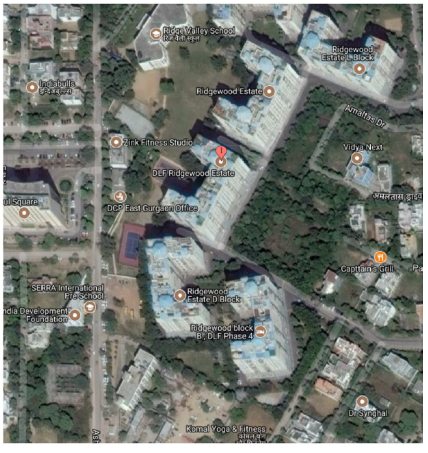


Figure 2 (R)

Symmetrically arranged, equidistant houses in Ukkunagaram, Steel Township.

Figure 3 (L)

Seen in this picture are the different sectors shaped like a leaf containing the houses in Steel Township, Ukkunagaram.

A Socialistic Sense of Modernity in Dwelling Spaces

Such a settlement evokes a kind of modernity, whose aesthetic sense is very ascetic and industrial; houses are never in confinement, or closely regulated and the dwellers are not supervised as a population. Supervision, inspection and instruction are meted out at industrial spaces. A feeling of being 'spared'[14] to rest, play, shop or socialize is the general perception one gets around these quarters. Translating effectively into spatial practices (gardening, taking walks, playing on streets and such others) causes people to take part in the production processes programmed by the state harmoniously without facing any inconvenience as they communally manage to manufacture a safe environment and group-reliance due to a shared sense of responsibility of the spaces they occupy. Such simplicity and asceticism is generally not to economize the cost of living, but to invite people to participate in a new and contemporary style of living.[15]

The first dwelling site is a house where the informant's parents reside due to her father's job in the steel industry. Here we explore the physical layout and materials to evaluate how it is a metaphysical portal of our intimate dreams and imaginings: a rectangular house with a flat roof and vertical grills fixed inside symmetrical medium-sized windows. House boundaries are generally closed and clearly demarcated with fencing. Adjacent houses are symmetrically placed and mirror each other, demarcated garden spaces are groomed or unkempt as per one's choice. Although the entire property belongs to the state, rent-free residence and free maintenance is allowed to the occupants who are also employees.

The house is divided into three large parts: living room, kitchen and bedrooms. Subsidiary rooms do exist, such as a storeroom, a prayer room, garage (for vehicles), attached bathrooms, a dining hall, porch and terrace space. Although used in a meager way, the porch's primary objective is to become a frontispiece to the principle opening of the building and act as a weather protector. Potted plants ornament the porch which has a large piece of furniture for comfortable sit-outs early in the morning, to leisurely read the newspaper and also doubling up for being seated in order to wear and remove shoes. The shoe rack is neatly stacked below a staircase leading up towards the terrace from the porch.

The spacing of various rooms in the house is shaped like the human body. While the head is the living room with closely spaced tiny islands made out of L-shaped sofas, carpets and coffee tables. Guests are often received here and depending on the levels of intimacy they are let into other parts of the house. If the rooms were to be straightened it is seen that the kitchen is in the place of the heart of a human body, the belly is the dining room while bedrooms denote limbs.

Mixed (Traditional and Modern) Spatial Practices, Identity-making in a Modern Industrial House

Upon entering the house, one is supposed to remove their footwear in the porch, just like a cloak room is for leaving ones coats and umbrellas but unlike the West, one faces verbal resistance if the footwear is carried beyond this threshold. On the right hand side of the entry door is a small brass water pot. Upon entering the house one is supposed to

dip their fingers in the pot and sprinkle the water at the feet of Lord Ganesh's image placed at an angle resting against the wall. Generally yellow or white flowers are placed in the brass water pot. Religion continues to make itself felt in fragments. Somewhere there is an image, someplace there are idols and then there is an auxiliary room in the kitchen space for praying. These primary virtues reveal attachment to the native culture; clearly people live life comfortably though not for ornamentation.

For the love of display, there are artifacts such as the model of a ship (one of the siblings is a naval-officer), ceramic painted pots, crystal ware imitating a prism, ceramic turtles are individually spaced by carving a portion out for them in the living hall. Curtains have been put on the windows but are not used in any other part of the house as a partition. The living room is not curtained off. Straight into the house at the other end is a huge rack for display of artifacts but the rooms are well-hidden from the view of the living room. The wall cabinets in the dining room display the best cutlery, wine bottles and glasses. The middle-class nature of higher aspirations - the artifacts are the legitimate expression of sentiment, trying to lay claim to high art, which was meant to be an expression of cosmopolitanism, due to the fusion of Chinese, European and Indian decorative pieces on display inside the house.

The hearth of the house is replaced by a modern gas-stove, which runs on liquefied petroleum gas and microwave ovens. The chimney has been substituted by an exhaust fan. There is a rectangular kitchen space, with a rectangular platform running all around with shelves below for storing cutlery and grains. There are even huge knives for cutting the coconuts into halves. The cleaning equipment is kept well-hidden from the sight of outsiders. The refrigerator a crucial cold storage, like an extended limb of the kitchen, is placed in the arena between the dining hall and the kitchen space. Habits and routines exercised via spaces unfold everyday life in the modern world: The Industry clock-time situated outside one's home has had the effect of generating a social time, tuning the days and nights of all the workers, their wives and children, thus, governing their social life from the backdoor. Rigorous discipline was a revolutionary technique practiced by the Prussian Military Army to manufacture an army that it called "an artificial machine".[16] If we dismiss this as cynicism, that is, viewing the function of a home in the modern industrial society, as sustenance strategies for keeping the labor market[17] thriving, we may not see how

a home invigorates something stabilizing, deepening or enriching for the personality.

Consumerism and the Making of a Modern Home

Social relations with the material world are first manifested at home. The technicity present in various corners is testimony to how we try to evade the everydayness of life and try to attain a dream-like state through advances in technology, turning our homes into an 'ideal home'.[18] The color television sets in bedrooms, desktops, broadband for Internet and automated washing machines are no longer seen as luxurious possessions but as essential components of a home-space. Nixon staved off diplomatic arguments by showcasing the American Standard of Living, which even a wage laborer could purchase. It was an invitation not just to participate in the American dream-life. I made a solid statement about how technicality in the realm of necessity was going to make a larger impact on the world that was waking up to the lack of choices and defining tastes and lifestyles more carefully. Although the Soviet Press kept ridiculing the Sputnik - a three-bedroom ranch house on display, furnished by Macy's and kitchen stocked with General Electric Motors. To some these commodities are irrelevant to the standard of living, as they do not promote social equality or a participatory democracy. What America claimed to manufacture was freedom to choose a lifestyle that one wished to create for oneself, be it creating a comfortable life or generating more labor spare-time, to challenge and develop human powers as ends in themselves.[19] However, the sustenance of such a creation is momentous, meaning progress loses its substantial value.

Further changes made in the appearance of one's house, by addition of a new piece of furniture or a new wall painting, become an aesthetic of change for the sake of change.[20] These are the ambiguities and contradictions of modern life. Heidegger, Adorno, Berger and Kellner all believe that authentic living (dwelling) and modernity are at a crossroads. Modern conditions make it impossible for authentic life to occur. Siegfried Giedion, who wanted to interrelate different aspects of spaces, suggested intermingling of spaces as the future of modern architecture. He opposed the traditional idea of attributing eternal values to houses.

As modern residential architecture has come to regard 'openness' as a supreme attribute for making new houses, it has become reflective of the contemporary mentality that also perceives all aspects of life as interpenetrating rather than being closed and opaque, which we shall now see in the following section.

An Ethnographic Account of Gurgaon

Post 1997, after the setting up of GE Capital International Services, as more Business Process Outsourcing (BPOs) joined the bandwagon of offshore outsourcing destination, Gurgaon's residential real estate boomed[21] roughly over a span of seven years as opposed to the slow process of blooming. Proactive private developers are said to have armored these townships with 24-hour power back-up and security with high-end facilities to meet the expectations of potential buyers.[22] Prime locations began to be determined by the closeness to the Metropolitan Mall, Sahara Mall, DT Mega Mall and others. Proximity to prime infrastructures such as the metro[23] or laned roads alongside the Arravali hills/Golf course have been determinants for making residential projects (generally townships) as saleable as possible. Numbeo[24], a data provider for living conditions in cities such as cost of living, housing indicators, health care, traffic, crime and pollution in cities has ranked Gurgaon with a better quality of life than Singapore, Hong Kong or Kuala Lumpur; it scored high on purchasing power and healthcare[25].

Figure 4

Map showing the South-West location of Gurgaon, a satellite town of New Delhi, in India.

