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CITY:
AN EVOLVING
ORGANISM

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City an Organism

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Introduction

It is instructive to remember that the birth place of homo sapiens has long been traced to East Africa from where they spread globally, competing with and dominating other species in their perpetual struggle for survival. Family, clan, tribe, habitation, city are the different forms in which they organized socially and in space for a better chance at survival against elements of nature, famine, disease and war. Do they bode well for this planet or will they destroy it and themselves in this ceaseless struggle of competition and domination? This is no longer a rhetorical question and the possibility exists of a war that will not 'end all wars' but could end life itself.

The evolution of the city through history has been a part of this drive, covering the globe as ever-increasing multitudes evolved particular living patterns. The efforts for larger physical areas to exploit, numbers of people to enslave, and the formation of large armies to achieve these objectives has been the story of growth and spread of various political states, large and small. A number of scholars (from German urbanist Hans Reichow, 1948 to present day work at IAC, Pakistan) agree that a city is best viewed as an organism: breathing, living, surviving and subject to decay and death; that the city is a biological process that unfolds following the laws of nature in its growth and survival. The city lives and survives in a hinterland, its context. A mutual interaction, between the city and its hinterland, is assumed and the city fits in the context. Cities are no longer simply regarded as spatially extended material artifacts but as complex systems that are analogous to living organisms. The city is just another form evolved for survival.

It is also postulated that the birth of city is part of the evolutionary process as humans continue their struggle for survival in ever-increasing numbers, that it is a mutation of a sort which is a necessary step in the never ending process of human life on Earth. The claims that the city is analogous to a living organism, is recent and arose from the growth of biology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The theory of the organic city rests on a number of assumptions about the nature of organisms. Among these is the assertion that an organism is an

autonomous individual, and that it has a definite boundary and is of a specific size. It does not change merely by adding parts but through reorganization as it reaches limits or thresholds.

The whole organism strives for stability, self-repairing and regulating to achieve a dynamic balance. Cycles of life and death are normal to organisms as is rhythmic passage from one state to another. From this flows the notion of the form of the organic city. It is a separate spatial and social unit made up internally of highly connected places and people. A healthy community is heterogeneous and diverse. Like organisms, settlements are born, grow, and mature, and if further growth is necessary, a new entity has to be formed. As the city continues to produce and deposit its wastes—like so much defecation—philosophers, such as Michel Serres, would ask profound questions: Is the city simply marking its territory? Or rather, like some primitive life form, will it continue to foul its own home? Vegetation not only ensures intimate contact with nature but also ensures healthy growth. The city has typical physical forms, such as radial patterns, anti-geometrical layouts, and a proclivity for natural materials. Often the organic idea is extended regionally to connect settlements to valleys, trails, and other extended natural systems. Small-scale modes of production or services as well as large-scale synthetic processes have their own place and contribution.

In the Darwinian sense, only the strong survive. In the case of cities as living organisms, the same rule applies. The city has to be strong enough to take care of the collective needs of its people and fight off any real or perceived issues that may weaken its ability to evolve.

A city must be creative enough to operate in the present while holding to a vision for its future. The larger challenge is how a community is defined in pursuit of the city's vision and who gets to define it? A city's choice is simple: evolve and adapt or perish succumbing to the pressures of market forces, inequality and injustice. A city must be cognizant of its need to evolve. It will become irrelevant as a place to attract talent, jobs and resources if it chooses not to do so.

We often hear the sermon of let the market drive the vision for cities. This perspective suggests the market knows best and politics should not matter in city decision making. This is misleading and alienates the citizens. Politics matter and as such require an understanding of local officials' subjective interpretation of city environment and its problems. How this is done and what is defined as 'community' should

be of concern to citizens. It should be of concern given that the city's ability to evolve is linked to public decision making. As citizens, it is our responsibility to make sure our leaders have the capacity to execute on a collective community vision. It's the vision and the ability to realize that vision for all of its citizens that will drive the longevity of cities as a living organism in a changing world.

The city needs a multidisciplinary approach to examine the educational problems entailed in developing human awareness and understanding of the environment. The focus is a sustained, and sustaining, place-based inquiry into how the city functions -- as a complex ecosystem, as an interconnected economic system and as a multicultural and vibrant social space to live or work. Its essence is the ownership and management by its citizens, not just the market or the officialdom. The challenge is to consider a simpler (rhetorical) question of the "living city"; namely, is it a sentient being, and can it "learn" from its experiences? Or, in other words, for educators, can environmental education make a difference here? The answer to this and so many other questions lies in the way that each of us conceives and nurtures our own home or community and in the way that the educational process unfolds, either at school or in informal settings across the city.

Learning is a continuous process that occurs throughout the day while we work or play, not just in school settings, and it definitely occurs here "at home," which consists of several components: ecology, economy and culture, which together form a multidisciplinary model that considers ecological, social and values-related perspectives that act on local communities and form the true context for teaching and learning. So then what do we or our cities of Pakistan learn?

Globalization is breaking down barriers and has effectively ended the overemphasis on specialization. For some years now, educationists and research scientists have shown the limits of over-specialization and the harm it can do to the integrated human fabric. Holistic thinking, interdependence, fighting the problems of globalization while welcoming its positive aspects, characterizes the thinkers of today. In this milieu where do we stand and what do we do?

If we restrict our role to only the physical/geographical and ignore the sociological/human side of the city, we negate one side of our personality; we restrict ourselves only to design of buildings and roads, some rehabilitation of housing, through government agencies or private

bodies with people's participation. Under pressures of specialization, we have constricted ourselves into a narrow rut. Why do we abdicate half of our person, especially since we humans are intellectually in a position to help the city achieve its next stage in Human Development?

When a city is filthy, as most of our cities are, when a large number of its citizens live without the basic amenities of life, when we tolerate this because we console ourselves with reasons of lack of resources, when we see the ultimate degradation of humans as outcasts and treated as animals, when we see little children begging in cold nights, as we see them aplenty in Lahore, how can we remain untouched; that is not what the city came into being for. That is not something to be tolerated. Why don't we say enough is enough… this has to change; in brief, let us focus on humans and not just roads, under-passes and such other gimmicks. Let the city be a healthy organism, cognizant of all its denizens, a caring and just city, not just a beautiful city in parts.

The First Urbanism in South Asia (c. 2600-1900 BCE); Characteristics and Processes

Heidi J. Miller

Introduction

Archaeological research over the past thirty years has revealed the dynamic nature of the first urbanization in the Indian Subcontinent, labeled the Harappan Phase. These first cities share a common physical characteristic and yet each was unique in its specific built environment. The similarity of the material culture throughout this region during the third millennium BCE is well noted in literature and it was the movement of raw materials, finished goods and possibly people between the various cities, towns and hinterlands that created a dynamic and adaptable urban-focused interaction system. Today, the four known cities are individual examples illustrating the flexible nature of these densely occupied settlements.

The first cities in the subcontinent emerged from regional cultures that coalesced in the greater Indus River region around 2600 BCE and lasted for approximately seven hundred years until ca. 1900 BCE. Highly visible, densely occupied settlements were built overlaying older and smaller villages, and today there are four known sites measuring more than 80 hectares; Mohenjo-daro in Sindh (ca. 200 ha), Harappa in the Punjab (ca. 150 ha), Rakhigarhi in Haryana state (ca. 80 ha), and Dholavira in the Rann of Kutch (ca. 100 ha). There is a possible fifth city, the site of Ganweriwala, also in the Punjab, which has not been excavated (ca. 80 ha) (see Fig. 1). This Bronze Age phenomenon has been labeled variously, the Harappan, the Mature Harappan, the Urban Phase and the Indus Valley Civilization, and much of the knowledge of these first cities derives from archaeological excavations in the 1920's and 1930's. Since then smaller sites of the same time period have been excavated (for example,see Dales 1974), and regional surveys have documented settlement across landscape and through time (for example,see Mughal 1997; Wright, Bryson, and Schuldenrein 2008). This primary urbanization in South Asia was dynamic and multifaceted, organically emerging from local patterns, and creative, involving not only the immediate Indus Valley area but materials and peoples from regions further afield such as Gujarat and the mountainous northern and western areas.

Locations of
confirmed Harappan
cities
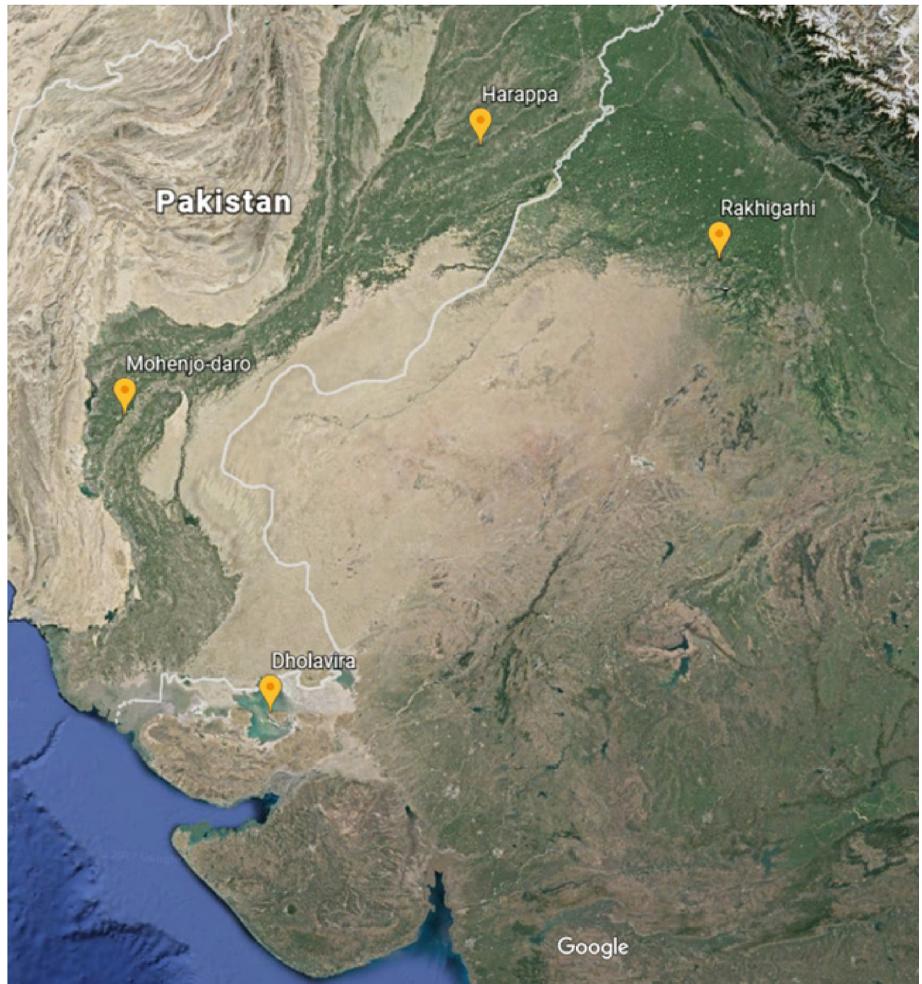
The cities, densely occupied large settlements, required a supporting
hinterland in order to exist; the need for agricultural products, building
and other raw materials, as well as labor is essential for feeding the city's
inhabitants, building homes, shops, and large public structures, as well
as creating elite goods and everyday tools. Archaeological investigations
of the first urban expressions around the world have searched for a set
of universal must-haves focusing on the processes of how a group of
settlements became and maintained an *urban system* rather than defining
a single settlement type (Falconer and Redman 2009; Marcus and
Feinman 1998; McIntosh and McIntosh 1993, 2003; Trigger 2003; Wright
2002). By urban system what is meant is an extensive network of social
and economic connections that integrate various settlements into a single

entity. Cross-cultural studies have focused on the importance of urban-hinterland interaction, the existence of a complex and multifaceted economy as well as a diverse and sophisticated social organization with a managerial class to oversee the many different activities occurring within the larger city-focused system (for example, see Adams 1966; Yoffee 2005).

Social and economic diversification is a result of people drawn to the city from smaller settlements, creating a concentrated and varied population, within which individuals and groups are no longer self-sufficient and must rely on others for goods and services creating new social and economic roles. Such new roles required a different way of interacting with each other and thus the need to express the diversity and stratification of social and economic groups. Additionally, a city's population was pulled from the surrounding countryside and there was a need to integrate this heterogeneous population and to ensure that the urban system as a whole could successfully function. Hence, an integrating superstructure was required in order to interconnect all the bits and pieces of the new urban entity. Identity within this new web of inter-relationships must be expressed on a variety of socio-political levels, including by individuals, sub-groups, and supra-groups and thus this new collective identity utilized an overarching ideology expressed through a distinct set of symbols and objects (see Attarian 2003 for more on the important role ideology plays).

A city with its concentration of people in a limited space enabled diversification of the economy with a specialization of labor, and the production of many new goods and services. People within the city and in the hinterland are now inter-connected in a complex economic system, relying on each other for goods, services and food, as well as labor for large-scale building projects, like city walls and underlying platforms. The city becomes a market and services center for the people living in the countryside and the demands of the population residing in the urban settlement(s) drive this network; changes in the urban population's needs and wants creates changes in the materials and services provided by the hinterland.

In sum, cities created new complex economies and ideologies, expressions of power and social difference via new institutions, new crafts, and new socio-political and economic structures. The urban system represents a symbiotic relationship between city and countryside, a relationship that involves economic as well as social integration (Emberling 2003; Sjoberg

1955; Trigger 1972, 2003; Yoffee 2005). Thus, in order to understand the first cities of the Indus region, we must keep in mind the large and diverse physical and social environments in which the first South Asian cities were located.

Reconstructing the Past from Archaeological Remains

Is it possible to document such a complex urban system without the testimony of written records? For the Indus Valley Civilization, we rely completely on the archaeological record. Archaeology is "…the art of finding lost objects…" (Vidale 1991); we look at rubbish heaps, the overlooked and the left-behinds. The undeciphered Harappan writing system cannot yet describe how life was lived, however the task is not impossible. In actual fact, a great deal can be gleaned from the rubbish heaps but the interpretations must be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. There may be more than one interpretation and new data may appear at any time which will completely challenge an accepted view.

For example, the interpretation of the Harappan Civilization as homogeneous and unchanging, coined by the first excavators and perpetuated by the colonial powers, is now being disproven. This research is ongoing and I will just note two examples. First, a study completed in 1976 by Fentress that compared the volume of excavated area and the recovered artifacts from the sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa (Fentress 1976). Her conclusions were the first to challenge the homogeneous paradigm, that is, all Indus Valley Civilization cities were the same and that there was no change through time in any of the material culture over the duration of 700 years. In actual fact, utilizing only the information that had been published, Fentress demonstrated the different overall town structure at each site along with the very different public buildings. She notes, "…the architectural data indicates substantial differences between Mohenjo-daro and Harappa" (Fentress 1976:178). Additionally, she was able to document that although tools and weights were very similar in types and expected quantities between the sites, figurines and inscribed objects varied in type and quantity, and she observed; "A major pattern… is the presence of a wider range of variation in type and symbol at Harappa compared with Mohenjo-daro. *Differences between the sites are distinct*" (Fentress 1976:259; my emphasis).

Fentress's study relied on older published data, which by definition is biased as it relied on incomplete excavation methodologies and all recovered remains were not published. Yet, recent excavation at the site of Harappa and fresh study of the finds by the Harappan Archaeological Research Project (HARP) has supported Fentress's early observations of inter-site variation. Moreover, HARP has documented chronological change *within* the urban phase at the site of Harappa using state-of-the-art excavation methodologies (for example, see Kenoyer 1993; Kenoyer and Meadow 1999, 2010; Meadow and Kenoyer 1997; Meadow 1991a). They have been able to refine the chronology of the urban period into three distinct stages based on changes in architecture, material culture and radiocarbon dating Periods 1 and 2 at this site represent a formative Early Harappan phase, while the fully urban Harappan is found in Period 3 of the chronological sequence. Period 3 has been subdivided into phases 3A, 3B, and 3C, each with distinct architectural and material remains. For the first time, an inclusive stratigraphic-chronological study of all inscribed objects found in different areas at the site of Harappa has been completed (Kenoyer and Meadow 2010). In this study, they note that with the beginning of the urban phase at Harappa, ca. 2600 BCE, inscribed objects become more common at the site, found in a variety of materials and techniques. Notably the classic square seals in heated steatite are most popular in the middle and later urban phases (3B and 3C), though they are found towards the end of 3A. Interestingly, long rectangular inscribed seals, without any motifs, are only found in Period 3C, and other specific types of objects inscribed in one way or another emerge in the later phases of the urban period. Indeed, Kenoyer and Meadow note:

> "These recent discoveries by HARP at Harappa indicate that there were significant changes in the style of the script and also in the types of objects on which Indus signs were executed during the emergence, expansion, and transformation of the Indus cities." (Kenoyer and Meadow 2010:lvi)

These two studies, by Fentress, and Meadow and Kenoyer demonstrate that there is material variation through time and space within the Indus Valley Civilization, and it is not a homogeneous block of remains. Thus, relying on the archaeological record to recreate the ancient world without the aid of written texts is a reliable path, the limitations of found objects and the context of the interpretations must be acknowledged.

The Cities of the Indus River Valley 2600-1900 BCE

The sites of Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Dholavira and Rakhigarhi share characteristics of their built environment along with evidence of a common writing system, a set of standardized weights and specialized craft technologies indicating a shared material culture. It appears that each city was connected with and yet independent of the others, building its own environment, drawing population from different regions and yet all shared an overarching material veneer (Meadow and Kenoyer 1997). This veneer is an assemblage of raw materials, finished objects, ideological symbols and technological practices that indicate a shared worldview and enabled a common social and economic system creating a massive interaction sphere over 680,000 square kilometers (Kenoyer 1998; see also Shaffer 1992). The material veneer acted as an integrating mechanism, incorporating the many different local communities into a single urban system with a multifaceted economic and social organization, all united in purpose.

The emergence of these four settlements of over 80 hectares in size demarcates a new social, economic and political complexity whose scale was not previously known in the archaeological record of South Asia. The physical placement of the sites within the river valley and just beyond (as in the case of Dholavira) may be the result of opportune finds by archaeologists, or the intentional dispersal of the cities in order to take better advantage of the resources in the immediate as well as distant hinterlands (Fig. 1). Researchers have noted this well-spaced distribution and have interpreted it as a means of interconnecting the entire region allowing for efficient exploitation and participation into the overall socio-economic system (Kenoyer 1998; Mughal 1990).

The urban centers all have a common set of physical characteristics: multiple habitation mounds with individual encircling walls, occupation remains found in between the mounds as well as beyond the assumed borders of the settlement, the presence of streets, the use of baked brick especially for water features such as drains, wells and bathing platforms, multiple public structures in different areas of each site, and evidence of the same suite of activities at each city and across the individual mounds (Kenoyer 1993, 1997, 2008a, 2008b). However, the sites do not share a definitive layout, and the type and form of the public buildings varies greatly from site to site. It is as if each city was given the same set of broad criteria and each city chose its own built expression of a city. What appears to have been important to the builders is the function of the

sites within the urban system and not necessarily the form of the built environment.

As noted, all four sites are composed of multiple mounds as well as occupation remains extending between and beyond these mounded areas except for Dholavira which was built as a set of nested, enclosed areas (addressed below, see Fig. 2). Examining the plans of Rakhigarhi, Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, these sites appear to be an indiscriminate mass of multiple mounded areas. Even the location of the highest mound varies from site to site (see Kenoyer 2008a). Unlike, say, Roman period forts throughout Europe that were constructed according to a distinct plan and purpose (housing of troops and maintaining of imperial control), the first cities in South Asia were not constructed according to an idealized and centralized plan, nor did they have a consistent population and singular purpose over time. The multiple mounds and the scattered habitation debris beyond the mounds have been interpreted as indictors of population fluctuation over the history of each site (for example, see Kenoyer 1991c). Invoking observations of traditional cities throughout the long history of South Asia, Kenoyer points out that the extent of habitation remains does not equate to maximum population,

> "During specific seasons, urban centers become the focus of activity for traders, nomads, agriculturalists, and ritual specialists. Some people live with relatives in the city, others camp in the fields or on top of the city dumps. The population dynamics of a city in South Asia…. is not a simple equation to numbers of people who can exist in a given area."(Kenoyer 1991)

The plans in Fig. 2 represent 700 years of occupation, as well as the effects of erosion and brick-robbing for nearly 4000 years. They were formed incrementally, created by the needs of a population that changed over time in size as well as use of space.

The presence of these multiple habitation mounds with similar remains, encircled by walls with discrete gateways, suggests there was a desire to restrict access to and control materials within areas of the site. Additionally, not all the mounds were actively used contemporaneously. At the site of Harappa, the Harappa Archaeological Research Project has found evidence that there were cycles of maintenance and decay at different times across most of the inhabited area. While some gated areas were inhabited and busy with craft production, others were abandoned and garbage filled the streets and drains (Meadow 1991b).

Eventually the active area would fall into disuse and the decayed area would be rebuilt and resettled. Thus active settlement shifted from mound to mound across the city (Kenoyer 1997, 2008a, 2008b; Kenoyer and Meadow 1999; Meadow 1991; Miller 1999, 2007). The excavators suggest that these remains reflect elite factions competing for political and economic control, each within its own gated community (Kenoyer 1997); as one social group was ascendant in control and importance, that area would be maintained, while the other areas, unseated from political and economic control, would no longer invest time and effort maintaining their particular area. Multiple mounds discontinuously occupied but with similar remains underscore a decentralized approach to urban order.

Unlike the sites of Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and Rakhigarhi, Dholavira is on an island in the Rann of Kutch and is composed of a set of nested walled areas, one inside the next, illustrating a related but different socio-economic structure at this site (Bisht 2015; Kenoyer 2008a, 2008b, 2014). Like the other sites, there are occupation remains beyond the walled area, extensive evidence of craft production, important water

features, streets and public areas. However, this more restrictive plan illustrates a greater degree of centralized control, possibly by a single elite group. The environment of this site is different from the others and thus its building material is stone (amply found), and there are sixteen large water reservoirs to sustain the population during the dry season. Yet, it has the same material culture as the other urban centers, with a more quantitative presence of local ceramics (Bisht 1997, 2007, 2015).

Rakhigarhi is currently being excavated and the preliminary findings indicate at least 7 mounds of remains, with one being a cemetery. There is a structure where grain remains have been recovered indicating the site may have an actual granary. Harappan material culture has been recovered and more detailed reports are in process (Nath 1997-98, 1998-99, 2000-1, 2002, 2014; Nath and Garge 2014).

At all four sites there are multiple examples of large public areas in different locations at each site. No two structures are alike and the building forms changed throughout the duration of the Harappan phase. Many of these buildings are referred to as granaries and yet no evidence of grain being stored in them has been found (with the single exception at Rakhigarhi) (Nath 2014). On the other hand, the Great Bath at Mohenjo-daro is indeed a large tank for water which was built at a later point in the site's history as it was dug into earlier Harappan period remains (Jansen 1989). The functions of these structures undoubtedly varied throughout the 700 years of the Harappan phase and the fact that there was more than one public structure at each site in different locales supports the interpretation of competing elites in each city (Kenoyer 1997, 2008a, 2008b). Dholavira, with its different physical plan, has open spaces within the walled areas which the excavator has interpreted as public gathering spaces (Bisht 2015). These were multifunctional spaces used by the population as needed throughout the Harappan phase and were not authoritative focal points as found in the ancient cities in Mesopotamia to the west of the Indus Valley (Kenoyer 2008a; Wright 2010). While materials and labor were required in order to build, maintain and adapt the structures as needed, there is no evidence of a common authority to define what, how, where and when something was to be built.

Along with the individual urban characteristics at each site, there is a common building tradition and emphasis on certain structures that all the sites share and this has to do with the management of water. Wells and reservoirs for fresh water, drains for waste water and runoff, as well

as bathing platforms and latrines connected to a central drainage system along the streets of the neighborhoods are common at each site. Perhaps this focus on managing water is embedded within the uniting ideology of the Harappan phase; decipherment of the inscriptions and additional study are needed to support this interpretation.

All-in-all, these large sites have evidence of multiple discrete areas discontinuously occupied and the exact placement of the mounds does not appear to be predetermined. Settlement was not restricted to these mounded areas but is also found in-between and beyond the enclosed and gated communities, suggesting that the population of these cities fluctuated throughout the 700 years of settlement. In order to construct the enclosing walls and gates, water features and large public structures, there was a need to rally manpower, provide materials and coordinate construction, and while the sites all show indications of wealth, control and activity, there is not a clear indication of a centralized commanding authority. Indeed, while the nested areas at the site of Dholavira suggest a single authority at that site, there is no evidence of a single ruler or ruling class integrating these cities and the surrounding countryside. There is significant variation of the built environment within and between the cities as well as evidence of localized material differences, and the evidence of the alternating nature of elite control at each city. Yet, this was a successful urban system lasting 700 years of occupation (with earlier settlement remains found at two of the cities). The widely shared material culture (the veneer) of ornaments, inscribed objects, weights and measures, painted pottery motifs and vessel forms, all socio-ritual objects, illustrate a shared ideological system that united the cities and smaller settlements in the hinterlands into a single socio-economic enterprise. Craft production remains at each of the sites are distributed across the various mounds without clear indication of a single authority controlling a single craft. This was a very successful first urbanization. The sites and objects recovered by archaeologists symbolize a prosperous urban based interaction system, involving the sites themselves, their immediate hinterlands (especially for labor and sustenance for the urban dwellers) as well as the mountainous regions to the north and east, and the drier areas to the south, well beyond the alluvial plain. In fact it is these distant areas which provided the rock and mineral resources so critical for definition and expression of the urban-based social system and the ideology.

The Harappan Urban System

The Harappan archaeological culture was a network of interconnected sites that moved raw materials and finished objects throughout the Indus Valley and adjacent regions. These materials, artifacts and the technologies used to produce them, make up the Harappan veneer that is the objects, iconography and a common value system that enabled the differing communities to interact as a single complex entity with a set of shared opportunities and goals. It is important to note that the interconnections between regions within the Indus Valley existed prior to the emergence of the first cities and functioned as communication channels uniting the "micro-economies of sub-regions within this area"(Shaffer 1992:44). The existing networks were amplified during the urban phase and the increased intensity of the movement of materials and artifacts corresponds with the emergence of the cities (Kenoyer, 1994, 1995a, 2000, 2008b, 2014). The extensive interaction during the Harappan phase would not have been possible without the pre-existing networks as well as the common values created by the artifacts and the iconography of this phase; these are both critical factors in the purposeful functioning of the urban system. The physical cities of Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Rakhigarhi and Dholavira are another piece of this system. By focusing on the urban system rather than the cities themselves it can be emphasized that cities cannot exist in isolation from their hinterlands. A city needs a hinterland and cannot exist without it and the emphasis on the urban system illustrates that the physical city is a piece of a complex entity composed of multiple interdependent and interacting parts.

At the beginning of this paper, the four common characteristics of ancient urban settlements were described: urban-hinterland interaction, a complex economy, a diverse social organization and an overarching ideology. The inhabitants of the cities in the Indus Valley were fed by farmers living in the rich alluvial plains surrounding each of the urban sites. The rich array of raw materials and the variety of objects found at the sites of Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Rakhigarhi and Dholavira, as well as evidence of multiple areas of production at each site speaks of the diversity of economic activities. The complexity of social organization is illustrated by multiple and different occupation areas at each site as well as the great variety of ornaments of similar shapes made from differing raw materials and technologies used to demarcate the social status of city dwelling individuals and groups (Kenoyer 1989, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2000; 2006-07, 2010; Kenoyer and Meadow 1996; Meadow

and Kenoyer 1997; Vidale 1989). Finally, the overarching and integrating ideology is expressed through symbols found on common objects such as pottery and ornaments, the use of writing, the common set of standardized weights and shared proportional measurements found at the sites (Kenoyer 1989, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1995a; 1995b, 2010). In place of a centralized authority ascertaining rules and laws, it was in fact the purpose of the urban system, the merchants and craftsmen which allowed for a new social and economic order and the emergence of cities. The need and desire for raw materials and a particular set of socio-ritual objects drove the intense interaction in this region during the second half of the third millennium BCE.

Intensive research into the shared artifacts, technologies and materials found at Indus Valley sites indicates the important roles these artifacts and materials played in integrating communities as well as denoting a new social structure that emerged with the first cities. However, these settlements with extensive evidence of craft production exist in the alluvial plain of the Indus river system, hundreds of kilometers from rock, mineral, shell,resources from which these artifacts were made. The movement of raw materials from the peripheries of the Indus plain to the cities and the circulation of these materials and finished objects amongst the various sites (large and small) of the Indus Valley Civilization are the foundation of the urban system and its purpose.

As noted above, the development of the first cities is closely linked to the importance of an increase in interaction and trade throughout this region. Mineral provenience studies demonstrate multiple source areas for different materials in use over time as well as simultaneously during the Harappan phase. The use of multiple source areas as well as different sites of artifact production within and between settlements suggests competition for access to and control of the raw material, manufacturing processes and the final object distributions (Kenoyer 1994, 2000, 1995b, 2008b, 2014; Law 2001, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; 2008, 2010, 2012, 2013; Law et al. 2002-03). It is the interaction between regions and the movement of raw materials, objects and perhaps artisans that form the core of the urban system, thus why did cities develop? What role(s) did they play?

The geographical placement of the four known cities is noteworthy (Fig. 1), spaced throughout the region, with each commanding a distinct hinterland rich for agricultural production and in the distance, stone and mineral resource-rich areas. Regardless of the exact physical form of a city, and accepting the idea of the decentralized nature of political

authority, the cities functioned as nodes, central meeting places within this vast socio-economic network. Moreover, once the cities were established and began to grow, they needed more raw materials, more tools, more markers of socio-economic affinity, and this led to a series of feed-back loops between these meeting and production centers, satellite workshops and their various hinterlands. As the cities intensified in size and production, so did the social, economic and political processes for as long as the population felt they were beneficial. By the beginning of the second millennium BCE, 700 years after it began, (ca. 1900 BCE), the overarching ideological system began to fall apart and the important integrating symbols such as writing and diverse raw materials, disappeared and the urban populations either dispersed (Mohenjo-daro) or intensified for a short period of time (Harappa site Period 4) and the first urban phase in the subcontinent dwindled to a close.

Conclusions

The first urban period in the Indus Valley was dynamic, fluid, and adaptable. The urban system created the purpose for the establishment of cities and the increasing inter-regional interaction propelled urban development. Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Rakhigarhi and Dholavira, spread throughout the great alluvial plain knit together this vast area by serving as dynamic gathering places, encouraging new forms of social interaction and inspiring new technologies and the production of new goods and services. These cities were nodes in a vast network of trade routes that moved raw materials, people and goods throughout the region. This urban process was integrated and decentralized but it did not homogenize the cities or material culture.

Cities need a hinterland, and for an urban system to be successful it needs to integrate the diversity and variation within a hinterland. There needs to be a common goal, such as the functioning of the interconnected system that all proponents subscribe to. Archaeologists tend to look for a checklist of attributes, such as palaces and tombs, to signify an urban setting and administrative power and yet it is the purpose and functioning of the urban setting that should be emphasized because without that, there is no reason to be urban in the ancient world.

Acknowledgement

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Cities, Towns and Villages: A Glimpse into Everyday Life in Early 19th Century Punjab through Jean de La Fontaine's Fables Illustrated by Imam Bakhsh Lahori, 1837-1840

Rehana Lafont

We know of the large extension of Lahore under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, outside the ramparts of Akbar, both from written testimonies (Indo-Persian and European sources) and archaeological remains, which still covered the suburbs of the city at the time of the British Annexation (1849).[1] François Bernier's description of the city in 1664, when he was travelling from Delhi to Kashmir in the retinue of Emperor Aurangzeb, shows the city as it was at a turning point of its development.[2]

By the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the Punjab entered into one of its darkest periods in history- foreign invasions (Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali), internal strife, social and communal struggles, repeated *jihads*(crusades) against the Sikhs, peasant unrest and diminishing trade[3] - which lasted throughout the 18th century, until Ranjit Singh's entry into Lahore in 1799. Thamas Khan's *Tazkira-i-Thamas Miskin* gives a vivid description of the infighting in the countryside in c. 1748-1758[4], and it is well known that George Forster preferred to take to the hills rather than cross over the Punjab during his journey from Bengal to England in 1782-1783.[5] By the 1760s, the wealthy quarter of Mogholpura was the only *extra muros* quarter that remained populated by the Mughal community of Lahore, until it was also devastated by Ahmed Shah Abdali.[6] At the end of the 18th century, the Punjabis from all over Punjab took refuge inside the old ramparts of the towns and villages and Lahore itself shrank within the limits of the walled city fortifications of Akbar.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign (1799-1839) saw a spectacular renewal of urban and social life in a Punjab, which no longer sent its resources to the capitals of the Mughal or the Afghans as they were earlier, but used them for its own development.[7] Lahore was especially taken care of. The Fort and the Shalimar Gardens were renovated and beautified; Ali Mardan Khan's canal was repaired and extended, with old gardens restored and new ones developed all around its bank and the city. The ramparts were restored and modernized, and building activities developed on a great scale inside and outside the city. What we know

of Lahore was true of other cities and villages in the Punjab. The process and success of Ranjit Singh's policies are now well known.[8] The achievements of his administration in restoring peace and prosperity in the Land of the Five Rivers is easily discernible in the satisfaction expressed by the British when estimating the net financial benefits they extracted from the country, 116 *lakhs* or £1,160,000, during the first two years after Annexation.[9] Such was the condition of the country in 1849, even after two years of internecine strife (1843-1846), two bloody Anglo-Sikh wars (1845/1846 and 1849), the occupation of the Cis-Sutlej States in 1846, the indemnity exacted by the East India Company for recovering the expenses of these two wars, and the consequent sale of Kashmir to Gulab Singh by Calcutta in 1849.

Ganesh Das's *Char Bagh-i-Panjab*, completed in 1849, is "the only work on the kingdom of Ranjit Singh containing information on the social, religious and cultural life of the Panjab, besides a historical account" (J. S. Grewal and I. Banga).[10] It testifies to the wealth and the cultural development of cities, towns and villages in each of the *Doabs* of the Lahore kingdom. His description of Lahore is worth quoting in part: "When the capital city fell into the hands of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, new impetus was given to its development. The fort, the towers, the royal mansions, the octagonal tower and the throne were all beautified to a high degree. The city wall which had been built by Akbar was repaired in sammat 1870. The residents of the city were thus made safe against thieves. Futhermore, a ditch, battlements and many *deodis* adjoining the gates were constructed to add strength to the city. Many eminent men, officials and nobles (*sardaran*) […] built beautiful mansions in the city […]. They added much to the busy life of the city. Many *dharmsalas*, *shivdaras*, *thakurdwaras*, *musafir khanas*, gardens, wells and *baolis* were constructed. The Shalamar Garden, originally laid out by Emperor Shah Jahan, was repaired by Maharaja Ranjit Singh […]. Following Ranjit Singh's example, many *sardars* laid out gardens after their own names. To mention some of them… [Here a list follows of 40 new gardens, including "*Fatehgarhwala*"]".[11] Ganesh Das goes on to state: "The number of old and new gardens is so large that I do not remember the names of many".[12]

Ganesh Das also attested to the repopulation of the cities, villages and the countryside during the 40 years of Ranjit Singh's reign. Besides the old and new buildings he enumerates and the "special products and manufactures" he mentions, he carefully records the names of

eminent scholars, scientists and craftsmen of the places he describes: jurists and philosophers, astronomers and astrologers, physicians, mathematicians, historians, poets and writers, and calligraphers. The population Ganesh Das so describes, with its Chiefs, *Nazim* and *Hakims*, *Diwans*, Nobles, *Faujdars*, *Thanadars* and *Daroghas*, *Kardars* and *Tehsildars*, *Qanungo* and *Chaudris*, *Muqaddams*, *Panchas* and *Sahukars*, along with other "Eminent persons", religious men and establishments of all creeds, "Tribes and Castes" and "Proprietors of Land", all that formed the human structure of the Punjab state. A population which the British, in their first report after the Annexation (published in 1852) estimated at 5.536.852[13], while Dr. Benet, the French Surgeon General of the *Khalsa* Army from 1838 to 1840, estimated it at 16 to 18 million.[14] The first *Census of the Punjab*, published in 1855, established that it had 13.215.984 people, which gave the Punjab a level of prosperity superior to most of the Indian provinces under the authority of the East India Company. There were indeed in 1830 some migrations "en masse" of peasants from the Ganga-Jamuna Doab under British rule to the Sikh states, as attested by Jacquemont[15] and all the cultivable land in Ranjit Singh's Punjab had been turned into cultures by 1839.[16] Moreover, the trade was so brisk that all these factors made the country remarkably rich and prosperous.[17] So rich indeed that, to quote again the report of 1851, "the financial result of annexation during the first two years was a surplus of fifty-two (52) plus (64) sixty-four *lakhs*, or one hundred and sixteen (116) *lakhs*, or one million and one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling".[18] It was indeed a country worth annexing!