The Capitalistic Sense of Modernity in a Dwelling Space

Let us move to the next dwelling-site, in Gurgaon, where the same person has migrated to work with an American Multinational Financial Services Corporation. The informant dwells alongside two

other single professional women in a rented apartment with three bedrooms, located on the seventh floor of a high-rise apartment building. Elevators are essential in these high-rise apartments. While reducing the time effectively, they lend an experience of simultaneity of both time and space. Flying upwards, crossing several floors, the subconscious mind registers the verticality of housing for such a large population residing in Gurgaon where there is paucity of land. The gated community and double-security check (once at the main gates, then again at the individual apartment gates), lurking surveillance cameras in the corners, are hallmarks of new age housing. Structurally, the residents can no longer watch over another person's apartment. In terms of physical proximity, they have come so close to each other that they don't know what's going on anymore. Situated next to Galleria Market, it is in close proximity to IFFCO Metro Station, in an upbeat location of Gurgaon. Gurgaon is a city of simultaneity; there are no structures which do not match the futuristic look of the city.

It seems barbaric on the fringes, where the city is spewing its marginalized urban poor in squatter settlements. Gentrification is visible from as far as possible, even when one rides past the high-rise buildings as they exclude and generate an unequal society of a low-income, middle-class group that cannot afford to live in them and therefore lives outside of them with disadvantages[26]. The chrome-building-filled city suggests a different program for the future of the city as it beckons never-ending high investments to attract those with a high income to participate in contemporary living and take care of the finance industry. The Utopian attachment to futurity is predictable in its incessant construction work, re-hauling Haussmann style, urban-restructuring.

Novel Middle-Class Spatial Practices[27]

The structure of the house under study currently supports single-room renters, who pay for the room and take care of other amenities in these apartments. Multiple use of rooms ceases, while the basic functions linked to certain spaces inside the home are shared - the living area, dining space, kitchens and washrooms minus the bedrooms. The bedrooms are repackaged and priced differently for commercial use, a reinvention to match the growing needs of single white collar migrant city dwellers, who view this as a minimalistic approach that not only helps them live closer to their work place but also it becomes

affordable to reside in a locality which is secure, has some amount of community living and is posh. Therefore, their relations with co-occupants, landlord and estate managers at large becomes different (more important than) as it does away with the supremacy of familial authority or local community's watch since a new nexus of relations comes into play (Sand J, 2003:1-2).

In such transitory modern homes, expressions of dwelling as found in traditional societies break down. In fact such an idiosyncratic manner of living is possible when the act of dwelling has been re-conceptualized, which we shall now try to grasp using phenomenology.

Anthropological aspects of architecture lie in its inhabitation; eternal values once attributed to dwelling spaces can no longer continue to exist when the rootlessness and mobile nature of dwellings have gained importance (Loos, 1908:20p). Since there is no tradition any longer that supports rootedness in our societies, to look for the same in current day homes is generating false consciousness (quick purchasing, disposal and renting of houses is now the norm). Homes are no longer built like a closed fortress. Transparency is created by the use of glass, a sense of simultaneity and interpenetration of the exterior and interior spaces may be seen. The Gurgaon residence mentioned here has extensive glass windows which allow enjoyment of the cityscape dotted with many high-rise buildings while floating in the middle of nowhere, taking the city environment inside the rooms visually. Glass walls have to be designed such that they keep the privacy of the dwellers intact. Use of daylight to cut down on the use of electricity is surely its functional benefit. The sense of motion never leaves a person. The movement of airplanes, movement on streets and metro lines all seep inside the house like the daylight. The intermingling effect makes up for a spatial experience that is so urbane, reflective of the flexibility and openness that dwellers of such modern homes encase.

Alienation has always been the gloomy side of discussions pertaining to metropolis living. Revisiting the lived experiences exposes fissures in academia and the emergence of new understandings tapping into socio-economic developments that have advanced concepts that challenge older notions of dwelling. Heightened functionality has caused shedding of ornamentation and maximum use of geometric spacing. Such efforts are the reason why only a cozy balcony space is attached to the living room in the house as a private outdoor space. A clothes stand takes away half the space, the other half is taken up by a

room water cooler. Most guests pour out of the living room and stay hooked to this cozy space feeling most alive; the dizzy height adds to the surreal effect of entertainment. Having spaces that may generate surrealism helps distance the self from life and work stress. The sociality of these spaces is highest. The aerial view of the city makes one realize the microscopic nature of one's life in comparison to the vastness of the city's existence (anonymity).

Architecture has to be separated from the dwelling, ones experience of living is dependent on how a particular ceiling, floor or wall are cladded.[28] Minimalism is evident in the way cladding is done with next to no ornamentation of walls, of furniture or of window curtains. Contemporary culture seems to have shed ornamentation and is going subtler. It is indicative of strong individuality that no longer requires external exhibition. Freedom from ornament, says Adolf Loos, is a sign of spiritual strength. On the wall of this dwelling-site, inside the room of our dweller, is a piece of wooden rack that has been fixed to the wall, not only is this wooden shelf stylistic in appearance because of its simple design; it has blocks of various shapes, it is nothing like the heavy, static, immobile shelf racks. The brown couch which can be picked up and moved around for comfortable seating is the most cherished object in the possession of the dweller. The wooden flooring of the room, something towards which most houses are turning to, heightens the intimacy levels of the room, even the floor-space may be used to simply lie upon and read/sleep in comparison to the living room, which is quite formal.

The value of the house does not survive if it is not built keeping the street and the domain in mind. The domain here refers to higher affairs such as business, work or even the state. The outside enters the inside, not just in sounds and sights but also through water shortages, impure air and relentless consumption of resources. At the home front it includes the purchasing of drinking water, running electrical washing machines, cooling systems, refrigerator, cooking gas that is based on petroleum. There is no inbuilt mechanism for regeneration of energy resources.

Conclusion

When houses are made on an industrial scale, reading into their physical layout is overlooked because often the feeling they evoke is of dullness that rapidly descends into boredom, while they provide necessary intimacy, a conformist and communistic lifestyle. Modern apartments are primarily sought for awe-inspiring spaces, for the fact that the dweller has a say in how he wants the design of the house to be, he injects his imagination into spaces by mere routine of choice-making based on his life-activities.

Modern houses may have a culture of their own but it is devoid of intelligence to cope with the crisis that a city throws at them. There is passivity in our homes and passivity in making choices. For instance, where and how much to procure materials of any nature turns us either into highly indulgent people or the reverse. Rationing behaviors, pairs of shoes and clothes owned by each person, paying attention to loss of energy resources such as a dripping tap, running laptops and other gadgets, are leakages in our home economics. Although the dwellers are fragmented in terms of the amount of time each spends living inside the house or staying out, there is a unity of purpose in sharing costs of groceries, house-rents, electricity and water bills, including 'helps' who have various functions from clearing out wastes, to cooking food and cleaning of apartments. A cost cutting effect achieved due to such unity of purpose is leaking out in ways over which there is utter silence (Astyk, 2008: 24). Such distinction between the personal and private prevents us from seeing the powers we have as dwellers in any city.[29] If in personal life, one puts restraint on purchasing of food from stores but procures it from local growers it has next to no impact unless the community one is living with shares such practice.

The stakeholders in creating residential architects, in cities handling housing projects, need to diversify in terms of carving spaces related to domesticity. To be able to generate spaces where contemplation like reading, music and bathing, feeling the snow, rain, sun or night sky viewing, directing the attention of architecture towards these elemental aspects so that, they are not out of bounds for city-dwellers. The intention is not to generate rootedness, which is fast depleting but to make the house come alive for its occupants by becoming more fluid. Houses should no longer just remain dreaming shells or cocoons, they should provide freedom to think, to make thoughtful choices about how to economize on important matters related to the personal and the outside.

From communal living on the outside to communal living on the inside, with rising density of our cities, city-architects need to support co-housing and communal living inside a single-shared space such as a home as was found above in this paper. Although it might seem targeted at high-density, it is an alternative living style that is fast emerging in the modern set-up and attention needs to be paid towards it. In the end, longevity of a house should be left to its adaptability and flexibility rather than trying to make it 'precious' to 'feel at home'.

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Photography in Changing Social Sensibilities

Prof. Dr. Aamir Shahzad

Photography, like all creative arts represents an outlet of personal expression. The art per se is non-judgemental and a representation of a particular time. Famous street photographer Eric Kim says, "as a photographer, I see myself as a sociologist with a camera as my research tool to observe and record the people and world around me".

Many times, the vision of a creative artist may be contrary to the existing social ethos. Ideas which aspire for a change in social narratives or the ones which tend to promote a global humanism rather than a parochial view of nationalism may be viewed with scepticism. In such cases, artists are under a lot of pressure to conform to existing social narratives. Any deviation or an open challenge may be severely censured.