Today, how are we to see the Punjabis living in their native setting, their houses and fields, in the plains and foothills of the Punjab and in the cities and villages of the country? If we are to believe British colonial historiography of Punjabi arts, as resumed by Mildred Archer in 1972 (following her husband's conclusions in *Paintings of the Sikhs*, 1966), "although Lahore had been the capital of a Mughal province, the Punjab Plains had no great artistic traditions and the Sikhs, who by the early nineteenth century had become its rulers, took little interest in painting".[19] In his major study published in 1977, F. S. Aijazuddin has only 87 entries concerning the "Sikh" section (portraits only).[20] As stated by the best specialists of Indian paintings at that time, it seemed impossible to have even a glimpse of the Punjabi folk and countryside as it was at the *akmé* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign in 1837-1839. Later, in the 1980's we rediscovered in France the *Fables* of Jean de La Fontaine illustrated by Imam Bakhsh Lahori.[21]

There is an old tradition in the subcontinent of *Fables*, or short stories, which encapsulate everyday wisdom, either personal for daily life, or political since these fables were also used for the education of princes and political leaders. Among the best known are the *Pançatantra*, the *Tutinama* and a long series of *Qissas* copied and illustrated from immemorial times, with a vigorous renewal in Mughal India at the time of Akbar.[22] At the time of Ranjit Singh, Lahore became one of the greatest centres in India for copying and illuminating Indo-Persian manuscripts[23], while the cultural elite of the city emphasized the comparison between Ranjit Singh and Akbar, as is attested by several copies of the *Ain-i-Akbari* having the portraits of the two sovereigns or of Ranjit Singh alone.[24] We know of several copies of *Qissas* and *Tutinamas* which were in Lahore at the time of the Maharaja.

The French also had a similar tradition of education through a series of *Fables* and animal stories, and especially La Fontaine's *Fables* which is a collection of 240 short stories in verse. Published from 1668 to 1694, twenty-four of these fables have an "Oriental" origin, fourteen of them being inspired by the *Pançatantra*.[25] Last year (2016) at the THAAP Conference, I presented "A Frenchman's Life in the Punjabi Capital", being the story of General Allard and his fellow countrymen in the service of Ranjit Singh from 1822 to 1844. We recently discovered that General Ventura had a copy of La Fontaine's work in his library in Lahore since 1831.[26] We know that General Allard had in his own library, in Anarkali, a famous *Tutinama* bearing the seal of Shah Jahan, copied and beautifully illuminated in c. 1585, part of which is today in the Chester Beatty Library (Dublin).[27] We also know of a few other manuscripts in the libraries of the French officers in Lahore, including a *Mahabharata* in General Court's residence at Naulakha.[28] Last but not least, we know that these French officers sponsored one artist and his workshop in Lahore: Imam Bakhsh Lahori.

In 1834 General Allard went on leave to France, carrying in his baggage a load of shawls and a few manuscripts. Warmly received in Paris by the intellectual elite of the French capital, he was especially well received by the scholars of the Institut de France and the Société Asiatique. One of them was Feuillet de Conches (1798-1887), who was Head of Protocol at the French Ministry of External Affairs and specifically in charge of preparing the return of Allard to the Punjab as Chargé d'affaires (Ambassador) to the Court of Lahore.[29] Feuillet was fascinated by La Fontaine and so was Charles-Athanase Walkenaer, one of the Academicians in charge of preparing *Instructions* for Allard

concerning an archaeological survey of Punjab and Afghanistan (1836).[30] Walkenaer was also an editor of La Fontaine's work (1827). We do not know how the three came to talk about La Fontaine. Feuillet had started a collection of modern illustrations of the *Fables* by international artists and in 1831 he already had one hundred paintings done by forty European artists. The complete collection, as it survives, contained 137 drawings done by 46 European and American artists, and 190 Oriental paintings including 81 Chinese, 20 Japanese and 66 Punjabi miniature paintings.[31] The 66 Punjabi paintings are what remain of about 100 illustrations done for Feuillet de Conches by Imam Bakhsh Lahori.

On 15th May 1836, General Allard offered "à son ami Feuillet… Le Touti Naméh, ou Le livre du perroquet", seemingly the full manuscript, only part of which is now in Dublin.[32] Feuillet gave Allard an uncut set of La Fontaine's work in its 1827 edition by C. A. Walkenaer and asked him to get it illustrated by some Punjabi artists. Feuillet had taken care to have the story of each fable resumed in Persian by Kazimirski-Biberstein, who later translated the Holy Quran into French (1840), adding to the gift several French engravings of the 17th and 18th centuries illustrating the *Fables*. General Allard left France in June 1836 and reached Lahore in March 1837. He immediately delivered his credentials of Agent de France to Ranjit Singh.[33] He delivered the letter addressed to him by Victor de Broglie, the French Prime Minister[34], to Raja Dhyan Singh, then Prime Minister, and he instructed Imam Bakhsh Lahori that he had to start working with his staff on the miniature paintings for La Fontaine's *Fables*.

That was precisely the time when Dost Muhammed Khan of Kabul ordered a devastating attack on Jamrud and Peshawar in order to recover Peshawar and its province, which had been annexed to Punjab in 1834. Hari Singh Nalwa died from his wounds in Jamrud, and Ranjit Singh sent Allard with the cavalry of the *Fauj-i-khas* to relieve Jamrud and secure Peshawar. That was done in a matter of days, General Court deploying his artillery which blasted the foothills till Ali Masjid. Then the Maharaja appointed General Allard as Military Commander of the Peshawar province up to the Khyber Pass, with Court as his Deputy-Commander. Avitabile became the Civil Governor of Peshawar while General Ventura went on leave to France, also taking a few manuscripts with him.[35] From 1837 to 1843, Peshawar and its province remained under the complete authority of the French Generals of Ranjit Singh.[36]

These political happenings explain why the colophon of the *Fables* says that this was "The work of Imam Bakhsh Lahori *musawar*, 25th November 1837, equivalent to the 10th of the month of Magghar of the year 1894 equivalent to the 24th of Sha'ban of the year of Hijra 1255, at Attock".[37] The place of Attock, selected by Imam Bakhsh to establish his workshop, is interesting: not in Lahore where the French Generals were absent, nor in Peshawar because Imam Bakhsh was uncomfortable with the dangers of war and other difficult positions, as recounted with amusement by General Court in his unpublished *Mémoires* concerning a quickly aborted mission he had entrusted to Imam Bakhsh in Dhir and Kafiristan.[38]

The artist and his staff settled at Attock. They started working according to the résumés of the *Fables* by Kasimirski-Biberstein and the instructions given by General Allard. The influence of the *Tutinama* which belonged to General Allard is clear in many paintings of the *Fables*. Imam Bakhsh also drew his inspiration from other classical Mughal miniature paintings, especially the school of Akbar, since many natural and architectural settings and attitudes of the people are close to the most beautiful illustrations of the *Akbarnamas* and other illuminated manuscripts from this remarkable period, including the ones illuminated during the Emperor's sojourn in Lahore (1584-1598). Imam Bakhsh was also probably inspired by his own remembrance of illustrations of other manuscripts he had seen and studied in Lahore, including the *Tutinamas*, the *Pançatantras* and various *Qissas* that had been part of his artistic education. As already mentioned, fourteen out of the twenty-four fables of La Fontaine showing an Oriental origin are inspired by the *Pançatantra*, several of them to be found in Imam Bakhsh's miniature paintings. Sometimes he drew inspiration from the French engravings given to him by Allard. Christiane Sinnig-Haas has competently delineated the French influence in Imam Bakhsh's collection[39] and it is easy for us to recognize a French officer of Ranjit Singh fishing in the *Little Fish and the Fisherman*[40], or two 17th century European men of war in *The Oyster and the Fishermen*.[41] We can also plausibly identify two miniature paintings showing Wazirabad, one of them with General Avitabile, its Governor[42], or affirm that Jupiter in *The Dream of Vaux* is actually General Allard, while General Ventura is the lover sleeping with some unidentified Punjabi Venus in one of the many scandalous love affairs in Lahore.[43] However, we leave it to the art historians to delineate the various artists who worked on the set of the miniatures, some of them specialized in skies, sunrises or sunsets, others in architectural details and some of them on people and animals.

General Allard sent the first set of illustrations to Feuillet along with a letter dated 11th May 1838. The French General died at Peshawar in January 1839 and General Court took over as Military Commander of the province, awaiting the return from France of General Ventura. By mid-1839 Ventura resumed the command of the province and he wrote to Feuillet on 5th October 1839 that he had put the artists to work again. We know through Feuillet's reminiscences at a very old age (1881) that according to Ventura, there was one of the best artists from Kashmir and one of the best from Patna working on the illustrations of the *Fables* during the siege of the Fort of Kamlagarh, in Mandi State, in 1840[44]: perhaps two members of Imam Bakhsh's team, if they were not independent artists working on the *Fables* (the same set or another set? at the request of General Ventura. Let us say briefly that we know at least of two illustrated volumes of *Qissas* coming from the workshop of Imam Bakhsh: the first is the *Qissa-i-Chahar Darvish* in the Punjab University Library (Chandigarh), coming from the library of Ajudhya Prasad, *Bakshi* and Brigadier general of the *Fauj-i-khas* in 1844[45], and the second is the already mentioned *Qissa-i-Kamrupva Kamlata* of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, brought by Ventura to Paris in 1837 (*supra* fn. 35).

As far as the *Fables* are concerned, we do not know the end of the story until 1969, when whatever remained of the collection was sold in auction by Feuillet's inheritors and entered the Jean de La Fontaine Museum at Château-Thierry (France). The *Editioprinceps* was published in France in 1989 for the Festival of France in India[46] and they were exhibited twice in India: in the National Museum, New Delhi, in 2005[47], and in the former Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai, in 2006, with a fully illustrated catalogue.[48]

Perhaps the time has come to bring Imam Bakhsh Lahori back to Lahore.

Endnotes

1. To be brief, Lahore as it was in 1850-1890 is best described in Kanhaya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Lahore,* Victoria Press, Lahore, 1884, and in Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore. Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, New Imperial Press, Lahore, 1892. A beautiful book by Fakir Syed Aijazuddin, *Lahore. Illustrated Views of the 19th Century*, Vanguard Books, Lahore, 1991. There is a useful description of the Lahore heritage in Muhammad Wali Ullah Khan, *Lahore and its Important Monuments*, Department of Archaeology of Pakistan, Anjuman Press, Karachi, 3rd edition 1973.

2. *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656-1668*, second edition revised by Vincent A   . Smith, reprinted by Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 383-384 (letter written from Lahore). See J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahore*, Topical, Lahore, 2007, pp. 38-59 on the French - especially Bernier- visiting Lahore in mid-17th century. Second enlarged edition of that book is forthcoming.

3. One of the most detailed books on the period is Hari Ram Gupta, *Later Mughal History of the Punjab (1707-1793)*, 1943, reprinted by Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 1976.

4. *Tahmas Nama. The Autobiography of a Slave*, abridged and translated by P. Setu Madhava Rao, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1967.

5. *A Journey from Bengal to England*. R. Folder, London, 1798, vol 2.

6.   S. M. Latif, *Lahore…*, pp. 71-80. Id., *History of the Panjab from the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time*, Lahore, 1891 (Reprint by People's Publishing House, Lahore, no date), pp. 179-296.

7. J. M. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Lord of the Five Rivers*, OUP, New Delhi, 2002, with 267 color illustrations. This book is the accompanying volume of the exhibition,*Life and Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, held by the Government of East Punjab in 2001 as part of the commemorations of the bicentenary coronation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

8. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française dans le royaumesikh du Penjab 1822-1849, Paris, EFEO, 1992, Chapter VIII, "Le Penjabvers 1835", pp. 349-405.* This book received the Giles Award 1995 of the French Academy (AIBL). Also see J. M. Lafont, "Observations sur le commerce du Penjabet du Cachemire, d'après un rapport de C.-M. Wade, 1832", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Françaised 'Extrême-Orient*, LXXIV, Paris, 1985, pp. 58-78, 3 maps. Published in English in J. M. Lafont, *INDIKA. Essays in Indo-French Relations, 1630-1976*, Manohar-CSH, Delhi, 2000, as "The Commerce of Punjab and Kashmir in 1832: C. M. Wade's Report to the East India Company", pp. 343-382.

9. See Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery, *General Report upon the Administration of the Punjab Proper for the Years 1849-50 and 1850-51; Being the Two First years after Annexatio*, Calcutta, T. Jones, Calcutta Gazette Office, 1853, para. 405 and 450. The report is dated Lahore, August 19th, 1852.

10. *Early Nineteenth Century Panjab, From Ganesh Das's Char Bagh-i-Panjab*, translated and edited by J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975. Concerning Lahore, see pp. 114-122.

11. Id. *ibid.,* p. 117. This garden, situated near Shalimar Gardens, remained more or less intact till 2000: the only remaining photos are in J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahore*, ill. 117 and 120-124.

12. Id. *ibid*., p. 116.

13. *General Report upon the Administration of the Punjab Proper for the Years 1849-50 and 1850-51*, p. 75.

14. De l'origineet des moeurs des Sicks" par Benet-Deperraud, Dr (médecin du roi de Lahore), in *Mémoires de la Société ethnologique, vol. 1, 1841, Paris*, pp. 251-284. This quotation is on p. 262.

15. English translation in H. L. O. Garrett, *The Punjab a Hundred Years Ago as Described by V. Jacquemont (1831) and A. Soltykoff (1842)*, Punjab Government Record Office, Monograph no. 18, Lahore, 1935: "… in all the Sikh states the country is better governed, as far as the poor are concerned, than the large British territories round them. The proof of this is that many inhabitants of the districts of Hansi and Hissar and especially Panipat have recently abandoned their villages and established themselves in Patiala. Nearly 5,000 emigrated about one year ago", p. 5-6.

16. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française…*, « Agriculture », pp. 359-371.

17. Id., *ibid*., pp. 372-388 ("Commerce") and 389-402 ("Industrie").

18. *General Report*, pp. 156-157, 450. This section is entitled "Total surplus for two years £ 1,160,000 sterling".

19. M. Archer, *Company Drawings in the India Office Library, HMSO, London, 1972*, pp. 208-209.

20. F. S. Aijazuddin, *Pahari Paintings and Sikh Portraits in the Lahore Museum*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London / New York, 1977, pp. 80-91 ("Sikhs and Punjab Plains").

21. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française…*, p. 321-323. Also J. M. Lafont, « *Les Indes des Lumières / India and the Enlightenment. 1610-1840*", in F. Gros (ed.), *Passeursd 'Orient: Encounters between India and France*, Minister of External Affairs, Paris, 1991, pp. 13-40, two full pages dedicated to "Imam Bakhsh Lahori Painter circa 1830-1840" (p. 30-31), with 2 black and white, and 14 color illustrations of miniature paintings by Imam Bakhsh, 5 of them being from the La Fontaine collection.

22. Amina Okada, *Miniatures de l'Indeimpériale. Les peintres de la courd' Akbar (1556-1605), Musée des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, RMN, Paris, 1989*.

23. For example, Barbara Schmitz, "Muhammad Bakhsh *Sahhaf* and the Illustrated Book in Ranjit Singh's Lahore", in B. Schmitz (ed.), *Lahore Paintings, Murals, and Calligraphy*, Marg Publications, vol. 61, no. 4, Mumbai, 2010, pp. 86-103, 12 illustrations.

24. J. M. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Lord of the Five Rivers*, p. 74 (ill. 32 showing Akbar and Ranjit Singh in the opening illustrations of *Ain i-Akbari*), and p. 75 (ill. 129: Ranjit Singh in *Ain i-Akbari*).

25. The best studies of these fables are presently by Christiane Sinnig-Haas, "Les Mille et une Fables de La Fontaine ou le Baron Félix Feuillet de Conches au Pays du Mogol", with 11 illustrations, in V. Vencatesan (ed.), *Synergies Inde, Revue du Gerflint*, 1, 2006 , pp. 128-144: see pp. 132-134 a list of the Fables inspired from the *Pançatantra*. And J. M. Lafont, "Les Fables de La Fontaine aux Indes. Imam Bakhsh Lahori et L'école artistique de Lahore", ibid., pp. 145-171. See also B. Schmitz and J. M. Lafont, "The Painter Imam Bakhsh of Lahore", in B. Schmitz (ed.), *After the Great Mughals. Paintings in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18[th a]nd 19th Centuries*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, vol. 53, no. 4, 2002, pp. 74-99, 18 illustrations.

26. Ventura purchased it from Victor Jacquemont: unpublished letter in a private collection.

27. MS 21. We do not know how and when Allard entered in its possession (purchase, gift, or war booty?).

28. Presently under study.

29. Concerning General Allard's sojourn in France in 1835-1836, see J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française…*, chapter V, « Le projet politique », pp. 203-255, especially pp. 215-232.

30. J. M. Lafont, "Les Indo-Grecs: Recherches Archéologiques Françaisesdans le Royaume Sikh du Penjab. 1822-1843", in *TOPOI. Orient-Occident* 4, 1994, pp. 9-68, 1 map [CNRS-University of Lyon 2]. Published in English in J. M. Lafont, *INDIKA. Essays in Indo-French Relations, 1630-1976*, Manohar-CSH, Delhi, 2000, as "The Numismatic Collection of General Court and Instructions of the French Academy for an Archaeological Survey of Punjab, 1836", pp. 287-342.

31. J. M. Lafont, "Les Fables de La Fontaine aux Indes. Imam Bakhsh Lahoriet L'école artistique de Lahore", in V. Vencatesan (ed.), *Synergies Inde, Revue du Gerflint, 1, 2006, p. 152*.

32. *Supra fn. 27.*

33. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française…, p. 222-223*. The letter in French was first published by P. K. Shastri, *Organisation Militaire des Sikhs*, Paris, 1932, pp. 171-174. The Persian text has disappeared. The two documents were kept in the *Toshakhana* of Lahore. In September 1837, Ranjit Singh showed them with full pomp to Claude Martine Wade, the British official in charge of "Sikh" affairs at Ludhiana. After Annexation, the British sent them to London. Today, only the document in French remains in the British Library, ref.: MSS. Eur. G 59. See J. M. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Lord of the Five Rivers*, p. 126, ill. no. 264 for a color reproduction of the document.

34.   J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française…, p. 223*

35. Ventura offered one of them, the *Qissa-i-Kamrupva Kamlata*, to E. F. Jomard in 1838. Jomard deposited it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ref. Suppl. persan 929: J. M. Lafont and Barbara Schmitz, "The Painter Imam Bakhsh of Lahore" (*supra* fn. 25), pp. 84-96 and ill. 15-16.

36. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française…, chapter IX, "La disintegration"*. 1839-1843, pp. 406-440.

37. The dates do not concord. After '25 November 1837', we have 10th of Magghar 1884, which is equivalent to 21st January 1838, while 24th Sha'ban 1255 A.H. is equivalent to 2nd November 1839: see Mireille Lobligeois, "Les miniatures indiennes de la collection Feuillet de Conches", *Arts Asiatiques. Annales du Musée National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimetet du Musée Cernuschi, EFEO-CNRS, Paris, vol.* XLVII, 1992, pp. 19-28. For the dates, see p. 21 and note 13 where she expresses her thanks to Mr. Billiard for the clarification.

38. J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française…, p. 320.*

39. In her study quoted *supra*, fn. 25.

40. J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahore,* p. 17, ill. 160.

41. Id., *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Lord of the Five Rivers*, p. 108, ill. 224.

42. Id., *ibid.*, p. 101, ill. 173 and p. 102, ill. 174.

43. J. M. Lafont, *Les Français / The French and Lahore, p. 118, ill. 161.*

44. Feuillet, "Un La Fontaine illustré", in *L'Artiste, October 1881,* pp. 377-390, only remembers some « imprenable » Fort in the Himalayas. This is certainly the Kamlagarh Fort in Mandi: J. M. Lafont, *La Présence française…*, pp. 412-413. The invasion of Mandi and the siege of the "impregnable" Fort by the *Fauj-i-khas* under the command of Ventura lasted from August to December 1840, with the accompanying capture of 120 other "Hill Forts" (according to Griffin), or 200 Forts (according to Hutchinson and Vogel). The last stronghold of the main fortress fell on 29th November 1840. Also see J. M. Lafont, "Colonel François-Henri Mouton: His Unpublished Letter to the Minister of War, France, 1844", *Journal of Sikh Studies*, IV-1, 1977, GNDU, University of Amritsar, India, pp. 55-72, 1 illustration. Reprinted in J. M. Lafont, *French Administrators of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Revised edition, New Delhi, 1988, pp. 108-127, ill. 18 and 19: Mouton was present at Kamlagarh with his regiment of Cuirassiers, and he says the Punjab Government struck a medal to commemorate the capture of the Fort.

45. Concerning the *Qissa…*, see B. N. Goswamy, *Piety and Splendour. Sikh Heritage in Art*, National Museum, New Delhi, 2000, p. 169, ill. 131. Professor Goswamy published in 1975 a remarkable book, *Painters at the Sikh Court. A Study based on Twenty Documents*, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden, which sheds light on

the resources and revenues of some Pahari artists in the Punjab kingdom.

46. Jean de La Fontaine, *Le Songe d'un habitant du Mogol*, Imprimerie Nationale and RMN, Paris, 1989, pp. 177-181. [Prestige Publication of the Festival of France in India]. Seven hundred copies were distributed among the main Public Libraries, Research Centres and Universities in India, with a special fascicule having the English translation of these fables by Walter Thornbury (37 pages). Since the Imprimerie Nationale had shortened the three scholarly contributions without informing the authors, the French Embassy decided to add the full presentation of Dr. J. M. Lafont to the 700 copies, in which the Persian texts of the colophon were translated by Rehana Lafont.

47. The Dream of an Inhabitant of Mogul, Catalogue of the exhibition held in the National Museum, New Delhi, December 2005.

48. The Dream of an Inhabitant of Mogul, Catalogue of the exhibition held in the Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai, February-March 2006, Mumbai. [Slightly corrected edition of the previous book].

How the City Remembers: Memories, Myths and Monuments on Prince Anwar Shah Road

Prof. Nilanjana Gupta and Anushka Halder

Introduction

Even as the organism that is the city grows and mutates, it retains within itself the memories, myths and stories of individuals who have lived within that space, of the communities which were nurtured there, the histories of the people who have traversed the land. In the inevitable processes of urbanization, old roads are forsaken for new, buildings are torn down to make way for contemporary structures and people abandon the old to integrate and be integrated into the currents of the present. Even as buildings disappear, water bodies are filled in, and roads rebuilt, traces of the past linger, whispered through place names, in individual and collective memories and hidden away in maps. This paper seeks to explore the various ways in which histories remain deeply etched in the memory of a city and suddenly emerge in unexpected ways. Prince Anwar Shah Road, flanked to the north by the Shahi Masjid and towards the south by South City Mall,connects Deshapran Sasmal Road to Raja Subodh Chandra Mallick Road. The road emerged gradually from the times of the British Raj, accumulating the palimpsest of memories that now remain. At one end is the Shahi Masjid built by the descendants of Tipu Sultan[1] which is still attended to by the Waqf Board set up by his descendants. Nearby is the South City Mall, the largest mall in eastern India, built on the ruins of the crumbling industrialization of Bengal. Along the road are littered place names wafting through the past - the Lords' Crossing, after the bakery which used to operate there, Masjid*para*[2], in remembrance of the community which blossomed around the Masjid, Gharighor[3], of which only the grand crumbling entrance survives, Usha Crossing, where Jay Engineering Works (also referred to as Usha Factory) used to stand. This is a road aspiring to the future and simultaneously deeply rooted in its past.

"In Bengal the Mysore Princes do not possess any present power to hurt us."[4]

At the northern end of Prince Anwar Shah Road, to the left, four green-tipped minarets rise alongside multiple domes within a mesh of bamboo. The arched windows look out onto the surrounding garden, complete with a tiny bridge over a fish pond, but they are closed,

their *kharkharis*[5] turned down. A winding brick path leads through a garden heaped with bricks to the front of the Masjid, a series of steps leading up to the *musallah.* To the left stands a grand *imambara*, laced with stained glass. At the far end, across a lattice of grass and trees, a submerged cement basin marks the space for a lake. Groups of men conglomerate around the base of the graves, exchanging notes on life, the lived and the upcoming. The oldest member of the group, lounging on a *bedi* below a raised grave, remembers a time when there used to be traders passing through the canals which ran along the walls of the Masjid, taking their wares up to Kalighat. Some, including the Imam, gather around to listen to the old man's memories, others go about with construction work – the Masjid is undergoing a renovation. This is the Shahi Masjid, the cornerstone of the road, built in the 19th century by exiles of the empire.

Figure 1

The Shahi Masjid

The Third Anglo Mysore war ended on 18th March, 1792 with the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan and the signing of the Treaty of Seringapatam. Some of the family stayed in Mysore, while the rest were moved to Vellore, 300 kilometers from Seringapatam. Soon after, during the acting governorship of Sir George Barlow, a sepoy mutiny erupted in Fort Vellore. This mutiny in 1806 was attributed to the popular support enjoyed by the sons of Tipu Sultan and his descendants, along with the family of Karim Shah. As a consequence, they were all exiled to the 24 Parganas, the southern-most suburb of Calcutta, for here they

were "withdrawn from their sphere of natural influence", in a country where they "cannot count one partisan or one public friend."[6]

The district of the 24 Parganas formed the south-western portion of the Presidency Division of Bengal under the British Indian Empire. It derived its name from the number of *parganas*, or fiscal divisions, that comprised the Zamindari of Calcutta, which was ceded to the East India Company in 1757 by Mir Jafar, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal. The 24 Parganas extended over 4844 square miles, of which 2941 square miles were part of the dense mangrove forests of the Sundarbans. The great chronicler W. W. Hunter described it as,

> "a sort of drowned land, broken up by swamps, intersected by a thousand river channels and maritime backwaters, but gradually dotted, as the traveler recedes from the seaboard, with clearings and patches of rice land."

It was to this swampy ground that the descendants of Tipu Sultan were exiled. The family and their whole entourage of three hundred, along with their movable possessions, were escorted into 12 ships which set sail for Calcutta. They then hurriedly settled in mud huts at Russapagla, as the area around Tollygunge was then known, in the bungalow complex of one Richard Johnson, an indigo planter. In 1809, the title deed of the estate of Richard Johnson was given to seven of the princes. By 1880, this place came to be known as the Barah Bagh, and much later, the home of the upper-class Tollygunge Club. The very first hole of the golf course at the Tollygunge Club still bears Tipu's name.

Figure 2

The first hole at Tollygunge Club, dedicated to Tipu Sultan

By the time of the census of 1911, the population of this previously sparsely populated area was 2,434,104, making it more populous than the North-West Frontier Province or the State of Baroda. In fact, by then, it had about 400,000 more inhabitants than Wales. Today, as Deshpran Sasmal Road bends round the Tollygunge Tram Depot and becomes Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Road, there still stand crumbling reminders of that defiant grandeur of the conquered--Aldeen, Oasis, Thana House, China Koti, Chota Koti and South Lodge. The Mysore family legend lives on in these crumbling mansions, narrow lanes and slums of Tollygunge. The old Nautch Ghar is now an office of the Calcutta Corporation. A government official, who used to work at the corporation office built over the Nautch Ghar, speaks of a room with no windows but a dozen doors and of false doors placed throughout the building, like the ones at the Hazar Duari Palace in Murshidabad, which was once the capital of the rulers of Bengal. Here counts the rumors of an underground tunnel that lay under the building which was used by the women of the family to discreetly access the Nautch Ghar.

The lifestyle led by the exiles was one of enforced idleness. Lord Minto's Minutes (1807) laid down the "tender and liberal" commandments that they could not step out without permission or attend any public ceremonies. A "fixed allowance" was given to the princes meant to "defray all their expenses in every description". Even as they managed their own pension. 'Security' provided by the British ensured that the lives of the family were actually lives in a gilded prison.

Prince Golam Mohamed,[7] who was 11 years old when he came to Calcutta, built a vast estate in Calcutta through his careful investments. This included land leased to the Tollygunge Club, part of the grounds of the Royal Calcutta Golf Club, the land on which the famous manufacturer of the Indian-made, foreign liquor brand, Shaw and Wallace, established in 1886, built their offices, Mysore House in Chetla, now in ruins, an *imambara* and the Shahi Masjid in Tollygunge along with the Tipu Sultan Masjid in Dharamtala.

It is in the correspondence between Prince Golam Mohamed and Major J. W. J. Ouseley, the Superintendent of the Mysore Princes, that the Shahi Masjid is first mentioned. In a letter to Major Ouseley, on 29th July 1839, Golam Mohamed mentions that he intends to dedicate "to pious purpose the following places of ground in the 24 -Pargunnahs at Arrackpore". The letter then explains the variously owed rent for the pieces of land mentioned:

"The first piece is Mal[8] land, paying the yearly rent of 13 Sieca Rupees 6 Pie, to the *Zemindars*, viz, to Government eight share, to Ramdhun Bose three share, and to Debendranath Tagore five share."

This mention of Debendranath Tagore ties the history of the Tipu Sultan family with the famous Tagore family, one of the wealthiest landowning families in Bengal who were also pioneers in setting up various trading companies. On 28th August, the President in Council of the Political Department opined that "it was a public object of sufficient importance to warrant the remission of the land revenue chargeable upon the ground appropriate."[9]

In 1874, with the death of Golam Mohamed, a hospital was built opposite the Tollygunge Club supported by the Trust, in compliance to his wishes. It was the only medical facility in that region for a long time. This symbol of the Prince's social responsibility has since been obliterated and now the Mungeeram Bangur Government Hospital stands in its stead. In 1944, a five-member committee, headed by a direct descendant and qualified trustee of the family, was appointed by Justice Tariq Amir Ali of the Calcutta High Court to administer these estates. Prince Hyder Ali, son of Prince Golam Ali, was the first *Mutawali*.

Right beside the Shahi Masjid rises the multi-storeyed residential complex of Fort Mysore, named in remembrance of a red brick colonial style mansion, known as Nawab Kothi, which used to stand there. It is the first multi-storeyed residence encountered on the road, built facing raggedy stalls selling *biriyani* and beef *kebabs* which merge into one another. This gated community, itself a product of the present, incorporates the past not only in name – the first floor of the residence is taken up by Sahebzada Shahid Alam, a direct descendant of Tipu Sultan.

In the 1990s, the original mansion was still occupied by the families of Sahebzada Maqbool Alam, Sahebzada Sayeed Alam, and Sahebzada Sardar Alam. The huge house had Italian marble flooring and a painted high ceiling belonging to the style of previous centuries. Two boat-shaped chandeliers swung down, witnesses of the times when Fazl ul Haq of the Krishak Praja Party and Shahid Suhrawardy, of the All India Muslim League, both elected Premiers of Bengal, used to be regular visitors; a time when Sahebzada Maqbool Alam would push his personal Citroën to the gates to sneak out of the house without attracting the wrath of his father. But Maqbool's beloved Citroën was eventually replaced by a fleet of cars owned by the tenants who rented the ground floor two decades ago for Rs. 250. A wooden stairway opened onto the large room used by the family as a living cum bedroom, with the utilitarian furniture highlighting the stark depletion of the family's situation over the years. The windows overlooked the burial ground of the Shahi Masjid which houses the graves of Tipu's two Sultanas Roshan Begum and Ruqayya Begum, Prince Golam Mohamed and other members of the Mysore family. This family claims direct lineage to Tipu through Maqbool's grandmother, Anjumanara Begum. Known as the lady with the curtained Chevrolet, she was the great granddaughter of Mohammed Subhan Sultan, Tipu's sixth son. Prince Anwar Shah, son of Prince Muniruddin and grandson of Tipu Sultan, himself had lived on this road named after him. His palatial residence was the building which is now the Jagadish Chandra College. After the death of Prince Anwar Shah, his wife Bashir Begum broke her ties with Tollygunge to raise her son Prince Baktiar Shah who went on to become the Sheriff of Calcutta and the first Chairman of the Tollygunge Municipality. A long journey for the family with not a single public friend!

Sahebzada SardarA lam's son, Shahid Alam, remained at the place of his childhood, now the first floor of Fort Mysore[10], which stands in its stead on Prince Anwar Shah Road. The Secretary of the present Mysore Family Fateh Fund Wakf Estate, Sahebzada Shahid Alam, keeps an open house so members of the extended family flock in and out through the day, coming to him to sort out their troubles.

Figure 5

Jogesh Chandra College, former house of Prince Anwar Shah

Sahebzada Alam has carefully collected and maintained every piece of documentation he found on his family history. He rolls out 1928-29 Revenue and Survey maps made by the government of the three *mouzas:* Ibrahimpur, Arakpur and Badeyraypur, on the floor of his living room, adjusting the furniture in his cramped room to create space. The maps show huge stretches of groves and fields, interspersed with water bodies and connected by one *kachha road*, Prince Anwar Shah Road. Dotted with canals, the maps have very few indicated settlements even then. There is, however, an electricity line running through and a railway line being constructed in the area.

However, these empty stretches of land became home to a massive influx of refugees during the time of the Partition in 1947. Settlers occupied whatever land they could and set up sparse structures to call their own. It was not till Siddhartha Shankar Ray became the Chief Minister of West Bengal in 1972, that these settlements were formally made into refugee colonies by the state - Poddarnagar, Bikramgar, Katjunagar and Jodhpur Colony, which were all raised under his watch. In the 1950's, the swathes of water bodies and fields started exhibiting the changes brought in by rising industrialization in the state. Factories rose, manufacturing everything from grease, nuts, bolts, hand tube wells and paints, while also assembling parts for various industries. The factory that Sahebzada Alam remembers distinctly is Jaya Engineering Works, which stood on the same ground where the South City complex stands today.

New Nation; New Exiles

Jay Engineering Works Limited was founded on 183/A Prince Anwar Shah Road in 1937 by Lala Shri Ram, who was by then the President of FICCI[11]. He was one of the foremost industrialists of independent India, setting up new lines of industrial units across the country. The Calcutta factory of Jay Engineering Works was set up in 1942 at the far end of Prince Anwar Shah Road, manufacturing sewing machines and fans for Usha, expanding later to incorporate multiple ancillary industries. Sahebzada Alam, however, does not remember Jay Engineering Works

because of Lala Shri Ram, but because of the violence he associates with the factory.

Here is another history- a history of national manufacturers and the famous and infamous labor movements of Bengal. In his speech at the 32nd Annual General Meeting of the company held on September 22, 1969, Charat Ram mentions the "downward trend in production due to incessant labor problems", a hindrance shared with the other industries of Bengal. He mentions that in addition to excellent technical teams of people for production and highly skilled workers, the wages and incentive bonuses are among the best in the country. However, this was not the first time that the factory had had labor problems.