The key elements of the social narrative promoted in Pakistan in the last few decades are based on a puritanical concept of religion and nationalism, which at times tend to touch the boundaries of xenophobia and paranoia.

Figure 1

Picture taken in Rawalpindi, Krishna temple on Holi, showing a woman bowing before Lord Krishna.

In my experience of working as a photographer with interest in portrait and cultural photography, most of the people tend to assess art not for its technical or artistic values. They just wish that it should be a vehicle to promote their religious/ nationalistic sentiments.

A picture showing a Hindu woman bowing before Lord Krishna is immediately objected to and declared against monotheistic principles of Islam and thus worthy

of being rejected as an infidel practice which has nothing to do with our culture of Pakistan. This rigid attitude tends to ignore and exclude a significant percentage of our population (figure 1).

The word culture is a broad term with multiple layers of meanings. According to the Concise Oxford English Dictionary, the word 'Culture' is defined as

1. The customs, institutions and achievements of a particular nation, people or group.

2. The arts and other manifestations of intellectual achievement regarded collectively.

From these definitions, it is obvious that culture is an extremely broad term. This is easily understood by an artist but the general public is not so clear about this concept. People tend to confuse religion with culture and Pakistan with Islam.

According to numerous people, any picture which depicts the lifestyle of minorities should be excluded from the 'culture of Pakistan'. They are not able to understand that in a multi-cultural and multi-racial society, the lifestyles of all the minorities are actually sub-units of a bigger whole. A passion to promote a monolithic society abhors the beauty of cultural diversity. This intolerance is sometimes even extended to pictures showing practices of Muslim sects with differing views. This shows art and other manifestations of intellectual achievements are being seen through the tunnel vision of religious and sectarian faiths.

In its endeavour to be a social documentary, art tends to be objective and non-committal. Viewers may interpret it in various ways depending upon their own set of beliefs and social mores. A picture of women in shuttlecock veils shopping in posh markets may be seen as an indicator of changing social trends where conservatism is rubbing shoulders with modernism. However, the image was interpreted as a deliberate attempt to ridicule what viewers thought was our cultural traditions.

Another picture where a woman was seen carrying a 20 kilogram sack on her head while in a shuttlecock veil became controversial. For some it was a wonderful picture showing a slice of a culture depicting the drudgery of life of ordinary women and their hardships. However, some others objected and labelled it as an insult to our society with potential

to tarnish its softer image (figure 2). They thought such pictures should not be displayed on social media as they might project us as a backward society which treats its women so harshly.

Figure 2

Picture in Rawalpindi showing a woman clad in a shuttlecock veil shopping and carrying a sack of flour on her head.

In one of the pictures, the elderly bearded owner of a boutique was shown trying to cover his face to avoid the offence of being photographed while standing with mannequins wearing sleeveless low neck dresses (figure 3). For some it is a social satire on our confused moral and religious criteria. They viewed it as serious photography where it becomes more than an art. It achieves the status of a social documentary, a record of our time and its trends.

Umair Ghani commented on this image, "Commerce and Art play a tug of war with Faith and provoke greater conflicts and challenges for those who consciously focus on such concerns. These trends affect everyday life and our understanding of it. Some societies have learnt to sustain that shock; others are too fragile to come to terms with this recent awareness."

However, the same picture was severely criticised as an intrusion on someone's personal space and violation of personal belief. Yet, some

Figure 3

Picture taken in Rawalpindi showing a shopkeeper trying to cover his face as according to his faith, photography is prohibited in Islam. However, despite knowing that sleeveless dresses for women are not allowed, he feels no compunction as this is his business.

other critics labelled it as putting the religious class under ridicule, projecting them as hypocrites. A conspiracy of so-called modern social society where anything related to religion becomes the butt of jokes.

Figure 4

Picture taken in a rural area of Islamabad showing two poor children sitting on a dung heap. An image of beauty amidst squalor which to some might reflect a bad impression about Pakistan.

Is documentary photography a violation of privacy? Can anyone claim privacy in a public place? Laws vary in different countries. Photography, as always, has a lot of grey areas where ethical concerns are involved.

Is showing social hypocrisy in a photograph a breach of social rights?

The obsession with the projection of a soft progressive image of Pakistan is so overwhelming that any image of poverty or human misery is pushed under the carpet as if it never existed at all.

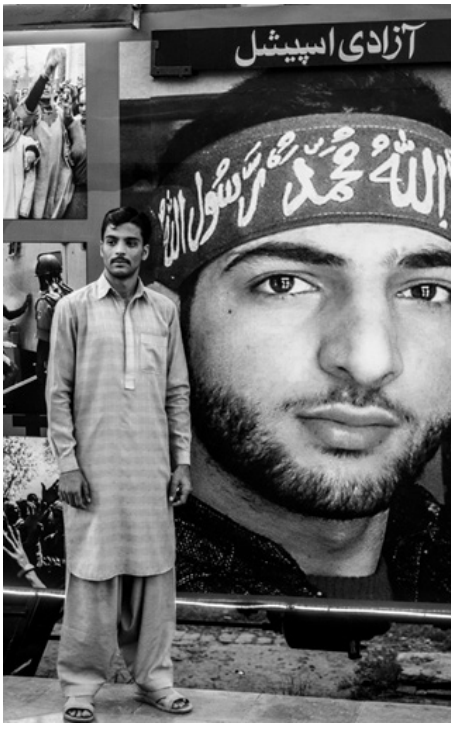

Figure 5

A huge poster of Burhan Wani. This picture touched the sentiment of Indians as they thought it was an attempt to glamorize a 'terrorist'.

Similarly, naked children sitting on the trash (figure 4), addicts lying on the pavements or poor children playing in villages are thought to be embarrassing. However, it is a reality of our lives as much as hunger and war.

Such festering social wounds may be healed only when we admit and accept their existence. A denial is nothing but self-delusion.

Art should not be used for promotion of what the state considers as

'national interests'. Rather, it should aspire to uphold higher values of humanism, irrespective of caste, creed, language and race. The recent unrest in Kashmir after the killing of Burhan Muzaffer Wani by Indian forces should be seen in the light of a human tragedy rather than for point scoring by respective governments.

The sudden appearance of huge posters of Burhan Wani is unusual and would definitely catch the attention of a documentary photographer. He would be curious to know the reason behind this promotion and attempt to shape a new cult figure as this might have implications for this society.

The picture (figure 5) though posted without a personal comment became a cause for heart burn and resulted in an outburst of anger and abuse from my followers across the border. Both sides showing indignation with complaints that I was being partial.

These are issues which need to be debated. In the absence of a photography magazine and lack of interest by photography groups, we lack a platform to discuss photography as an art form with the aim of educating and enlightening not only the public but photographers as well with an ultimate aim of developing a tolerant and humane society.

Chamber of Dreams

Aasim Akhtar

While acknowledging my debt to Roland Barthes' Camera Lucida, translated into English from the French La Chambre Claire, I have tried to extend Barthes' concerns into an ethnographic realm where what matters are not the personal and private readings of the analyst but photography's impact on the everyday life of a society.

Whilst talking to a studio photographer, it was revealed that there were two different types of photographs that he found himself taking: those for himself and those for the villagers. The photographs that were being taken, according to him, were candid, revealing and expressive of the people amongst whom he was living. He seemed to be pursuing the quotidian shadow of what Plutarch once powerfully described as the 'signs of the soul in men'. He recalls taking a half-length image of his neighbor which had some of these qualities. The print that he processed and sent back from the town seemed to capture perfectly the neighbor's mischievous character. There was a twinkle in his eye and the slight shadow that hung on one side of his face gave him an appropriate gravity, for he was an essentially serious, indeed tortured man. His pursed mouth and upright posture also seemed to capture his attempt to impose some order or authority, if only for a moment, as he was always muttering in exasperation. There was a mellowness about the image but it did not appeal to the neighbor, who, when he saw the print, complained about the shadow and darkness it cast over his face and the absence of the lower half of his body. The photographer was reminded of his neighbor's irritation at his incomplete capture when several years later, he heard the professional studio photographers joking that village clients would refuse to pay the full fee for anything other than a full-length portrait: "I will only give you a quarter of the fee because only a quarter of me has come out."