Ambar Roy Choudhury, one of the workers of the factory since 1955, proudly states that the employees of Jaya, as he referred to the factory, were among the best paid in the state, better even than government employees or even school teachers. Yet, he was part of the labor strike in 1963, one which was based on demands of higher compensation, based on the higher rate of production in the factory. Following the major awards in the engineering industries in 1948, 1950 and 1958, Jay Engineering Works had come to an agreement with their workmen in 1958 to establish a scheme. Under this scheme, a certain portion of the production was taken to correspond with the minimum basic wages and Dearness Allowance fixed by the awards, termed as quota. The production above this quota was paid at piece prices. However, there existed a 'norm' which was fixed at a much higher level than the quota and every workman failing to achieve this 'norm' would be considered guilty of misconduct and would be liable to be dismissed. In the aftermath of the crisis due to the Indo-China war, when the entire country was toeing the nationalist line, the workers at Jay Engineering Factory Limited declared a strike on 17th December 1963, a strike upheld by more than 7000 workers. At the time of the strike, the sales staff was being paid anything between Rs. 60-70 every month. In the face of rising costs and rising profits made by the factory, they wanted an increase in the salary. Ambar da[12] tells me this, sitting in the still existing Jay Engineering Works Union office, where we have had all our conversations. The office is located right opposite South City, which rose on the ruins of the extinct factory they fought so hard for. Ambar da and his companions chuckle, saying that all the members of the old trade union circuit believe it to be a historic strike.

Ambar da came to India post-Partition in 1947 and is well above 90 years now[13], without a clear idea of how old he exactly is. Despite being one of the leaders of this labor strike and various other strikes at the factory down the years, he has a deep-seated sense of loyalty to Jay Engineering Works, a loyalty which makes him an influential figure in the Workers' Union even today. His pride in his work is juxtaposed with his pride in this strike and all the others through the years. He believes that they stood up against the anti-worker measures declared by the central government and made workers through the nation believe that they could, indeed, protest, irrespective of the political circumstances. For this strike, which was led by Prasanta Sur[14], the workers set up camps outside the factory, camps which were torn down by the state which sided with the industrialists. The striking workforce put themselves in charge of ensuring that new workers did not replace them in the factory – they did so by inflicting on these new entrants the violence that they themselves faced from the state forces. The union members would infiltrate the crowd of new workers assembled for work in front of the factory and disintegrate the crowd by inciting chaos – spreading whispers that the police were coming in, or that the union workers were out to get them. They would waylay new workers unaware of the lay of the land, drag them into the refugee colonies around the area, and beat them till within an inch of their skin, all the while being chased by police. The families of the striking workers became involved as well – for instance on 22nd December, 1963 more than four hundred women, wives, mothers and daughters came together to demonstrate their support for the strike.

Their stories of the labor movement are interspersed with a familiarity of the space - an acknowledgement of the rapid changes seen through the last few decades. Ambar da points in the direction of the petrol pump across the road, right beside where the factory dominated the landscape – it used to be a ditch used for burying dead cattle, and occasionally, dead humans. They called it Pankajini, because it was owned by Pankajini Chatterjee, mother of one Debu Chatterjee, one of the members of the ruling Congress Party in those times. They talk about the coconut and mango and anshphol[15] groves that used to dot the area and the multiple ponds which lay along the open drains that bordered the road till 1977. They recall that no buses plied this route when they first struck work – the very first bus that came along this way, bus no. 33, started plying only in 1964-1965. They remember when the expansive Central Government Quarters, that now stand at the very

end of the road, was a huge field, when the only notable houses in the region were the Nawab Kothi and Anandilal Poddar's house at plot no 22, a house which all of them remember had a spiral staircase and a basement where the family hosted parties.

The legend of Tipu Sultan has not escaped the notice of these workers – they firmly believe that Tipu Sultan was held captive in the region and that is why there is such a noticeable Muslim population in Masjidpara. They remember when Jadavpur Police Station, which is located right opposite the Central Government Quarters, was what they call a *phari*, a police outpost. They mention the Bikramgarh Jheel, the expansive water body behind the current South City Complex, and relate stories of how it was one of their underwater hideouts, how they breathed through reeds while the police looked for the fleeing union workers. They point at a fellow comrade, another man in his nineties, and laugh about how he was knifed throughout his body. He stands up to display the scars that still run down his arms and abdomen."We got nothing from this strike", declares Ambar da. Instead, 23 of their comrades were fired. The unionized workers did not stop fighting for their rights - as they recall, work at the factory was never continuous through a calendar year after that, a fact corroborated in the speeches made by Lala Charat Ram at his Annual General Meetings.

In fact, by 1969, the situation was such that the Government of West Bengal had to intervene and a Tripartite Engineering Industry Settlement was reached between two engineering associations and the engineering establishments concerning wages, Dearness Allowance and wages in the revised scales of pay. Six weeks after work resumed in the Calcutta factories, Lala Charat Ram, in his speech at the 33rd Annual General Meeting, declared a "decline and complete cessation of production" in their Calcutta factories. He declared that the "agreement that had been signed upheld the management's position almost in its totality". By now there were rumors that the company was thinking of gradually closing the Calcutta factories. Charat Ram warned that the "winning of financial gains for the workers in this unit have already crossed the danger mark and would be disastrous if these lead to an otherwise avoidable closure of the unit."

Gentrification and the City: Live the Way the World Does[16]

Five towers shoot into the skyline of Kolkata, right behind the façade

of a glittering mall. This too, like the Shahi Masjid, is wrapped in a film of bamboo and is being renovated. This is South City, a township which was built complete with its own mall, the largest in eastern India, multiplex and international school, standing in place of the Jay Engineering Works. Clustered all around the complex are tiny make-shift shops of aluminum sheets and tarpaulin with benches squeezed in. These stalls are always full, people milling around, sourcing anything from jewelry, and food to tattoos.

Post the 1991 economic reforms in the country, the state of West Bengal adopted the Industrial Policy Resolution in 1994 in a bid to invite private investment, both foreign and indigenous, to industrialize the state. In 1994, Jyoti Basu, leader of the Left Front and the Chief Minister of Bengal, declared that a hospital would be raised in the space that belonged to Jay Engineering Works.

A hospital was however, not to be. A consortium of realtors[17] and their multinational team built earthquake resistant towers with high speed elevators, accommodation for internal traffic and security management, modern fire fighting systems and the best civic amenities. The largest mall in eastern India was incorporated in the project, spread over a million square feet, housing around 134 retail outlets including global brands and a multiplex along with an international school spread over 31.14 acres.

The South City Projects went on to court controversies and flout environmental laws, the best example being the encroaching of the Bikramgarh Jheel, one of the largest water bodies in south Kolkata. The project spurred other realtors to buy out the open spaces along the Eastern Metropolitan Bypass region,building on what used to be part of the swamps of the Wetlands.

The reality of the city bending over backwards to make space for the upwardly mobile can,perhaps, best be seen in perspective through the life of Sambhu Singh. Jay Engineering Works was sold without any prior notice to the employees. They were not given any notice before their eviction or the demolition of their living quarters. They were to

accept the Voluntary Retirement Scheme assigned to them, and leave. These skilled workers were now plying cycle rickshaws, opening tiny shops catering to the construction workers and becoming caretakers of the same. They were building shanties around the boundary wall which now prevented them from accessing their previous place of residence.

Sambhu da, as he is fondly known, had come from Gaya in Bihar and put in 19 years of work in the paints division of the factory. He was not a part of Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU), the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPIM) labor union which had taken over the negotiations with the factory owners. He had refused to move out of his quarters, which was located right in the middle of the construction. In 1994, he had filed a petition in the Calcutta High Court and won a stay of eviction and demolition of his living quarters till his deserved compensation was paid in full. Following his complaint,there were repeated threats to his family and in December 2008, the stairs to his first floor residence were demolished. Sambhu Singh continued to live inside the shell of his house, to prove his right to live in the space. As citizen protests built up, the state intervened through the Nagarik Committee and held a negotiation between Sambhu da and Sushil Mohta and Man Mohan Bagree of South City. Even though the negotiation ended with Sambhu Singh signing a non-legal agreement wherein he withdrew all criminal and civil cases against South City, the next day, Sambhu Singh lodged a complaint that he had been made to sign under pressure. From January 2009, Sambhu Singh and his family were no longer allowed into the premises of South City despite the High Court order of stay.

On 13 January 2011, Sambhu Singh was run over by a vehicle in Madhyamgram[18].

Space is Not a Reflection of Society, It is Society[19]

Kolkata, and Prince Anwar Shah Road within it, grew on an axis of power and displacement. Wrapped in their bamboo sheaths, both the Shahi Masjid and South City are manifestations of metamorphoses, everlasting, ongoing change; both stand witness as the physical manifestations of aspirations. The former is symbolic of an exiled people creating their own space out of nothing, the latter of people being ousted from their own space so the others can "live the way the world does".

Memories, of people and places, intertwine the layers of legend and history which have built this city. Spaces are created and they crumble as the imperatives of the present overwhelm the legacies of the past, as the names of exiled royals give way to shiny state of the art hospitals and colleges. A colonial past is written over by nationalist narratives which in turn give way to globalized lifestyles. Yet, a Fort Mysore or a bus stop still called Usha Gate remind us of men and women who shaped the landscape from a swamp of rivulets to mighty icons of trendy consumerism. The reins of power move from old hands to newer hands. Once, the British tried to isolate the Sultan's family but they rose to riches, power and influence. Once, the industrialists battered the workers but today the only building that still exists is the Office of the Workers' Union. Opposite it sprawls South City, emblematic of the powers of consumerism, haunted by the memories of those trampled in its rise. Meanwhile, in his first floor residence at Fort Mysore, Sahebzada Shahid Alam continues his intricate weaving of the family history of Tipu Sultan within the boundaries of a new Fort Mysore, working every day to ensure that his present remains anchored to the past.

This city stands on memories, multiple narratives hiding and coexisting within the folds of its ever changing façade, surfacing occasionally to tell of a time that was, while accumulating the present as memories of the future. Changing spaces reflect the shifts in the power structure, the city itself becoming a palimpsest of all that was and all that is.

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Endnotes

1. Tipu Sultan (1750-1799) succeeded his father Haider Ali as the ruler of Mysore in 1782, his kingdom extending across the Deccan Plateau of present southern India. Known as the Tiger of Mysore, though initially maintaining peace with the British, he later resisted British rule which led to the third of the four Anglo-Mysore wars, which ended with the Treaty of Seringapatnam in 1792. In 1798 the fourth Anglo-Mysore war was led by Tipu Sultan, who died on the battlefield in 1799.

2. In Bengali '*para*' means neighborhood.

3. Clock tower

4. Lord Minto's Minute (1807)

5. Wooden shutters

6. Lord Minto's Minutes (1807)

7. Although the British variously spelled his name as Gholam Mohammed or Gholam Mohamad or Gholam Mohammed, this is the spelling the Prince used in his personal correspondence.

8. Different from the tax on land, Mal was a Mughal tax on crop. It represented a claim on the behalf of a state to a share of the actual crop. The British understanding of Mal land was that of land revenue.

9. Extract from the proceedings of the Hon'ble the President in Council in the political department, under date 28th August,1839, p. 189/190

10. A multi-storeyed residential complex owned by the Fort Real Estate Group.

11. Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

12.   'da' is a suffix added to the names of older men to refer to them as elder brother.

13. Ambar Roy Choudhury passed away in 2017.

14. Prasanta Sur was an activist who fought for the rights of refugees. An important figure in the Communist Party of India (CPI), he went on to become a Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPIM) leader. He became the first Left Front Mayor of Calcutta in 1969 before going on to become the Urban Development Minister in the Left Front government of 1977 before taking charge of portfolios such as Health and Refugee Rehabilitation.

15. A type of berry found in Bengal.

16. "Live the way the world does" is the slogan of South City Projects.

17. Sushil Mohta of the Merlin Group of Companies, R S Agarwal and R S Goenka of the Emami Group, J K Khetawat of the Rameswara Group, Pradeep Sureka of the Sureka Group, S K Todi of the Shrachi Group and R K Bachhawat of the J B Group came forward to back the South City project. It was to be a project of Dulal Mukherjee and Architects, but the design team included international consultants Smallwood Reynolds Stewart, Stewart and Associates from Atlanta US and Peridian Asia PTE from Singapore as landscape architects. Meinhardt, from Singapore, were the structural consultants.

18. A neighborhood in Kolkata

19. Manuel Castells, 1983

Phenomenology of Contemplative Spaces: Case of Masjid Wazir Khan

Mehwish Abid

Introduction

This paper is the author's way forward from her previous research paper,"Being and the City" published in THAAP Journal 2017: *People and the City*. The research looked at the understanding of the phenomenon of being from the perspective of experience of the city (Abid 2017, 158-172).The research explored the ideas of unhomely spaces/environments and being-in-the-world (Heidegger 1962). Space is inherently found in spatiality and this is an important indicator that enhances cognition (Abid 2017).The research explored concepts such as atmosphere, as a strategic tool for spatial experience (Bohme 1993), elements such as journey, color, relationship to the sky and threshold were explored through narrative tools (Abid 2017, 164-165). The current paper looks into the phenomenological study of Masjid Wazir Khan on the basis of cognitive perception that enables experience for the individual. The paper also looks into the various types of practices such as ethnographical methodologies (self-experience and narrative) to map experience. The reason for choosing Masjid Wazir Khan is due to its contextual nature that will be further explained. The hypothesis of the research is that a space that induces contemplation, be it sacred or spiritual, if it is culturally and architecturally rich, will affect the cognitive aspects of the user.

Background

The modern age, along with new gadgets, technology and globalization has brought depression, anxiety and loneliness. It is important to provide the community with a space where they may revitalize their spirits. The future trends in architecture require architects to produce spaces while understanding the importance of contextual culture. In order to create sensitive surrounding architecture, it is essential to incorporate the Genius Loci of the space (Norberg-Schultz 2003). The design of communal spaces should be able to excite, calm and induce thinking (Gopnik 2011).

The Rationale for the Research

Concepts of spirituality are found in art, astrology, esoteric knowledge, alchemy, the mind and sciences. Spirituality in all cultural traditions is not defined in the name of neurosciences, thus, it has to be (re)written in the light of functions of the brain. Intellectual modernity has brought two competitive psychologies, the spiritual mind sticks to the spiritual attitude, the metaphorical, mythical, cognitive sides of the topic and the empirical mind clarifies the differences between spirituality, spiritualism, phantasmagorias, logic and reality. Over time, architects have managed to make many overlaps between sacred and spiritual architecture (Arkoun 1995, 1-4). If the contemporary user has no time for the journey, the monastery must be brought to him. According to Chisti, the path for self-discovery from primitive man to the modern age has had three main influences, that is, nature, man's will and providence of God (Chisti 1978). Poets and mystics wrote of the magic of self-exploration throughout history. A journey of self-awareness is the most important trip that one might undertake. However, in the age of consumer-driven greed and haste, one might not have time for this most important voyage. It is essential for the city to provide such a space that is inside the city centre and is an important constituent of the communities residing around it. The science of thinking has progressed from ancient times and has travelled many regions. Thus the impact of culture and context is also a deciding factor in its outlook and user experience. The research suggests that contemplation in spiritual/sacred spaces is enhanced as in the early cave paintings, utensils and jewellery reflect the progress in mind and needs: places such as kitchens and gathering areas. Later, man started to bring the essence of worshipping spaces into houses by cloning the style into dwelling places; for instance, Greek temples had flat roofs with pillars and Greek homes took the same shape (Chisti 1978, 5-24). Culture had its immense role to play in informed design and its perception of the user.

The Methodology of the Research

The methodology revolves around research of design features of a spiritual and sacred space in order to understand the impact it has puts on the human brain in order to reflect.

There are three levels of the study. Understanding the spiritual and

sacred context is necessary to reach the understanding of contemplative spaces. One is the theoretical level understood by literature review for the background knowledge of spiritual/sacred architecture, being (Abid 2017) and neurosciences for architecture. The second is the analytical level, which involves visits and surveys to gather information and study the data obtained. The third is the synthesis of the data for drawing conclusions. In addition, by physically engaging with the space in question, the user would be able to formulate their own set of conclusions using the methods of ethnography (explanation of context) (Reed-Danahay 1997).

Experiencing Spiritual and Sacred Spaces

A large and growing body of literature has investigated the awakening of the being aside from sacred scriptures. Sharma has expressed Esposito's notion that it is possible to apply spiritual principles to future architecture by overlapping the principles of the mental world and the physical world (Sharma 2010, 223-230). A considerable amount of literature has been published on sacred spaces and spiritual spaces. The premise of this paper is not to detail spiritual and sacred architecture, however, it is to explain the role of phenomenology in them and how the cognitive science (neurology) is enhanced in such spaces and informs the perception of the user.

The aspect that the research is interested in is that spiritual architecture includes a series of processes applied in one's private life to attain a space for concentration. A human brain has to perceive the space at a personal level. Each plane of the universe is formed out of different but definite ranges of vibrations. Together they constitute the universe, which is the complete temple of God. Thus, the universe is the divine temple and the body of man is also the potential temple. Ultimately, one may discover, however, that the universe is also within man so there is no contradiction (Chisti 1978, 12-15). Public worship spaces in ancient times, besides providing worship area, were also used as gathering areas for the community. Prayers and meditation became more about people connecting with people and bonding. In ancient times, the temple/churches/spiritual retreats were gathering points and now in this age it is the markets/malls/offices/mosques and communal public spaces where there is the hustle and bustle of people and life.

Price (2006) explains in his writings that sprawl, mall and tall are a massive threat to poetic diversity. He explained that if the metaphor is not associated with any type of architecture, it becomes meaningless. He illuminates that design that does not have a metaphoric or mythic level leaves a void. A good design is one that brings the corporeal and spiritual side of the user together. He sheds light on the matter that from the Pantheon to Angkor, myth and metaphor have shaped the architecture (Price 2006). Different cultures have different elements based on their traditions, beliefs and cultures; for example, Native Americans and tribal Africans used methods such as measuring stars and planets. The circle prevailed in mosques in Europe and the Middle East and is a common design element used for domes of synagogues and Byzantine churches. It eventually transformed into elongated, elliptical cathedrals. The Alhambra mosque in Spain has a square base metamorphosed from square to polygon via triangulated *Muqarnas*. A brilliant gesture tricks the eyes and accelerates the observers from the rational to the irrational in a heartbeat. Research explains that it is difficult to imagine sacred architecture without imagery, icons, symbolic geometry, even nothingness can be represented (Price 2006, 52-58). Architecture has served the purpose of need and moved to represent itself as signs of glory, belief, morals and progress.

Phenomenology through Mind Workings - For Spaces in the City(ies)

Mallgrave explained that Zeki has regarded that architects have always been neuroscientists. In the sense that the human brain is the wellspring of every creative endeavour and the outcome of every good design is whether the architect enriches or diminishes the private world of the individual endeavour (Mallgrave 2010, 4). The field of architecture needs designers to explore novel dimensions of neuroscience for architecture: A whole range of complementary sensory perceptions which are registered by the labile 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 (Frampton 2002). Therefore, it enhances the effect of the spatial aura of the human body and the mind experiencing it. The human brain is not just an enigma anymore. Its increasing progress and explorations over time has led to discoveries of its potentials. However, its full potential is still undiscovered. The award winner Francis Crick declared it as the scientific search for the soul (Mallgrave 2010, 25).
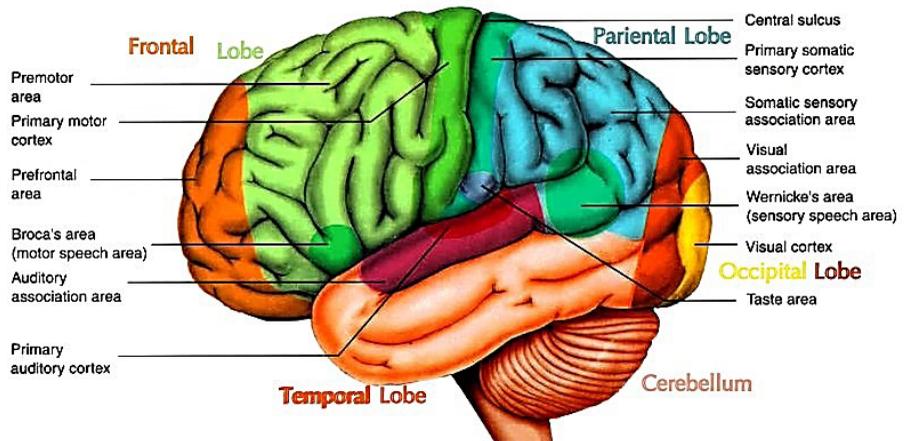
Analysis

The primary sensory areas are input areas. They send signals to the brain and the output is from the primary motor areas that are in the frontal lobe. The prefrontal lobe is what makes humans distinct from animals. It gives the capabilities of problem solving and motor senses that aren't present in animals. If spaces are designed keeping this in view, architects can create elements to enhance perceptions. Perception is dependent on users and their own subjective responses.

Perception through Vision

Each sense has its particular region of the cortex in proportion to its sensory organ. A large area in the brain is allocated to facial recognition. Mallgrave in his writing compares the work of Gestalt psychologists to the natural working of the human brain's perception, that it forms pockets of information; it consolidates the different distinct attributes and different areas of the brain

Figure 2

An understanding of the route of visual perception, developed by the author.
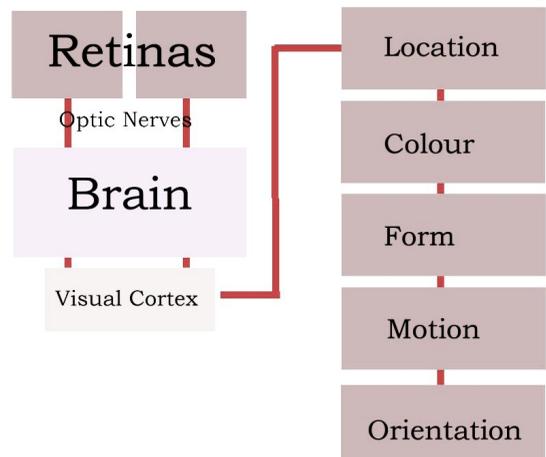
(Mallgrave 2010, 42). Figure 3 shows the hierarchy to which an alert mind responds turn by turn. Complete imaging of the brain has not been mapped yet. The human brain according to Semir Zeki processes with a lag in events as different nodes complete their processing at different times (Zeki
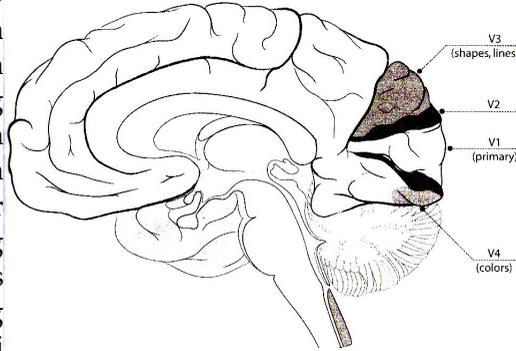
2003, 214-218). The similarities between the brain's working and the phenomenon of being converge in the perception of the user.

Being and the City (Abid 2017, 158-172) suggested through Heidegger's work that the user is in his present, once his senses are awakened. 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; he regarded them as neurologists. Mallgrave's research probes the works of Alberti, Frank Gehry and Steven Holl for visual ambiguity in architecture (Mallgrave 2010, 144-155).

Analysis and Critique

The research claims that most sacred/spiritual spaces have layers upon layers. There are layers of meanings and associations, making external claims of carried out traditions and culture, hiding layers of meanings intended and meanings perceived by personal experience (Smith 2008). The sites that hold such emotional power on the visitor is by means of culturally central texts. The layers of associations and narratives are superimposed by many cultures for their own spots and are insignificant to other cultures (Smith 2008, 5). It is not only the texts but also the activities or the school of thought followed by that one particular space that makes it only for a select group of people.

The temporal lobe is very close to Broca's area (motor speech area) and auditory cortex. It resides on the limbic system. It gives spatial recognition. The Hippocampus is also a part of the limbic system that forms the memory of a human brain. Any incident that takes place makes a circuit in the brain and its repetition enables it to grow (Mallgrave 2010). Any part of the brain may be made powerful by using it. Whilst, the Sufis use the term accommodation, others refer to the temple: there is a temple of breath, a temple of sound, a temple of hearing, a temple of seeing; and there is a temple of God's spirit, which is the body. In addition, each part of the body is again a temple, which accommodates a thought, a feeling, a faculty, or a sense. On the physical plane, atoms are united into forms, on the mental planes vibrations are united into ideas or thoughts. Both need a space of their own (Chisti 1978, 12-15). As humankind gained comfort with time, they began to ponder about being and esoteric occult architecture prevailed. Chisti (1978) explains that when the heart is free, the mind becomes the tool or a writing servant and one may use the tool to do what he needs or get what he wants (Chisti 1978, 7).

Masjid Wazir Khan, Lahore- History and Background

Descriptive Analysis followed by Interpretations

Masjid Wazir Khan is at the heart of the complex of the Walled City of Lahore. The Wazir Khan Mosque was built by Hakim Aliuddin (sometimes also referred to as Ilmuddin) in AD 1634 (1054 AH). The structure of the mosque is divided into three horizontal planes. Level zero comprises the shops on the eastern and northern side. Level I occupies the maximum area of the mosque, comprising all the major spaces in the mosque. Level II defines the spaces that may be accessed from level I via staircases. Muhammed explains in his document for the

Figure 4

(left)An eastern elevation of Masjid Wazir Khan, (center) Minaret of Masjid Wazir Khan and (left) western elevation of Masjid Wazir Khan.

conservation of Wazir Khan that the layout of the mosque is rectangular in plan, measuring 86.17 x 50.44 metres at its extreme limits (Muhammad 2011). The four imposing *minars* (towers) define the corners of the main courtyard. The main prayer chamber, courtyard, *hujras* (meditation rooms), vestibule and bazaar constitute the main spaces of the mosque.

Mapping the Experience of Masjid Wazir Khan

Shahi Guzargaah is a familiar area since the author has conducted various researches there. The photographic documentation, collection of stories from the local inhabitants, short videos and audio recordings of the surroundings have been made multiple times. The methodology by which the chosen site is examined is by keeping notes (from literature review) from study of being and cognitive science (neuroscience) in the mind. Multiple field visits including surveys were made. The mosque was photographed along with its context. The drawings developed were through sketches and further represented through AutoCAD. The records (on journey, scale, aroma, feeling, relationship to the sky and light) were made during the field visits and are in accordance with the guide lines of the research. Ethnographic (narrative based) interpretations were deduced. To have a better understanding, photogrammetric results were also employed since it focuses on representing the façade of Masjid Wazir Khan, Lahore through photogrammetry (Mehwish Abid 2017, 15-24).

An Ethnographic Account of Masjid Wazir Khan

Shahi Guzargaah opens into the Masjid Wazir Khan. It is about 260 meters from Delhi Gate. It is around 550 meters away from Rang Mahal Government High School on the Shahi Guzargaah (Mehwish Abid 2017). The bazaar opens on to the courtyard of the mosque. It connects well in its nearby bazaar to which it is directly linked. The northern and eastern sides are full of encroachments like shoot outs of the structure.

There are residential areas on the southern side. These residences share their structural load with the walls of the mosque shown in figure 5. While walking from the street towards the mosque, one feels the density of architecture around the street and the area around it. It comes into sight as a spacious surprise, unlike the crowded streets leading to it.

The items sold around the mosque are mostly of daily use or antiques.
There is a complete bazaar that leads to the mosque. One crosses the
renovated bazaars while moving towards the mosque (see figure 6).
There is the hustle bustle of tourists in the area due to the uplifted
streetscape and the adjacent Shahi Hamams.

Figure 6

Photography
explaining the
journey, context and
materials at the site.
Photography by
author, 2010.
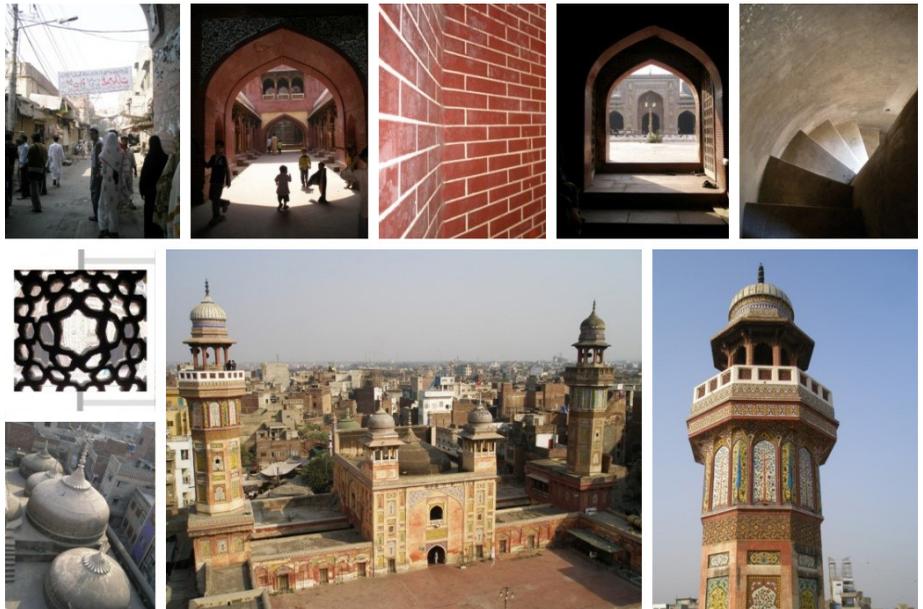
Formal Analysis

The scale is monumental. Over time, it has become crowded by the surrounding residential area. Especially at night it is particularly very busy. The recent conservation of the mosque has added another square to the front of the mosque that had become its courtyard foyer (see figure 9). The shops are not visible after the conservation of the mosque. This square has changed the dynamics of the mosque, as the Walled City Authority has held various activities in it. Just recently (March 2018), Lahore Biennale 01 hosted a Qawwali night there along with many other activities. The inside of the mosque is a complete contrast. As one enters the space, there is a transition from the crowds into a welcoming openness after crossing the vestibule. The southern neighboring residential area has obscured the architectural features of the mosque and obstructed the way for the maintenance of the mosque.

From a congested, messy space, one enters into the mosque's vestibule with offices, on both sides. The arched opening gives a glimpse into the large square (interior) of the mosque. There are sudden changes from
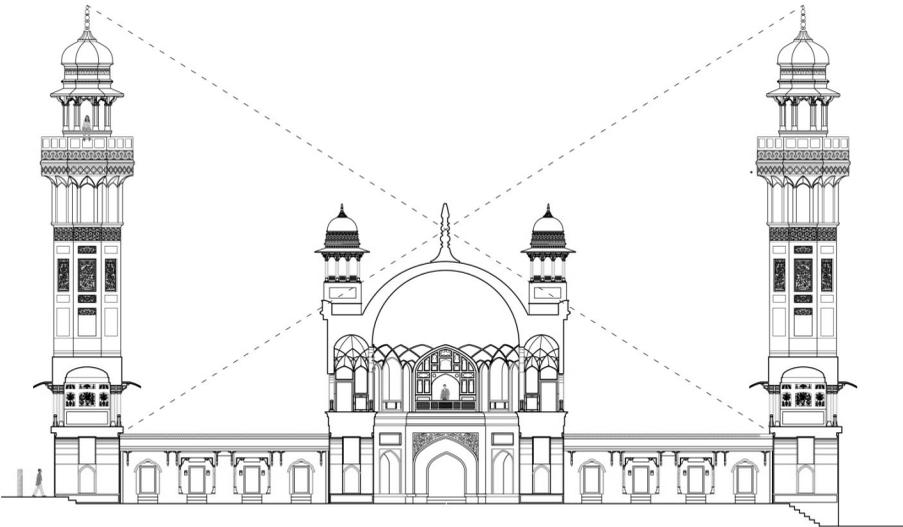
Figure 7

Sectional drawing demonstrating scale and spaces, self-generated by author.

medium into larger and then smaller spaces. The same transition is present in Hindu temples, churches and meditative spaces. Once inside the square of the mosque from the crowded bazaar outside, there is a sudden change of smell and aura.

The change in spaces also varies the effects of light (see figure 8). Walking through the spaces or up to the minaret, one may see the Lahore Walled
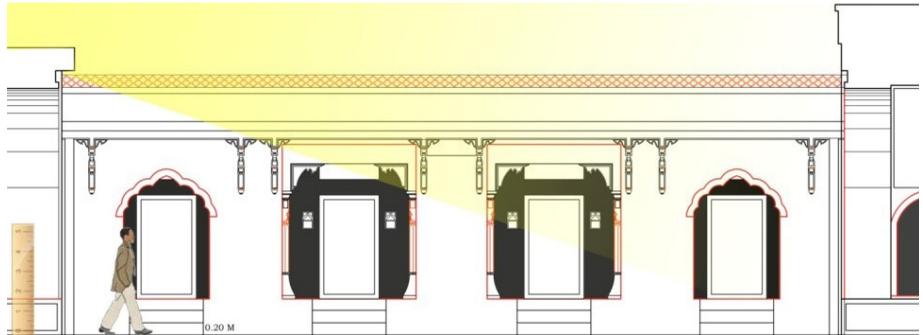
City skyline. The sound of prayer within the honeycomb domes echoing and the high roofs with brick as the major construction material takes one back into the time of the Mughal Empire. There is nostalgia, an earthiness, a calmness rendered by the material that is perceived by the visual cortex. The mosque has a smell of old bricks and as one approaches the bazaar, the aroma of food pervades. The soundscape includes Rickhshaws (three wheel vehicles), hawkers and people chatting. It is a different spatial experience as its context is rich with the rich culture of multiple ethnicities. The mosque is an exploration of geometry. It has delved in to the idea of geometry and explored it in its proportions, use of forms such as minarets, wall frescos, number of spaces and form of domes.
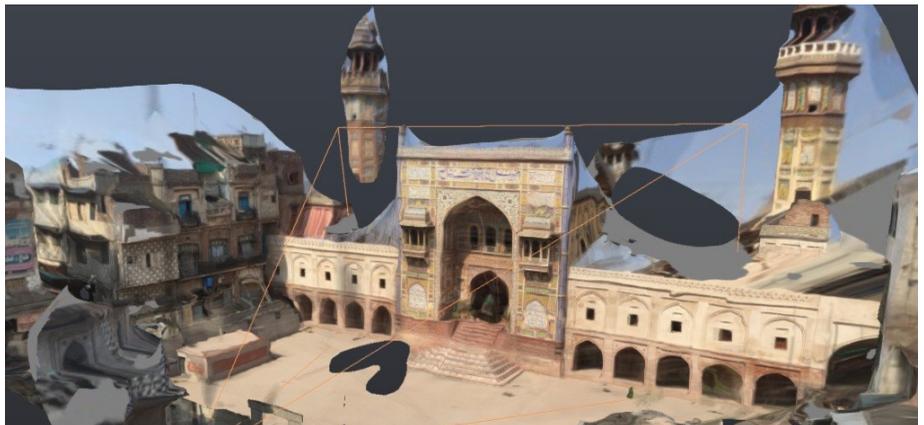
Concluding Remarks

The conclusions are based on the criteria in figure 10. The figure shows being and perception, involved in evaluating the site in question. These criteria were used as these elements enhance human perception.