Let's visit Dar Studio in Commercial Market, Satellite Town in Rawalpindi, back in the 1970s. Beckoned inside, through a hardboard partition and stepping gingerly over trailing electric cables, I followed Dar into his studio. In front of me was a wall covered by a red curtain, to the side of which was a small table on which sat a television and

a telephone. Beside this was a wrought iron chair which had been appearing in his photographs for the last twenty years. To the left was a wall covered from floor to ceiling with a huge poster image of a garden, whose neo-classical temples were reminiscent of the architecture in Wiltshire but whose vegetation was most definitely tropical. On the wall facing this was a similar-sized poster depicting an ornate residential dwelling. Constructed of timber and glass and topped with fine terra cotta tiles, it stood by a lake in the midst of numerous calla lilies. It was more suggestive of Malaysia or Thailand than Pakistan but was a clear sign of luxury, radically unlike any building in Rawalpindi or any of the surrounding villages. Dar then pulled back the red curtain revealing the piece de resistance in this chamber of dreams. The great expanse of Lake Saif ul Muluk in Kaghan Valley was laid open, shimmering beneath cascading pine-encrusted mountains, illuminated by efflorescent skies and all offset by a foreground luxuriating in multicolored meadow flowers. Saif ul Muluk – for long a perennial location – figured again in this scenario for many photographic studios maintain similar painted back drops. This somehow goes to prove and establish the vitality and potency of the local space that photography occupies. It is a place where faces can easily become masks and where photography is translated as a complex theatrical idiom capable of representing persons with diverse exteriors.

It should not be surprising to note that early photographic practitioners in the Indian sub-continent were part of an elite that mimicked key colonial aesthetic forms. In A Guide to the Indian Photographer, F. Fisk Williams notes:

> "…all awkwardness and stiffness must be avoided and the person should be made as far as possible to assume an easy natural manner, divesting himself of the idea that he is sitting for a portrait…something more than a carefully prepared plate and correct focusing are required to obtain a good portrait, too much attention cannot be paid to the arrangement of drapery, light and shade. The judicious placing of vases, books and other articles of vertu in the picture will often greatly contribute to its beauty…in fact to take a really good portrait the operator must be an artist as well a photographer."

Looking at early carte-de-visite (visiting cards) and cabinet cards produced by English and Indian-run studios in Bombay (now Mumbai), it is difficult to tell them apart. All frequently mobilise painted backdrops of classical interiors and standing figures often lean against pillars or pediments on which books or other objects are placed. These images, like

European photographs of the same period, bear the dilute trace of the traditional encumbrances of painted portraiture, especially the style that has become known as the 'swagger portrait'. Like the painter's studio, the photographer's premises became a space in which a visual record of an elevated and intensified identity could be acquired.

The 'swagger portrait' is a term given by Andrew Wilton to a style of imagery that "puts public display before the more private values of personality and domesticity". Associated more with artists trained in Continental Europe rather than Britain, key practitioners were van Dyck and Bronzini. The British tradition stressed the Protestant virtues of civic worth, domestic honor and administrative probity, whereas the swagger genre exaggerated the glamor and theatricality of the individuals it depicted. As Sarah Kent illuminatingly observed, these images are the obverse of Rembrandt's investigation of his sitters' souls. They are complex fictional visions, inflected by a theatrical excess in which the sitters inhabit extravagant and often absurd roles: we are in the realm of theatre – elaborately coded fictions. The silks, satins and taffetas worn by these men and women, the ermine, periwigs and braid that artists painted with such finesse and brio, are not clothes so much as costumes: signals of rank.

However, one difference with earlier practices of photography must be stressed: whereas much British colonial photographic imagery sustains a stress on the links between visibility and power, comparatively little of today's photographic portraiture is implicated in the processes of state surveillance. This is not to deny that the requirements of the state do motivate some image-making, for full-face photographic images are required for use on driving licences, railway season tickets, college admission forms, bank loan forms and ration cards, in addition to various identity cards required by government agencies, insurance corporations, schools and colleges. Those wishing to vote in the national elections have to show a new identity card bearing a digitised photographic image. The Pakistani state, like all states, places great faith in photography's ability to capture vital aspects of its citizens' physiognomy.

Studio photography of yore exemplified in two dimensions all that photography represented. The first dimension is the compacted and constructed dream world, set free from any arbitrary frame, that the local photographic technology makes possible. Released from its habitual chronotopic imprisonment, these photographic images conflate time and space, so that at least several temporally discrete moments come

to co-exist within the same fabulous space. The second dimension is the fractured picture plane, ruptured by the exuberant materiality of the collage composed of photographic fragments and areas of painted patterning with overlaid pen work which usually coils around the main portrait images.

Figure 1

Studio portrait of a girl from Karachi in Sind, Pakistan, taken by Michie and Company in 1870s

Nowadays village people do not understand photography. They say that we are like this and we want to look like this in the photographs. It is clear that photographic studios are caught up in a complex nexus of changing tastes and aspirations on the part of their clients. However, within these changes and recurrences, the daily life of photographers is structured by the timing of wedding seasons and the increased demand for portraiture on certain festivals.

Figure 2

A portrait of His Majesty, Maharajah Sir Pratap Kumar of Jodhpur taken by Gobardhan and Oodeyram.

The contrast with 1960s popular French photography described by Pierre Bourdieu is striking. For Bourdieu, photography is above all socially regulated and nothing may be photographed which has not already been solemnized. Correspondingly, what is photographed "is not … individuals in their capacity

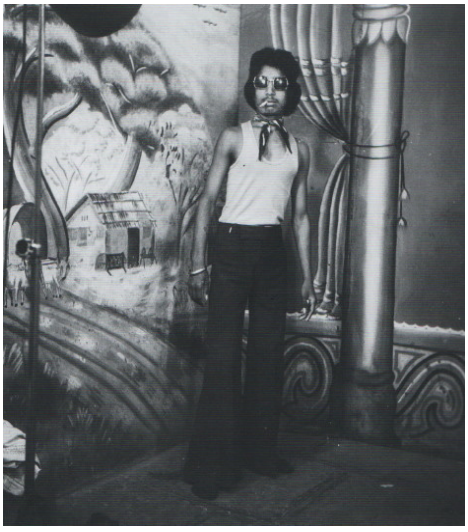

Figure 3

A studio portrait taken by Suresh Punjabi in Studio Suhag.

as individuals but social roles, the husband, first communicant, soldier, or social relationship…"

Now this is certainly true of some local photographic practice – most individuals in wedding photographs, for instance, are depicted in their roles as particular categories of consanguines and affines, and many villagers seek to be photographed in the role of a disciple of their ustad. However, the inventive posing that characterizes much of the imagery produced within studios is concerned with the transcendence and parody of social roles. The photographic studio becomes a place not for solemnization of the social but for the individual exploration of that which does not yet exist in the social world.

Whereas local popular photography does not seem to share much with the solemnizing function of French photography, there are insights to be gained from some West African practices. Kobena Mercer describes the approach of the Mali photographer Seydou Keita, who was active in Bamako from the mid-1940s onwards: with various props, accessories and backdrops. The photographer stylises the pictorial space, and through lighting, depth of field and framing, the camera work heightens the mis-en-scene of the subject, whose poses, gestures and expression thus reveal a self not as he or she actually is, but 'just a little more than what we really are'.

Clients always say, I want to look good … everyone says I am like this but I want to come out better than this in my photo. This comment also echoes David MacDougall's astute observation that South Asian studio photography "offers us the chance to add something to ourselves and review our varied appearances." MacDougall suggests that this style of photography 'increases us' and 'attests to the possibilities within us' and is in this respect the opposite of the 'draining and predatory' photography.

'Coming out better' in a photograph is achieved in two ways: through the

adoption of gestures and through the deployment of costume and props. Frequently, the one implies the other. Any photo involving a gesture is referred to with the English phrase 'action shooting'. Action shooting or an action photo means you have placed your hand in a certain way – holding it up to show your watch, one leg is higher than another - these are action photos. This refers to a set of techniques, agreed between the sitter and the photographer, that allow a particular pose to emerge and may jointly involve a gesture or look by the subject and the adoption of an appropriate camera angle by the photographer. Thus, there are poet and filmy poses which both require low camera angles and the creation of these involves a sort of theatrical direction by the photographer.

A Walk in the Dust

Mehreen Mustafa and Ibrahim Mahmood

Cities tend to grow on a daily basis, facilitated by multiple developments and influences such as infrastructure, culture, economics, politics and resources. Lahore, as we know it, is also constantly evolving. There are skyscrapers, bridges, signal free corridors and the gentrification of suburban and city centers. The city is becoming denser day by day as people from the surrounding areas are rushing in rapidly, not knowing what the city holds for them. This process of urbanization triggers and provides the rationale for numerous informal settlements, known as *katchi abadis* in the local language, to commence, grow and replicate.

The *katchi abadi's,* as defined by the state, are settlements on land not owned by its occupants. The definition easily segregates the residents, not knowing the reasons as to why these settlements began in the first place. Often neglected in city planning and development processes, these settlements are part of a very complex socio-cultural system that cannot be worked on from a distance. The existence and condition of such settlements not only depicts the failure of the state to provide affordable housing to its citizens but also exhibits the social and economic marginalization of a community and its profound effect on the built environment of *katchi abadis* and their context.