The criteria are critical as all the stated factors are emotion-inducing and the human brain is largely affected by these. The author intends to communicate that the idea behind the mosque and its outlook is geometry. This informs the experience of the space. It gives a systematic entry to users into the outer courtyard and then leads into the mosque, where the vestibule awaits the users. The entrance is on the axis and one may see various architectural elements set in its orientation a reminder of the idea behind the mosque. This is an interpretation that the research has dwelled upon. Bronca and Hippocampus are the neural areas responsible for spatial recognition and memory, respectively. It is because of the symmetrical nature of the mosque that the user, even upon the first visit, has an idea of the kind of spaces on the other sides of the mosque that are not explored. The visual cortex receives the information regarding the large colored facades, flying birds that surround the mosque as it receives information about motion, the ability to place one's self in the Walled City while standing inside the Masjid Wazir Khan. These are all indictors of how the brain formulates the perception of space.

The spatial experience of the building is a contribution of manifold factors, which are dependent on the connectivity of man with the phenomenology of the space. This connectivity is strengthened by the sensitivity of the sensory exploration of man.

The project demands careful study of the brain and opens new doors towards queries regarding the mapping of the neural networks that one forms in a space that informs the perception. However, a set of criteria and comparative analysis may give the basic information to formulate the ideas behind contemplative spaces. The research may be taken in various directions for understanding neural networks in cityscapes, in forlorn spaces, in mapping the visual cultures and experience of heritage sites/contexts.
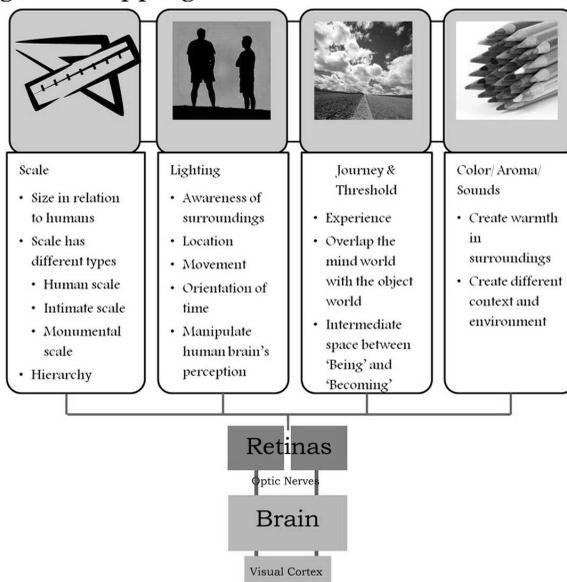
Figure 9

Process of perception integration with the criteria of the case studies, generated by the author.

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Visionary Ecologies: Stories of Gleaning in Brisbane and Lahore

Dr. Michal Glikson

Gleaning is the art of gathering leftovers, essentially things which others have thrown away. As an activity, gleaning offers a potent metaphor for society and for the human condition. As an idea, this crystallized in the painting, *The Gleaners* by the French artist Jean-Francois Millet. The exhibition of the painting in Paris, in 1858, caused an uproar amongst the French elite art patrons. In an act revolutionary for its time, the artist had rendered peasant women engaging in the humble activity of gleaning, luminously in oils. Doing so brought to light the economic disparity and class divisions of French society whilst also questioning the lowly status accorded to peasant women,through portraying them so sympathetically. The painting offers a visual time capsule, a reminder that only one hundred years after the French revolution, France had again become a wealthy empire governed by sharp class divisions and extreme economic disparity.

Turning to the subject of gleaning in contemporary society, research on climate change in the second half of the 20th century looked at the modern city as contributing significantly to causes of pollution and carbon emissions (Verney 1969, p. 14). Though no simple solution to the toxicity

of the city has emerged, those that did, invariably, did not promote gleaning, which is essentially a form of recycling. Although many cities have made different attempts to implement cultures of recycling, the hands-off nature of automated waste-management prevents interaction with waste and thus does not allow nor account for the fact that there are many city dwellers who glean. Analyses of gleaning populations indicate that they come from a range of backgrounds and walks of life. They may be employed or unemployed, literate, illiterate and sometimes have homes and substantial incomes. What they all share is a willingness to pick through rubbish skips and dumps, and an ethos about reusing, remaking and recycling.[1] However, gleaning remains a peripheral, informal activity. This paper does not seek to interrogate public policy on the issue of waste negotiation in cities but to examine the idea that gleaning is a culture with something to offer the city as regards dealing with waste. The study utilizes research conducted on the ground with people who glean for a living, a community in which the author includes herself.

Why has gleaning been largely excluded as a solution for negotiating city waste? There are various possible reasons.[2] Some of these concern the way that gleaning, as seen in the perception of Millet's painting by French ruling classes, is a political activity, challenging the organization of societal wealth whereby some enjoy the ability to consume, whilst others live in extraordinary deprivation. The existence of gleaning as an activity signifies a paradox of poverty amidst abundance. Gleaners place unwanted attention on the inefficiency of capitalist modes of mass production as by re-appropriating the excess, the extraordinary waste generated by a profit-driven 'throwaway' culture is thrown into the light. In another way, the act of gleaning openly confronts the idea of money as being the only means by which a person or community may sustain themselves.

The presence of the gleaner reflects the existence of surplus produced by industries that exploit land. As the enclosure of the Commons in 18th century England demonstrated, land distribution and land use, at least in the west, has been an intensely political issue. By re-appropriating resources, gleaning asserts that what the land produces should belong to all. This could be extrapolated to include the idea that as the land is what people have in common, we should be commonly able to access that which is produced from it (Bronowski 2012, xliv, xlix).

Gleaning is therefore often defined as a radical activity that challenges the status quo. This helps to understand why to date, specifically in the

cities discussed in this paper, Lahore and Brisbane, gleaners lack formal rights to glean. Though by no means all of the reasons why gleaning has not been presented as a solution to negotiating city waste, I suggest these supply some of logic underpinning anxiety about promoting gleaning, and supporting those who practise it.

The Life of Gleaners

Gleaning begins with a growing consciousness of the waste one produces. I first connected with this as a student in Baroda in 2008, when I learned that someone was sifting through my rubbish regularly. At the time I did not know that the first gleaners in India were those born into the lowest castes. They were considered impure and to mingle with them was considered contaminative. They performed tasks that corresponded to this status, which included handling rubbish. They were not allowed to eat with other members of the community. Because they were often desperately poor, the food was often scraps, and thus they became known as "the eaters of leavings". It disturbed me to know that in 2008 a person of any caste or class had to go through mixed and smelly waste, which seemed to add a layer of humiliation. I began to sort and separate my rubbish into bags of plastic, glass and bio-waste, so that my gleaner could work cleanly and safely.

Agnes Varda's documentary, *The Gleaners and I*, pays tribute to gleaners, and opened my eyes to its profoundness. The film inspired me to think more deeply about what gleaning means, and to think about how gleaners operate in different cities and cultures. One of the things I have realized is that gleaning teaches me much about the society I am living in – which has been very helpful when I have not been fluent in the local language. Anthropologist and gleaner Jeff Ferrall believes gleaning is an underestimated way of knowing. What better way he says, to learn about a society than by examining the traces of life that enter bins and skips? Gleaners, he suggests, may know much about the complexity of socio-economic life on the ground in a city than many (Pile 2001, p. 19; Ferrall 2005, 16).

Unfortunately, in my experience of the cultures where I have worked, gleaners are rarely invited to share their knowledge, valuable though it might be. I remember how people used to stop and stare aghast in India and Pakistan, as I went through rubbish with my bare hands,

and how in Australia I had to glean secretly and furtively. Gleaning is not accorded respect partly due to the fact that it requires getting ones hands dirty, and partly for other reasons discussed later in the paper. Although the research of writers such as Ferrall has allowed new perspectives into gleaning as a discourse about society and the city, the fact remains that gleaners are often not given credit either for what they do,or the knowledge they may possess.

The Life of Gleaners: Gleaning in Brisbane

"Survival" politics is a strand of research that examines the informal ways in which ordinary people become activists. Gleaning falls into this spectrum of activities as people glean for political and economic reasons. In the Australian city of Brisbane there is a small but growing informal movement of city dwellers practicing gleaning. Many are professionals with good education. Some like myself are students, while others are ordinary people trying to save money and/or outraged at the waste. Uniting us is this consciousness about waste and anger about the dysfunctionality of rampant capitalism.

My friend, Ruby,and I are of this group. We glean because we are on low incomes but gleaning is also our personal response to rampant consumerism and incredible waste. Cities are hard places to survive and if I find something useful or edible, it reminds of something that I feel has been forgotten, which is that the earth does not charge us for sunlight, or rain or the fruits that it bears.

Rummaging in the skip, my hands become buried in plastic mixed with rotting vegetables. Thinking of plastic my thoughts turn to climate change. We know that problems with our cities involve their lack of viability as ecosystems. Their soil is prevented from undergoing natural stages of enrichment and there is little biodiversity. Few cities in the world generate their own energy or food but exist through draining resources. Watching mountains of food being thrown away, often still packaged, I find myself dreaming of a day when I might be able to compost it in a garden - a city garden where everybody could come and smell the flowers.

There is something profound about gleaning. It is a humble and humbling activity that brings a different understanding of the city. It makes you dream. You wonder at the information that surfaces from

the rubbish dumps and skips in the form of food wrappings, clothing, old toys, bills, receipts, old letters and certificates that reveal the nitty-gritty of day to day living.

My thoughts harken back to the untouchables of India, who were known as "the eaters of leavings". As a gleaner I think about this definition a lot. It takes courage to confront attitudes about rubbish. There is a tendency that people have which is to forget that gleaners only gather what is unwanted. In Australia some supermarkets lock their bins and employ security guards and cameras. They have stated that it is for our protection but such actions conceal the fact that the danger lies in the mixed nature of the waste about which the supermarkets do nothing. It could be argued that such an approach might be expected of the bourgeoisie and shopkeeper class, who are heavily invested in maintaining status quo.

> "On this night Ruby and I found a skip full of plastic bags. At first it felt exciting untying them and rummaging inside. But excitement turned to revulsion as my hands became slimy with rotting meat and other putrefying foods. I prayed that I would not get cut by broken glass or syringes. My feelings of excitement soon turned to sadness. The amount of wasted bread and cake made us both weep. At another skip we found fruits and vegetables and gathered them furtively. At intervals I looked up at the stars and rested my back. I imagined aliens watching and wondered what they thought of this society, where some members collect food in the day, while others steal out at night to gather what is left."(M. Glikson Journal 2017)

The Life of Gleaners: A Family in Lahore

> "The *jhuggi* (hut) slowly revealed itself as a mosaic of the found and the recycled. A collection of old handbags, hung out of reach of small children, held medicines; an old yellow shawl tied hammock-style stored pots and dishes. The floor was a large piece of found carpet, and the comfortable seat I sat on had come off a bicycle. The fireplace, made of broken bricks, was filled with pieces of broken crates, in readiness for cooking the next meal. In summer I sit with the mother of the family, Safia, who takes the use of found material to an art form. I watch as she stitches a *ralli* in the summer light. She uses no template but miraculously her pattern appears as she positions thousands of triangles cut

from cloth and clothing she has found in the skip. And I think to myself, from sow's ears she is literally creating a silk purse.

I look around the tent and identify recycled finds: purple fabric (for the quilt), bicycle seats that we sit on by the fire, old handbags are being used to store medicines, an old yellow *dupatta* has been strung up to hold dishes and cups. The children are drawing with old pens and paper. Safia offers me tea from a found cup, moisturizer from a half used tube. She paints my nails with found polish, my lips with found lipstick and my hands with found *mehndi*. She is a great artist and designer and could be teaching her tradition in the art schools of her city. Adding to the complexities of her background, is Safia's marginalization that resides much in the stigma she bears, borne by all who live in the *jhuggis*, and which is entwined with the practice of gleaning and using the found.."(M. Glikson, Journal 2014)

Figure 2

Gleaning at supermarket skips in Brisbane
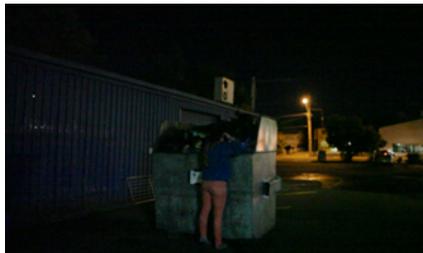
Regarding gleaning, I owe a debt of inspiration to a family of gleaners who descend from nomadic tribes of the Punjab. Although Lahore has been the traditional region in which they have roamed for centuries, with the creation of Pakistan, few such communities have managed to claim ownership of, or purchase land. They are a severely marginalized community and mostly survive through squatting on wastelands in tents. Theirs is a life governed by the provisional, by ingenuity and creativity. For Safia's family gleaning is essential for sustaining life. She and her husband feed their animals with the vegetable leftovers, they make and furnish their home with discarded materials, they clothe themselves in what they find or are given, and they sort, clean and sell recyclables. They are true ecologists, leaving ultra-light footprints. Importantly in the context of the city of Lahore, though they are not land owners,they are deeply involved in caring for it.

In many cultures there is superstition about the found and re-used object. Anxieties about the transference of misfortune mean that those

who use things that have been found or recovered are a source of anxiety and represent one of the origins of the stigma attached to the gleaner. However, there is significance in the gleaning way which invokes faith. I could not understand this until I began gleaning - that there could be something profound about finding things one needs or wants. Equally it should be emphasized that there is no romance to gleaning because as things presently stand, profound sadness accompanies the activity. It is not the fact that there is so much waste that one wonders how the earth will swallow it. Or that gleaners are identified negatively across diverse cultures and societies. It is also the fact that when ordinary people do not separate their rubbish they are showing how deeply they do not care about these 'other' ordinary people – the gleaners - who

Figure 3

M. Glikson, Safia'sjhuggi, detail, Indopak. Scroll III,Australindopak Archive 2012-2016.

Figure 4

(Left) Jumpers recycled as goat coats

Figure 5

(Right) The tent of recycled material

are in real danger of infection from broken glass, needles, bio-waste, chemicals and many other materials. As an example Safia's daughter informed me how several children in her camp had eaten colored pills that they mistook for 'candies' but which were toxic medicines. "Their mouths went black", she said. "And they all died".

As a gleaner I have observed and experienced the socially sanctioned revulsion to rubbish and the way that gleaning challenges this. For me it is significant to realize that in many ways gleaning strongly invokes

Figure 6

(Left) The local skip

Figure 7

(Right Recycled bicycle seats

the concept of the social contract. If cooperation forms the keystone of civil society as has been suggested, then gleaning embodies one such service through cooperation (Rousseau as cited in Dickens, 2013).

At the heart of this discussion has been the idea that we can change our world through new stories "that allow us to re-imagine ourselves and make the shifts we need" (Gablik, 1991). In this way, I suggest that new stories need to include those of the gleaners, as people of the city embodying vision, and carrying out precisely the kinds of social contracts that are needed in order to create real change. This imminent and viable way of thinking could allow gleaning to take its place as a means of shifting the ecology of cities (Dickens, 2013).

Finally, in pondering the life of gleaners, there is the urgent issue regarding lack of rights and lack of respect. Acknowledging that across cultures gleaners are perceived differently, this paper does not attempt to examine attitudes in particularity rather it ends with a question concerning the universality about attitudes towards those who glean for a living.

Why is it that those performing vital work of sorting and cleaning in the city, while leaving the lightest footprints on the world, continue to suffer derogation, humiliation, poverty, and disempowerment?

Figure 8

(Left) Safia making a ralli, 2014.

Figure 9

(Right) Gleaning community, Gulberg, 2014.

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Endnotes

1. Emma Rush, "Skip Dipping in Australia". Australia Institute Webpaper,February (2006).

2. Gleaning has been formally introduced in diverse urbanized areas through calendar

days when householders are encouraged to place unwanted belongings on the street for general collection. During such periods, the public are permitted to fossick. Though it takes different shapes, in Brisbane and Lahore (where it is known as "wall of kindness") such institutions have only gone a little way as they only allow for redistribution of items amongst the middle and upper classes. Though many poorer communities might be encouraged to rummage, their lack of permanent dwellings, and the stigma attached to their way of life makes it harder to gain fair access. For these communities the gleaning at the rubbish skip or dumping site is easier, though pickings are leaner. The problems are not only lacking official permission to access skips/dumps but continuing proclivities among the middle/upper classes to not separate bio-waste from other recyclable garbage.

Through Alleys and "Innerscapes": The City and the Psyche

Prof. Honey Oberoi Vahali

I thank the organizers of THAAP for this truly enriching opportunity to share my thoughts on the "City as an Evolving Organism" from a peripheral and rather unusual standpoint of being a psychotherapist and meeting people in the space of psychotherapeutic encounters. It is only of late that persons from the middle and upper middle classes in cities, especially in the southern part of the world, have begun to visit a counsellor or psychologist with the hope that some emotional processes in their life could be restored by the sharing of grief, sorrow, losses, conflicts, shame and guilt laden parts. In effect, people belonging to the middle and upper classes of society have started to seek relief by finding connection with hitherto repressed, dissociated, traumatic and/or secret aspects of their self in the presence of a non-judgmental and embracing co-traveller - the psychotherapist. In a paradoxical sense, both partners in this journey- the person who seeks help and the psychotherapist who is there to receive and listen, have an ancient history and are also relatively new and emerging transitional identities[1] of our contemporary times.

As a psychotherapist and psychoanalyst, along with teaching and training psychologists, a considerable part of my work life revolves around attending to grief and emotional suffering (the "unknowable" and unutterable aspects) in the life of those who visit me for assistance in the psychotherapy clinic at Ambedkar University Delhi where I work, teach and practice. We run a free and low cost psychoanalytic psychotherapy clinic called Ehsaas (which itself is a sub-unit of the Centre of Psychotherapy and Clinical Research) at our University. At most times, the clinic has a long waiting list – once again testifying to the dire necessity for relational engagement in people of all ages, class and gender backgrounds.

As part of our psychological vision, we also work in community contexts where street dwellers seek temporary refuge in makeshift shelter homes. It is from these intimate human encounters that I will be offering some reflections on the "psyche in the city". I hope to take you through an unusual tour across psychic alleys (both conscious and

unconscious) in the life of the city's residents. These alleys open into inner landscapes suggesting a few crucial themes of value to human life in our times. Though specifically speaking, my work is with Indian people living in the city of Delhi,the themes that are brought up have an appeal which transcends the spatial borders and indeed create a psychic geography of their own.