In order to explore the above mentioned issues, a 3-day workshop titled, 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with *Katchi Abadis'*, based on the philosophy of a Community based Participatory Learning and Design Center, was organized by the Society for Cultural Education. The project was carried out with the help of students from various universities and disciplines and the members of *katchi abadis*. Here, we would like to specially appreciate Haleema Bhatti, Mian Kamran and Syed Ali Mujtaba Bukhari for their contribution to the project as photographers. The project was an attempt to understand the complexities of communities through the study of their existing realities. The objective of the project was to generate a dialogue on the above-mentioned issues and to provide and propagate basic research of the concerned area. The project also aimed to highlight the process and the idea of *katchi abadis* as an existing urban

Figure 1

Contentment. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

phenomena (neglected and segregated), which should be explored and understood in order to effectively respond and design the needs and growth of cities.

The *katchi abadi* under discussion is composed of unique groups of people having specific backgrounds and social systems. Their dynamics and systems of living, therefore, cannot be generalized. The most active and enthusiastic participants of our project were none other than the children. They made accessibility of the settlement easy and subconsciously also led us to the somewhat evident, yet invisible world of their aspirations and hopes. The posture and expression of the child in figure 1, happily embracing the catalogue having details and images of television sets, truly portrays the desire to acquire and enjoy the inaccessible leisure or necessities (as we will call them) of life.

Figure 2

The Believer. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

The settlement and community of the *katchi abadi* under discussion may appear as a homogeneous entity, bound primarily by economic and land interests, whereas in reality the concerned community is not only heterogeneous but also contradictory in terms of their culture, belief systems and family backgrounds. Usually viewed as a common identity, these *abadis* are composed of various communities, of cast, creed, sect, economical status and so on.

The existence of the *alams,* separately, yet parallel, placed on an elevated space represent the inter-faith harmony, tolerance and respect prevalent in the community culture (see figure 2). The decorated platforms might appear similar in form but they hold distinct and unique characteristics in their respective details. The co-existence of the two schools of thought manifested through a physical form signifies the religious and cultural diversity present within the community. Whereas, the white minaret standing high but alone in the background poses a question.

The spark in the eyes and smile of the children accurately translate the spirit of life and untroubled souls of the children of *katchi abadis* despite the neglect, uncertainty and poverty swallowing their hopes of a bright future (figure 3). Being a child herself, the little girl is taking care of her younger sibling while her mother is at work. The *jhalli* (a swing for babies made of an unwanted piece of cloth and tied to two ends of a *charpai* for structural support) is nothing but an artifact of the creativity due to limited resources. It also highlights the responsibility and burden shared by the elder children of the settlement in terms of raising their younger siblings while their parents are at work.

Figure 3

Smile. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

Figure 4 dissects and depicts the social segregation prevalent in society through the silhouettes of the built environment. In the background, we have multiple storied houses made of concrete and steel and equipped with all the basic needs of life. The consent of the state allows these buildings to grow, thrive and confidently stand in the city environment. Contrary to that, the foreground harbors a series of huts made using scraps discarded by the residents of the multiple storied houses. Declared as illegal encroachments, these huts can neither stay on this very land permanently nor can they be developed or upgraded, despite the fact that they have been settled here by the state agencies to prevent the land from being occupied by other agencies.

Figure 4

Stratified. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

The city also sees these settlements as an unwanted entity, yet these entities are the ones providing and facilitating the basic needs of a city in terms of labor, profit and space where the city dumps its trash or materials to be used for construction.

Figure 5

Proceeding. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

Figure 6

Establishment. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

The background and foreground of figure 5 sketches the constant state of temporariness, evident in almost every aspect of the lives of these residents. A certain movement prevails in their lifestyle and the possessions they have. It is because of this temporariness and movement, the community is fluid enough to adapt to a new space and settings. The community members of the *katchi abadi* are well aware that sooner or later they will have to shift to another area and start all over again. This, rather than suppressing, kindles their spirit of survival and life.

Contrary to popular belief, where the *katchi abadis* are often considered a symbol of chaos and ugliness destroying the order and beauty of the city, the settlements harbor and display a great sense of order in them. The structures are organized in such a way that the adjacent huts are of relatives. In the single unit itself, there is a very sharp order of spaces and activities inside the shelters. The material, structure and construction details have evolved as a result of constant movement: a light weight and portable structure, which may be dismantled quickly and assembled again on a new site.

The landscape of the *katchi abadi* in reference to its people and activities changes drastically with time. During daytime, one may experience the hustle and bustle usually generated by the women folk and children of the *katchi abadi* as they set off to their work or schools. Later during the day till evening, the scene is dominated by the male members and children of the *abadi* (especially in the neighborhoods of Deendars and

Figure 7

Bloodline. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

Joggis), who are usually resting or sleeping in their huts. Other folk may also be found engaged in some discussion or activities. The stillness is broken as the air is once again filled with laughter and conversation on the arrival of the women folk from their work. Evenings are the only time when the women get to share their experiences, stories and their updates of the day with each other. Despite being the earning hands of the family, the female members are victims of patriarchy, whose effects and grasp grows profound with each step taken to improve one's economic class, that is, from poor to middle and from middle to upper class.

Figure 8 not only denotes the sharp contrast shared by the settlement and its context in terms of economics and the built environment but also draws attention to the diversity present within the settlement in terms

Figure 8

Amongst Ourselves. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

Figure 9

Isolation. Source: 'Building Together: Learning and Designing with Katchi Abadis', Lahore, 2016.

of their means of livelihood. The community depends on various means of income, ranging from livestock, selling various products on streets, working in the vicinity as cleaners and sweepers, to fortune-tellers and working as laborers.

Livestock being the most expensive and most profitable means of income, is provided with great care and facilities regardless of the limited available resources. The livestock, including animals, such as monkeys and dogs, live as community members in the settlements, where they are provided with their own shelters and spaces, almost similar to those used by their fellow humans.

Even though every household had earning members, there was the general discomfort of hygiene amongst them. With mostly Muslims in the community, a lack of cleanliness prevailed. Most members of the community used the *katcha* toilet, which basically was a roofless structure with a small pit inside. It is due to these temporary toilets, a constant pungent smell lingers on the site. The ones, who were a bit well off, used a proper toilet, located in one of the buildings nearby, for which they had to pay.

The paper aims to understand and look deeply into the *katchi abadis*, their organizational structure and the cohesion between the members of the settlements and overall how these settlements and their members play

a role in the making of a city. It may seem to us, from a distance, that these settlements are monotonous but if investigated (as we have done), we find all the complexities within the community members. It may seem to us that these settlements are without any order or hierarchy, but we find that there is a very strong social hierarchy in the community. Our daily routines have made us somewhat sluggish, where we tend to make everything easy for ourselves, thus making us egocentric to some extent. This study makes us see the realities our fellow city users face. This pictorial narrative takes us out of our comfort zone and makes us accept the realities these community members face in relation to the city and its usage.

(De) Politicization of Public Places: Cases of Hazoori Bagh, Data Darbar and Madhu Lal Hussain's Shrine

Ghiasuddin Pir and Qaiser Abbas

The Politics of Public Space

The urban sociologist Robert Park writes, "...in making the city man has remade himself" (1967:3). This paper rests on the premise that the urban expansion of the city of Lahore has been playing a fundamental role in creating and restructuring human subjectivities. It is important to begin with raising questions: what defines a public space, how a public space engages with power, how public spaces shape politics and how these facilitate in establishing a democratic culture of a city.

According to Parkinson, a space which is accessible to the public and is open to perform public roles is a public space (2006:69). Similarly, Jurgen Habermas (1989), defines the public sphere as an area in social life where individuals may come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems and through that discussion influence political action. In his book, *Democracy and Public Space,* Parkinson argues that 'the physical form (of space) affects political action but in nuanced ways' (2012:71-72). The walls, their height, the closeness or wideness of sitting spaces between people, more or less possibilities of encounters, front steps of houses, the width of footpaths, or design on the basis of hierarchy - all these contribute in shaping the space and its character. For a democratic space, he states that spatial arrangements should encourage respect, inclusion and equality (2006:83). That is the reason that public spaces, due to their free access and participatory and anti-hierarchal character, become a metaphor for freedom and democracy. Due to these characteristics, Hannah Arendt considers public spaces as 'small hidden islands of freedom' (Bernstein, in Villa, 2000:279).

Michel Foucault's (1977) concept of dispositif and his examination of the role of urban planning in bio-politic and political control of the body helps us in understanding space and its regulation (Podger 2008:51). The dispositif to Foucault is the apparatus that encompasses discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures and scientific statements, moral as well as

philanthropic propositions. Foucault perceives space as an active power discourse which may be used to control and discipline societies (Ibid.). It could be understood in medical terms with the example of how the bodies of the diseased are separated to prevent them from infecting other bodies. Similarly, dangerous individuals, groups or classes in a city are excluded from certain spaces to maintain the discipline and control of authorities or the state. By recognizing the social power of a space and its disciplinarian forces, the city has been used by planners and architects to enhance the control of the ruling elites.

Lahore and its Public Spaces

Sat din te athh melay; kam karaan main kairay vailay

The Punjabi proverb translates to, "Seven days and eight fairs, where do I find the time to work". Lahore has been shaped by a range of socio-political, economical and historical discourses. Its public spaces have provided a highly interactive sphere to its inhabitants. With their unique characteristics, these spaces have taken many shapes throughout history. We encounter a vibrant culture of *takias* – a hub of communal gatherings before the Partition of 1947. Post-Partition, we see a culture of *tharras* (benches), *akharey* (a place of practice with facilities for boarding, lodging and training) and *baithaks* (meeting places). Furthermore, we observe tea-stalls and cafes becoming a hub of community and political discussions. Presently, we observe that due to changing social-political and economic discourses most of the public spaces of Lahore have vanished. The paper argues that these spaces provided a political face to the city. What were the factors and how some of these spaces, which were political in nature, have been de-politicized, is what it attempts to answer. Examples to be looked at include Madhu Lal Hussain's shrine, the Data Darbar and Hazoori Bagh.

Hazoori Bagh

On a dusty evening of the 23rd of October, a large audience is gathered in the open area between the Lahore Fort, Badshahi Mosque and Ranjit Singh's Samadhi. The open area is a green patch adorned with plants, in the center of which is the Baradari. This is the Hazoori Bagh, built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, functioned as his court. However, now the

space which has been closed to the general public with barbed wire. One may see the Hazoori Bagh but no one is allowed to enter it. There are guards to protect the public space from the public.

At the north-western corner of this space, outside the Hazoori Bagh, one observes a small gathering, a *baithak* of mostly old citizens sitting on a white plastic-mat. These are the common people from different parts of the city and outside. Barkat, an old man with white hair and a beard, who came from Kasur, is singing Bulleh Shah's poetry in his deep, penetrating folk voice, with closed eyes and swaying body.

Hazoori Bagh, post Ranjit Singh, was an open public space and numerous generations witnessed its literary culture in the form of its gatherings, poetry and the recitation of Heer. Every Sunday, around noon, people would gather from all around Lahore and other cities to sing and enjoy the recitation of Heer. Those who have seen the Bagh in its days of glory narrate that during the holidays, the Bagh looked as if a festival of monumental proportions was taking place. Some gatherings were engaged in socio-political discussions, while in others you could see people reciting and singing the poetry of Waris Shah, Bulleh Shah, Shah Hussain and other Punjabi classics. One could also enjoy qisseys and tales at another *toli*.

All the happenings at the Hazoori Bagh were people initiated and without any hierarchy or control. People expressed their hearts freely. An old Lahori equates Hazoori Bagh to Hyde Park. Another political activist - a resident of Mochi gate - categorizes the activities of Hazoori Bagh as "literary action" of the participants, which shaped the politics of the city.

The question arises of how these gatherings shaped discourse or engagement in politics. In her article, "Bodies in Alliance and Politics of Streets", Judith Butler (2011) argues that the very existence of bodies assembled in an open public space, at the first instance, contests the ideas of public and private and the distinctions between them. They claim the public whilst simultaneously produce it (2011:1). In the Pakistani context, where there are strict boundaries between what can be public and what cannot be, making public certain ideas and bodies in non-popular ways is going political. She further says, "for politics to take place, the body must appear" (Ibid. 3) and this should happen in relation to other bodies. Hence, the appearance of people's bodies in Hazoori Bagh while claiming their own spaces between the spaces of

state, that is, the Lahore Fort and Badshahi Mosque is itself political. This display of bodies is a slogan, a representation and a protest. The very existence of people in the Hazoori Bagh located between the Lahore Fort and Badshahi Mosque with all its 'literary cum political action' led by the common people was anti-spectacle and dangerous for the regime.

Additionally, the ever famous and old tradition of singing Heer has played a vital role in constructing the political features of Hazoori Bagh. Heer is a symbol of resistance and change, which challenges the traditional institutions of society and dreams of a society based on love and equality. Chuchak (Heer's father), Qaido (Heer's uncle) and the Qazi did not like Heer and Ranjha singing the song of love as free beings. Similarly, Chuchak, Qaido and Qazi of our times did not want Hazoori Bagh to continue with its cultural activities.

The late 1970's and 1980's was a time in Pakistan when the military regime was devoicing society from political voices. Being counted as a dangerous space for its vocal character, Hazoori Bagh was restricted for poets, singers and storytellers. According to Shabir Hussain Shabir, the leading member of Waris Shah Wichar Parchar Parhia, the Bagh was closed by the government. Police arrested two to three Heer singers as a token to stop people from coming there. Shabir helped in releasing some of them.

A small space near the wall of the Roshnai Gate of the Walled City was designated for Heer singing by the government as a response to the increased protests by the people. However, such a small space could not accommodate large groups of Heer singers and poetry recitation. Secondly, with the increasing influence of the Tablighi Jamat around the area, the public character of the space started transforming. We came to know through some leaders of this gathering that for them Waris Shah's Heer had only one interpretation, that is, Heer and Ranjha's *Ishq* is *Ishq-e-Majazi* – only a path to find the eternal love of Allah – that is, *Ishq-e-Haqiqi*. This is an interpretation which previously was only one of many others.

The space still exists but is controlled with barbed wire and a team of security guards. Without any contamination from people, Hazoori Bagh, in the words of Clark (1984), has been turned into a 'spectacle', a splendid spectacle just like the spectacles of the Fort and the Mosque. People can neither ignore it nor evade it. Hazoori Bagh which was

equivalent to Harvey's city: 'a form of sociality' has been reduced to merely an image. Only authorities of state have a right to the city. Previously held activities have been replaced by Independence-day celebrations, and cultural and other events sanctioned by the state. So the character of Hazoori Bagh has changed from a public space, challenging the status quo to a private space re-defining it.

The second thing which Haussmann's re-organization of Paris did was that it turned the boulevards into exhibition spaces of commodities and markets which turned the sociality of the city into a commercial activity (Harvey 2006:8). Similarly, we see the Walled City of Lahore has turned into a market. How could the Bagh's one and only remaining Heer baithak survive in the midst of this aggressive commercialization which has appropriated its character through perpetual commoditization and has subverted the relationship between the performer and the audience into a market relationship instead of one that could create collective political consciousness. A restructuring of consciousness through tangible and intangible means echoes the Haussmannization of Second Empire Paris which gradually eradicated arcades and re-imagined and re-constructed Paris as a city of boulevards, turning citizens into spectators and consumers.

Figure 1

Kaun aya pehan Labas Kurrey, Tusi Pucho Naal Akhlas Kurrey. The famous verse from Heer Ranjha is being narrated by Barkat as the crowd remains glued to his presence. Photograph by Qaisar Abbas (23/10/16)

Madhu Lal Hussain's Shrine and the Evolving Character of Mela Charagan

Madhu Lal Hussain as a cult figure and his shrine located in the Baghbanpura area of Lahore has been a symbol of resistance since the late 16th century. The shrine's symbolic connection with resistance movements continued till the latter half of the 20th century. In the 1970's, the shrine became a center of leftist struggles in Lahore. A prominent example from the time includes the Anjuman-e-Dahrian (the union of atheists) whose members were pioneers of a *baithak* known as the

Baithak of Lal Kafir (The red infidel) – a name given to the man by his friends and foes alike. Lal Kafir was a student of Mauj Din, an active member of the railway labor union, during Ayub Khan's era (1958-1969). Mauj Din is known throughout Lahore as the person who introduced the common man/proletariat to Marx's Das Kapital.

During General Zia ul Haq's time, as there was a ban on protests coupled with a strict control of public spaces, the people found Madhu Lal Hussain's shrine a refuge for displaying their dissent which may be exemplified by the activities of the Pakistan Peoples Party. Protestors who used to come in disguise to the Mela Charagan and once they had reached the front of the military tanks deployed at the Baghbanpura College, used to take out their flags and shout slogans against the dictatorship.

The question raised is how, the nature of this space has changed over the past three to four decades in particular. Our interviews conducted with people who have been active members of Lal Kafir's Baithak point towards two particular reasons:

1. An aggressive form of state intervention took place at the shrine firstly by reducing its area. The shrine's area was spread as far as the Shalimar Garden, an area of approximately four square kilometers (approximately 7907.37 *kanals*). The current area of the shrine is approximately four *kanals* due to a systematic selling of land resulting from an increase in private property surrounding the area. According to one of our sources, Seeku Pehalwan was one such person who was apportioned land around the shrine. This resulted in an increase in the number of small private properties in the form of shops in the area.

   Manzur Ejaz (2011) writes that the Emperor Akbar had ordered Shah Hussain's arrest but could not get to him till he was part of the crowd gathered to see Dullah Bhatti's hanging. The reason that he points towards Shah Hussain ultimately not being arrested was that he took no direct part in the political discourse of the time. This verse exemplifies Shah Hussain's ideas:

   بادشاہاں نوں بادشاہیاں
   شاہاں نون اُگراہیاں
   اساں طلب سائیں دے نام دی

"Kings are managing their kingdoms, money lenders are making collections, while we only desire the name of our Sain (Lord)".

Shah Hussain had felt that Akbar's liberalism was overstated, the foremost example pointing towards Dullah Bhatti being hanged for organizing a peasant revolt against levies imposed by Akbar. Furthermore, Shah Hussain had not only defied the existing political system propagating Hobbesian notions of the State with the ruler as the entire body politic, he came up with a radical solution of formulating a parallel system in which the rulers themselves were completely ignored. Shah Hussain exemplifies *Malamat* – he epitomizes denouncement through his poetry and his life as a material demonstration. This point is instantiated by the following verse:

Any hussaino julaha, na os mool na laha,

Na o mangya na parnaya,

Na os gandh na saha,

Na ghar bari na musafir,

Na o momin na o kaafir,

Joo aaha soo aaha,

I am Hussain the weaver, the principle that earns no interest,

Neither was I engaged nor married,

Neither were my wedding messages sent nor received,

I am neither a settler, nor a nomad,

Neither a believer nor an infidel,

I am who I am.

By taking this existentialist stance, Shah Hussain refuses to be defined by preordained social categories. Through his rejection of dominant politico-religious and social institutions, Shah Hussain displayed how authenticity could be achieved through the individual. Najam Hussain Syed, in his book, *Recurrent Patterns in Punjabi Poetry* (1968:6), presents

the dance of swinging bodies at the shrine as the dance of mockery; mockery of the guardians of the traditional knowledge systems.

Figure 2 (L)

Madhu Lal's shrine is often labeled as a place embedded with *Malamat* (defiance) in its ethos. Photograph by Ibrahim Mahmood (26/3/17)

Figure 3 (R)

Preparations for the *langar* at the Mela Charagan. Photograph by Ibrahim Mahmood (26/3/17)

Data Darbar

A parallel example of possibly currently the most well-known saint of Lahore – Ali Hajvery -Data Ganj Baksh's shrine area has exponentially increased. Tents used to be pitched to the main dome of the shrine and went as far as a lengthy rope attached to it. While the area around Madhu Lal's shrine was being reduced, the area and influence of Data Ganj Baksh's shrine was increasing. The government acquired the entire area east of the Darbar which included private quarters and the area under the occupation of Islamia High School (founded in 1911), Bhatti Gate. Islamia High School's land of approximately 26 *kanals* was bought and dedicated to the expansion of Data Darbar and the high school moved to another place in the Bhatti area a little further away.

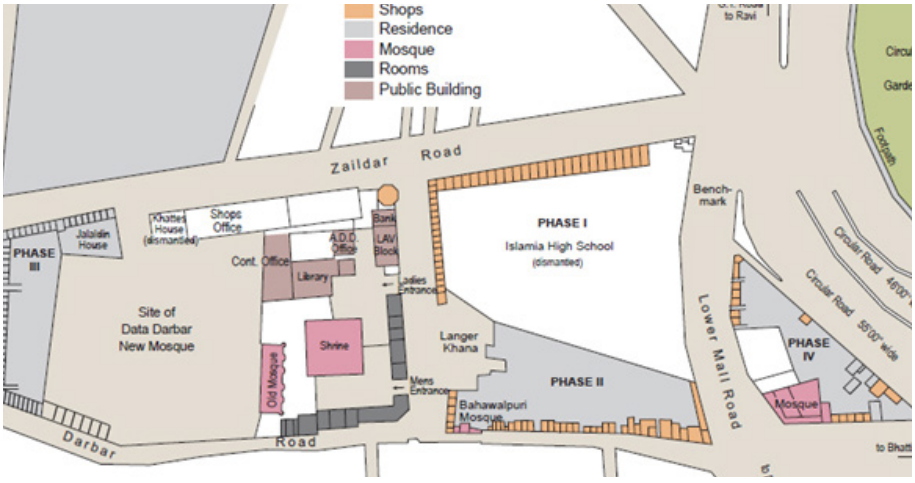

Figure 4

The layout of the shrine after being nationalized in 1960. Source: Linus Strothman (2013)

Figure 5

The layout of the shrine in 2009. Source: Linus Strothman (2013)

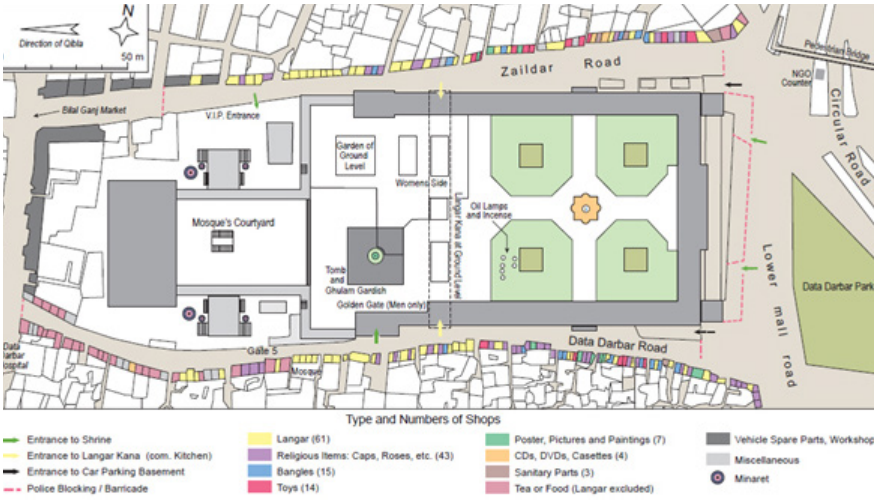

Figure 4 shows the layout of the shrine after being nationalized in 1960. The Islamia High School has been dismantled and a site for a new Mosque has been demarcated. Shops surround the high school and the Bahawalpuri mosque area.

Figure 5 shows how the shrine was transformed around 2009 (and is currently in a similar state). As seen, the land previously occupied by Islamia High School has been formed into the main entrance from the Lower Mall road. Other key elements added to the shrine include a separate women's side, a golden gate dedicated only for men and a separate VIP entrance. The Non-Government Organization name Akhuwat opened up their office at the shrine in 2004 (Strothman, 2013). Micro crediting between the sums of 10,000 and 50,000 rupees were handed to people at sight and were symbolically interpreted by people as help coming from the saint. The shrine also has a dedicated social welfare organization, a well-established *langar khana*, a hospital, library, *madrassa* and a research center. As per statistics based on Chaudry's (2009) work, the shrine had an income of 657,551,000 rupees and an expenditure of 472,580,000 rupees. Furthermore, both the Data Darbar Road, as well as the parallel Zaildar Road, have become prominent markets that sell commodities associated with the shrine, for example, skull caps, flowers, incense as well as toys, bangles, posters, pictures, CDs and such others whilst residences around the shrine are nowhere to be seen.

The point to be raised is that the shrine has become a symbol of fertility, a hub of social welfare and its significance has been strengthened

through its connection to education, health, entrepreneurial activities and religious tourism, in addition to heads of State ritually visiting the shrine to place a green chador at the shrine as one of their first public 'performances' of thanksgiving.

However, it is frequently mentioned by persons visiting Madhu Lal Hussain's shrine that the difference in the appropriation of Data Sahib as a Saint of the State lies in his poetry radically differing from that of Shah Hussain. Their analysis follows a similar structure to the critics of the defendants of Marxist ideas when being termed as misinterpretations when applied in practice, particularly during the Russian revolution. In a rather ironic twist, the point being made lies in the power of texts written by individuals holding an inherent 'quality' to produce future discursive formations. What Data Sahib has become cannot be alienated from what Data Sahib was and what he taught.

The reason often attributed to the appropriation of Ali Hajvery as a Saint of the State is that he propagated a discourse based on religious orthodoxy which was at best politically passive. A frequently cited example is the saint's views on poverty. In *Kashf ul Mahjub,* Data Sahib states that poverty has a high rank in the "Way of Truth" and the poor are referred to as "greatly esteemed". The concept of *Tawwakul* (trust) has been highlighted as a key element throughout his teachings and being born poor is considered an exalted distinction since through poverty one renounces all things external and internal, turning entirely to the "Causer". Echoing the sentiments of a number of Sufi saints, to have worldly possessions is to imprison and to imprison is dialectically connected to one's own imprisonment. While worldly commodities play the role of objects of imprisonment, being free from such objects may lead one to the path of quietism.

This is not to discredit the amount of social welfare and philanthropic activities carried out at the shrine which provide comfort and solace to thousands of individuals a day. Shah Hussain continuously challenges structural violence in his poetry. Dom Helder Camara, in a reflexive twist, famously stated: "When I give food to the poor, they call me a saint. When I ask why the poor have no food, they call me a communist." The latter is what Shah Hussain continuously challenged.

The backdrop of 1979 is cited as another key point in history which shaped the future of Madhu Lal Hussain's shrine not remaining a hub of political activities. Three major events took place in that year,

1. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, 2. The Iranian Revolution took place and 3. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was hanged. Being a proxy war state resulted in a large influx of weaponry being smuggled into the country which perpetuated what has been termed as the "Kalashnikov Culture". Tied to this was the strengthening of a specific religious discourse ultimately leading to an increase in the Shiite and Sunni sectarian divide. This ultimately ended up creating new sectarian identities, which formulated a discourse that made discussing matters of mutual interest, for example, economic inequality between the two sects increasingly difficult – since sectarian identities alone were magnified. This planned intervention was a strategy expertly and successfully employed to increase divisions which ultimately led to lack of any consensus since the variables involved in reaching a consensus had ultimately increased.

Aggressive capitalist interventions led to an increase in class divisions and segregation. Mutual interests of people were tied together from the money moving into the country, labor moving overseas and a patronage of small and large businesses facilitated through free market neo-liberalism. Gentrification of particular areas of Lahore through State interventions resulted in an aggressive form of development, starting from the center and gradually moving towards the periphery. The result was predominantly homogenous communities living in gentrified areas, for example, Johar Town, Allama Iqbal Town and later on the Defence Housing Authority. Increased commodity fetishism saw an increase in the number of communal activities being reduced to individual activities which further saw the value of the communal public sphere diminished and resulted in segregation, alienation and de-politicization.

Conclusion

Cities provide us with multiple perspectives; they are an agglomeration of subjective cognitions and worldviews semiotically deciphered by groups of people and even individuals in different ways. Baudelair's poem titled 'The Eyes of the Poor', provides us a valuable perspective on this. In the poem, a man asks his beloved if she is aware of why he has suddenly started hating her. Upon her inquiring why, he replies, "when we were sitting in the splendid cafe around the newly built boulevard, an old man with two children was standing outside around

the corner. They were all in rags and their six eyes were looking at the beauty and splendidness of this café and the people inside. I was touched by the eyes of these three. And that moment when I looked into your eyes you said, 'Those people are insufferable with their great saucer eyes. Can't you tell the proprietor to send them away?' How difficult it is to understand one another, my dear angel, how incommunicable a thought is, even between two people in love."

So, while the interventions discussed during the length of this paper may have positive connotations for some, particularly when looked at through the lens of development and security, there is evidence to question whether the proprietors of this country have systematically expelled or recreated the subjectivities of people who were considered misfits and potentially dangerous for their regimes.

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Prof. Dr. Aamir Shahzad is a physician by profession and at present working as Head of the Department of Medicine in a medical college in Rawalpindi. Photography is one of his hobbies. His basic interest is in portraits and street/documentary photography where he likes to highlight various social and cultural issues of our society. In addition, he likes to write on the art of photography. He has participated in two national and one international group exhibition and his interviews have been published in various international magazines.

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Qaisar Abbas has completed his MA in Applied Anthropology and Community Development from the University of London. He is currently working on establishing the curricula for the School of Culture and Language, University of Culture and Art (upcoming). His areas of interest include theatre for social and political change, and exploring and reviving Folk art. He has acted and worked as production designer in 11 plays, directed 18 plays and scripted 6 plays. He has worked extensively on developing and participating in art and theatre festivals and workshops.

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Editorial Board

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Prof. Dr. Jawaid Haider is an architect and an educationist. He is Professor of Architecture and Planning at The Pennsylvania State University, USA and Professor and Dean of Academics, Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture, Pakistan

THAAP JOURNAL 2017

THAAP, established in 2006, is registered as a not-for-profit Section 42 Company with the Securities Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP). It is a forum of academics and professionals dedicated to improving the state of education, particularly in the fields of Art and Culture, where multi-disciplinary discourses take place and diversity thrives; our particular focus is on teachers for they will, and can, lead the way and give us hope for a richer future - a future which is not stagnant with unitary thought but which carries the variety of a thousand flowers. To achieve this goal, International Conferences are held on an annual basis, while Seminars, Colloquims, Consultative meetings are organized throughout the year. THAAP recognizes the intrinsic link between history, tradition and culture and acknowledges that our present day beliefs, value systems and world view which constitute the culture of a society or community are shaped by the historical past. The resultant entity, while composed of many parts, operates as an integral body. Knowledge has grown into many fields of specializations yet as it flows from the human mind, it is integrated towards the common goal of human welfare. THAAP promotes integration and inclusivism and not the opposite. It aims to reassess and revisit history and create scholarship and knowledge of the old and recent history from the people's perspective and disseminate to a wide audience. There is no better way to learn than to learn from each other.

THAAP Crafts

Recognizing the rich craft traditions of Pakistan, THAAP-CRAFT seeks to enable the provision of livelihood opportunities for the marginalized craft communities and engender pride in the cultural heritage and expressions of the people of this nation. It works closely with THAAP Culture and Development Program for purposes of marketing the products and promoting crafts persons. It is currently working with the Women Collectives established as pilots in Bahawalpur District.

THAAP Culture and Development Program

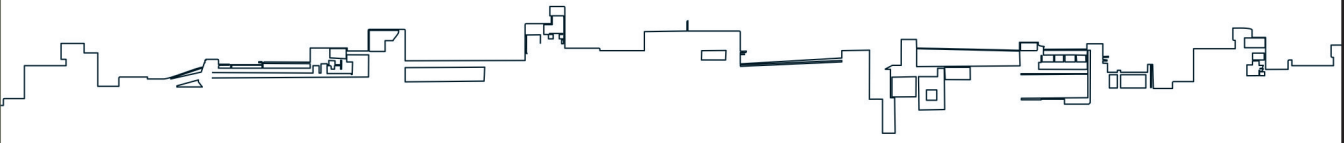
THAAP Culture and Development Program was set up for purposes of working within culture and heritage sectors, to strengthen the nexus between culture and sustainable development and safeguarding communities' inalienable rights to their culture particularly their Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). THAAP Culture and Development Program works towards social and economic empowerment of the underprivileged village communities especially women by promoting their participation in the economic growth of communities through entrepreneurship and capacity building initiatives, mainly by enhancing non-agricultural income generation opportunities.

Its youth program aims to engage youth in safeguarding heritage and promotes intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge in schools through collaboration with Intangible Culture tradition bearers. THAAP also maintains a pool of associates who participate in projects as and when needed. Experts and ustads are currently working in South Punjab, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, and Kalaash with an aim to empower local communities and train them in capacity building and the Convention 2003.

THAAP Publications

THAAP Publications have published "Cultural Expressions of South Punjab", author Sajida Vandal with contributions by Dr. Nasarullah Nasir, Ms. Saba Samee and Ms. Ayesha Imdad; the "Historiography of Architecture of Pakistan and the Region", based on the Papers of THAAP Conference - 2010; "Portrait of Lahore – Lahore Nu Salam" based on the Papers of THAAP Conference - 2011; "Life in Small Towns", based on the Papers of THAAP Conference – 2012; "Cultural Roots of Art and Architecture of the Punjab", based on the Papers of THAAP Conference – 2013; "Culture, Art and Architecture of the Marginalized and the Poor", based on the Papers of THAAP Conference – 2014; "People's History of Pakistan", based on the Papers of THAAP Conference – 2015; edited by Prof. Pervaiz Vandal.

Sajida Haider Vandal, CEO THAAPPervaiz Vandal, Director THAAP



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PEOPLE AND THE CITY

In the grand evolution of life on the planet, human clusters formed, developed and grew resulting in the present ever-expanding cities that are as living as any other organism with people as its Life-Force. Without people a city or town would be a soulless mass of debris. People make a city happen; they bring it forth, give it character, endow it with art and culture, fulfill aspirations and suffer frustrations. They can make it a place of joy, a thing of beauty which in turn gives them a sense of identity and pride, or when, without the humane vision, they can turn the city into a place of horror from which it is difficult to escape. City changes with its people.

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