(i)

While thinking about the psyche and city, my mind kept going back to Anton Chekhov's short but poignant and powerful story, *Grief*[2]. The story is set in the context of a severe winter evening in the then modernizing city of Saint Petersburg, Russia in the early 20th century. As the narrative unfolds, we learn about the sudden death of the young son of an ageing, poor cab driver Iona. The entire city is covered with snow and so is the bent grieving body of Iona. The stillness in the environment speaks of death's aura in which humans, animals and nature are all engulfed together. As the story progresses, Iona picks up passenger after passenger and while struggling to pull the carriage with his old tired limbs, each time he tries to tell his audience about his son's death. However, none of them are interested in listening to him. He, in turn, wants to respect and do justice to the death of the young boy by telling about his child's illness and eventual passing on in a slow, measured and detailed manner. In the absence of a receptive and involved listener, as readers we find his grief spilling over in an uncontainable manner. The night in the city with its fast-paced demands leaves him lonelier and more isolated each time he tries to share the tragedy which has befallen him- the tragedy of an old father to survive and live beyond his young son's short life. Almost pre-empting the predicament of life in the 21st century, Chekhov sketches the imagination of an indifferent and cold city, a society in which progress and personal concern predominate. In this fast-paced city, there is no listener who may empathetically connect to and help the grieving one to slowly mourn his losses in the way that death and ultimate separation deserve. In the end, disappointed in the ability of humans to relate, Iona goes to his mare and speaks to her about the death of his son. He conveys to her his state by asking her how she would feel if her little colt were to die. The mare softly rubs her face with that of her master. The story ends with an image of mutuality and understanding between the two living beings-man and horse- even as in the backdrop, life in the alienating city continues at its own pace.

I live in a metropolitan city, New Delhi, India where I am struck by the quality of coincidental human encounters that come my way once in a while. On my way to work and back, while travelling in a rickshaw, auto or on the metro, or while going to the market for shopping, at times I have come across people like Iona who are overwhelmed with the emotions they are carrying within themselves. They need an attuned listener to register their pain and sorrow. In a few minutes, our casual conversations acquire intensity, such that they begin to open up and tell me about the death of their parents, children, spouses or other close ones; some talk about separations from family, others speak of the lingering pain of migration from the village (which in their imagination may still remain saturated with nostalgia) to the city.

During these chance meetings I am gripped by the wisdom and depth about the human condition that my one-time-fellow companions carry- the man who pulls my rickshaw or the one who drives me home in an auto or taxi. These chance encounters and the rich stories of life which unfurl therein have also left a lingering resonance and realization about the need to be understood and responded to with empathy and the potential which such qualitatively rich interactions offer for deepening certain axes of human life. This is one angle which most former writings and reflections on the city have missed out.

(ii)

There have been some efforts to think about life in the city and its relationship with capitalism (Benjamin, 1969). The work at the psychological level here is very scarce though. Benjamin (1969) and Altman (2010) have spoken about the living arrangements in the city. From the angle of the psyche, I may add that the city justifies inequality and injustice through its special spatial configurations, such as the segregation between gated colonies, bungalows and dwellings of the elite and the slums on the outside but always in close proximity to the houses of the rich. Such a spatial arrangement suggests that "we" segregate "ourselves" from the economically and socially marginalized and disadvantaged and convert them into outsiders, yet retain them within the peripheries of our vicinity so that our everyday needs of running the households are taken care of. At the unconscious level, this spatial arrangement must also be serving our narcissistic need to feel rich and worthy by having the "poor", the outsiders of society, in such close but distinctively demarcated proximity. Perhaps, their disadvantaged and poverty-stricken existence serves a symbolic

function of making us feel worthy. By juxtaposing our rich dwellings with their bare minimal rundown existence, we the upper classes must be feeling invulnerable and sturdier. Instead of feeling guilty for the unjust system of which we are a collaborating part, we use them as a projective screen to deposit our negativity, anger and hate by converting them into "inverted containers" and thinking of them as being dirty, filthy, violent, crime-oriented, unruly sexual, in effect, unworthy and thus deserving their place in the social order. Then there are girls and boys from economically impoverished backgrounds who work in posh and upper class shopping malls, call centres and other apparently "glittering spaces". They cross the "borders of identity" on a daily basis (Johri and Menon, 2014). Within the city, theirs remains a distinctive kind of struggle.

The multiple displacements, accompanied by the everyday hazards of existence for the urban poor and the socio-economically marginalized in cities are only too well known to be detailed here (Simmel, 1903; Jacobs, 1961; Altman, 2010). We might also think of the city as an alienating domain challenging the capacity of humans (and all other living beings) to sustain emotional connections and bonds. On the converse side, there are works which uphold the dream for freedom which the city offers, the emancipation it promises and the opportunities for economic success/betterment with which it subtly beckons migrations and allures more into its folds. While there are anthropological, sociological, cultural and spatial reflections on how life is impacted by the spatial and socio-political contours of city life (especially the works from the Chicago School of Sociology and Anthropology), there is very little which has ever been said on the "seekings" of the psyche; on how the city alienates as well as simultaneously serves as a psychic container. There is also a paucity of writings on how the city enables an intergenerational articulation of continuity and discontinuity, of subjectivity and emotional needs, and also the birthing of newer forms of desire.

I now go on to dwell on observations which highlight the intersection of the psyche and the city in the life of two men, one whom I met briefly in a homeless shelter in old Delhi and the other a young man, a university student, who has been visiting me once a week for psychotherapy for the last two years. Hereafter, I will talk about some "innerscapes" and psychic alleys which my patients have been taking me into in recent years. I will conclude this brief writing with thoughts on some psycho-

social themes which are of pre-eminent value and which are of recent emergence in the life of city dwellers in India.

<div align="center">(iii)</div>

From village to city, the search continues…

"I left the village as I felt lonely and alienated and not because we did not have sufficient to eat. My father owned a shop there and we had enough but since my childhood I felt misunderstood and alone there". Sitting under a tree on the side of the dried up Yamuna river, as Babu spoke I felt shaken and challenged about my romantic imagination, nay projection, of close bonds between people living in villages as well as the idea that economic poverty was the reason behind widespread migration in my country. Babu, a resident of the homeless shelter for men at Yamuna Pusta, was telling me that it was the dream for relational closeness and fulfilment which had brought him to the city and not the need to earn and send money back home each month. The fantasy behind leaving his home was fuelled with the imagination that someone in the city of Delhi would care and thus cure him of his alienated and disconnected life. This was not to happen. While the city provided him with freedom and anonymity, there were even fewer connections to sustain him here. He soon began to slide downhill. He ended up becoming a rickshaw puller. In a few years, he lost most of the friendships he had made. The city felt like a place where none could be trusted. He felt duped and cheated. This brought up hopelessness and dejection. Drugs, *ganja*, alcohol and sporadic visits to red light areas- these became his evening companions. These could not deafen the voice of the inner sadness and anger he had carried since his childhood. The city could not heal his ailing self. It converted it into oozing wounds. He developed recurrent episodes of tuberculosis and depression.

Listening to him and watching the shallow water of the dried up river, symbolising his shrivelled body and emotional being, I drifted into associations, reveries and memories of speaking to many children and adults who had left their homes and arrived in the city in search of a better and fulfilling life; a life in which they would be sustained by close relational bonds and where ultimately happiness would come their way as they would acquire a distinctive and recognizable face- an identity of their own.

Babu coughed and I returned to the present moment - the myth of both the "holding and enchanting village" and the "rich, dazzling and glittering city" being interrupted for me. For a long time I have been thinking of the need to include the psychosocial and emotional motivations impelling widespread migrations to cities rather than to think of it only as an economic phenomenon. Babu's journey from the village to the city and the manner in which his body became the site of his psychological struggles made me think of the unspeakability of the self that yearns for closeness inspite of changing locales- villages or cities.

Sitting with Babu, I thought of the unending migrations that slum dwellers go through in my city. The city of Delhi, like most other big cities, alienates with its vastness, pace of life, unfamiliar spaces and the endless displacements which it enforces on its marginalized populations, under the justification of "development" and lopsided progress. As I think of the multiple times that the poor leave their home, I recall Christopher Bollas as he writes, "To leave a home, even when the contents go with us, is to lose its nooks and crannies of parts of ourselves, nestling places of our imagination. Our belief in ghosts will always be at least unconsciously authorized by the fact that we shall always linger on in our former houses, just as we assume that upon moving into the new dwelling, its former inhabitants will also be there" (2009, p. 49).

Across classes, people in this city of all class backgrounds are thrown into a frantic search for survival even as they grapple with the collapse of relations between generations and the loss of sustaining symbols that could impart continuity in their inner world.

(iv)

A tapestry of dreams: Knitting together the small town and the "BIG CITY"

I have been meeting Ajay for once-a-week insight oriented therapy since February 2016. He came in feeling lost and listless. Below the surface he suffered from an underlying chronic depression. At that time, he was a 27 year-old doctoral student at our university. On meeting him I felt I was seeing a much older person who was weighed down by life. He walked with a stoop. He barely ever maintained eye contact. In the

initial few months of our work, I don't remember seeing him smile, laugh or share any feeling with spontaneity and openness. He looked dazed and directionless. He shared feeling alienated from almost everyone in his immediate world. He spoke in sentences which were so obscure and knotted that I wondered at the purpose of his speech. Was he attempting to reveal or conceal his emotional state from himself and me? Through his speech and body language, was he intending to keep me out of his emotional world or share his difficulties in a bid for me to be able to help him?

His self-perception was of a person who was easily misunderstood by most people in his immediate context. He lived with his younger sister, two older brothers and father in Delhi. His father was a businessman. His mother was a government school teacher who lived back in his home town, in the upper regions of the Himalayan ranges. In the therapy sessions, he came across as considerate and philosophically well-evolved. In the recent past he had turned to spirituality and was experimenting with different forms of Buddhist meditation to seek solace from his inner anguish. By himself, he had little if any sense of differentiated feeling states, including a capacity for grief, anger, rage, joyfulness or happiness. He did not feel he had a stable sense of self, nor an inner awareness of his emotional life.

Amongst the several life themes which we have explored in the last two years of our work together, for the limited purpose of this paper, let me take you to Ajay's recurrent experiences of and projections onto the city. He had grown up in a small town in the Himalayas. Coming from an economically comfortable family, Ajay was a high achiever in the local school he attended as a child and a distinguished playmate amongst boys and girls of his age. He was especially attached to his maternal grandparents, both of whom were remembered in therapy as nurturing, loving and benevolent figures. Both had died some years back and their death had left a huge vacuum in Ajay's life. He did not have close bonds with either of his parents but longed for emotional support and understanding. Unable to process and/or communicate his authentic feelings, he withdrew from everyone, including his parents. Mostly complaining about others, in the initial months of the therapy, he could rarely come to an understanding of how he himself was now creating conditions by way of which people were drifting away from him.

The following are a few of the relevant details from his life story of significance to this writing. When he was thirteen years old, his father decided to shift to the city. There were financial losses in the family of such a magnitude that half of their land and the rear portion of the house in which they lived had to be sold. He resented this shift with vehemence and became difficult with opposing behavioral patterns. In the meantime, his father was totally absorbed with trying to make good his earlier losses; he rarely had the time to attend to the three children who had accompanied him to the city. His mother had stayed back as she was the only one with a stable government job there. Ajay's distress went unnoticed for the larger part. After he completed tenth standard, his family encouraged him to go to a hostel in another nearby city to pursue his last two years of schooling[3]. As he had so far been doing well in school, the family had the ambition of his becoming a doctor. For the next four years, he lived in a hostel. He felt out of place and could not connect with the boys in his class, or in his hostel. He experienced some of them to be very ambitious. Others were as lost as himself. In the overall milieu of the city,relationships carried much less importance than the fact that each boy and girl had to make it "big in life". Ajay felt out of rhythm with the pace of the city; he wanted to return to the magnificent quietude of the tall mountains. He started to fail. He could not sustain friendships. It was during this time that he received the news of his grandfather's death. A year later his beloved grandmother died. Then there were losses of three of the sheep that he used to tend as a growing adolescent. He felt betrayed by his parents for pulling him out of the safety of the joint family. He resented them. Somewhere at the back of his mind, he also believed that it was he who had betrayed his grandparents and his beloved animals. He wondered whether their death had been occasioned due to his moving out of home and abandoning them all. Abandoning and being abandoned-this became the preoccupation of his young life.

He withdrew into a shell. His older sister tried to reach out to him but he refused her access to his inner troubled life. He did not know the extent of the anger he carried vis-à-vis everyone back home who had pulled him out of the safety of his home amidst nature. He wanted his parents to pick up his emotional moods without having to explain anything. When the actual time came, he did not appear for the entrance exams for two consecutive years. He would go to the examination hall and come back without attempting anything in the papers. This induced a sense of acute shame, failure and rage in him. He started eating so much

as a way to fill the inner vacuum within that he put on 15-18 kilos of weight in a year's time. He could not understand what was happening to him but he identified with some of his classmates who too seemed to be cracking under tremendous stress and performance anxiety. Young and bright girls and boys were on a downslide. Yet, there was so little communication between them about what was plaguing each person. Ajay lost the motivation to study or work hard. After going through a prolonged depression, he eventually gave up the idea of pursuing medicine and started to think about arts and humanities. It is only now that in therapy he is gradually able to emotionally process his past as memories from childhood and adolescence onwards are returning in bits and pieces. Very slowly he is beginning to find a story of his self.

Ajay has capacity for insight and reflection. He is dedicated to the work we do week after week in the clinic. He recalls his dreams in graphic detail and they serve as powerful expressions of his unconscious. Let me recall one of his dreams.

> "There is a young artist. He lives alone in a small room. He paints but his hands shake so much that the images he draws become all smudged and spoilt. There is a structure with walls he keeps on drawing but the painting can never be completed. Instead of amounting to anything in particular, the lines develop into vague shapes. The artist wonders what he wants to paint. A storm comes and all of his paintings are lost. Only a paper survives the storm. The artist is holding the paper which has a sketch of an outline in his hands. He cannot make out what it really is. Is it a human figure, a house, a square or something else?"

This dream was brought up in therapy in the wake of Ajay's recent breakdown of a relationship with a young woman. As he associated with the dream, he identified himself as the dream's artist. He wondered whether the unfinished painting of the artist with walls could have been the lost home of his childhood. The home amidst nature and mountains, the home in which he had felt confident and self-assured, the home of his relationships (as he was now facing a breakdown), the home of his self. The dream spoke of the anxiety which engulfed his present. There was indeed no home to go back to, neither in his relational world, nor in the depths of his self or in the actuality of the homeland. The artist in the dream has lost much, only a single paper with an obscure outline is left in his possession.

The dream opened up a way for us to talk about his losses and his overwhelming feelings as suggested by the trembling hands (the trembling of his self behind the exterior of withdrawal and rigid disconnection).We also started to talk about the specific shape he wanted to give to his "incomplete paintings" so that the structure with half drawn walls could become a safe home for him.

In this phase of therapy, Ajay started bringing up several other dreams too. The dreams evolved around buildings, open spaces, almond and fruit trees. The recurrent motif was of the small hometown becoming an alien space, which he could no longer recognize or return to. Accidents, floods, gushing winds and storms in dreams were energy systems symbolizing the broken connection with the once familiar landscape of his childhood world. In these dreams too, he experienced himself as an "alien being" with no safe abode to protect him. The dream content and symbols suggested that on return to his once familiar small town, he envisioned himself as an unfamiliar stranger. In one of the dreams on returning to the Himalayas, the door of the house was locked. Everyone else but him had migrated to an unknown place of which he had no idea; neither did he have the key to open the locked door at which he kept staring.

In some of these dreams, the city surfaced as a "harsh" and alienating presence. It was symbolised by huge concrete buildings which obstructed his breathing. Another recurrent symbol in Ajay's dreams was the chopped off apple tree lying dead on the ground. After bringing up this image, he cried in despair as if the tree in the back yard of his home had actually been cut. He mourned the loss of the once familiar landscape in which his deceased grandparents had roamed around freely. He mourned for the simplicity of a way of life of which he was once a part. His dreams tended to suggest that the small town and the city were divorced from one another. While in the dreams there was active pain related to his past, there was also a need to use the city as a repository of the unacknowledged themes of his life. The city becomes a projective symbol of loneliness and isolation- that loneliness and isolation which he had carried in his psyche since childhood but of which he did not have a sense till the critical phase when he had to appear for the medical entrance examination.

We worked on the interplay of fact and fantasy, of present and past themes in his psychological life. The apple tree had a special significance for him. His grandfather would nurture their apple orchard and the

tree stood for his relationship with his granddad. I encouraged him to bring up his feelings and memories from that time of his life. One day he brought an old broken biscuit box. We spoke about the importance of the box for him. It was the same box from which his maternal grandmother would give biscuits to all the children. After a few days he spoke of having found an old worn-out book of stories. This was the book from which his grandfather often read them stories when they were little children. Today both of these are amongst Ajay's most important belongings. I think a crucial milestone has been achieved in therapy as Ajay has been able to reclaim the old biscuit box and torn story book. Instead of fighting against his sorrows, he is becoming open to feeling his pain and also to continuity with his past.

As we move ahead in the therapy, we speak more about finding the strength to complete his"half drawn sketches" (as suggested by the artist's unfinished paintings) in the dream. Ajay can now,not only recognize his diverse emotional states but he has also started to acknowledge his responsibility for the complications in his interpersonal relationships.I am hopeful that the vague outline of the artist's sketch will eventually take the form of a home with strong walls within whose safety Ajay will be able to live.

(v)

City, psyche and self: re-emphasizing a few notations from the city's song

Despite the fact that in his dreams and conscious projections onto the city, Ajay is overwhelmed with powerful and compelling feelings of a negative kind, yet as stated above, it is in the city that he is finding himself anew. It is the city which has offered opportunities for higher education for him. Placed as he is today in a relatively liberal city-based university from where he is pursuing his PhD in the humanities (or through the psychotherapeutic space that this university provides where he returns week after week to reflexively feel and think about his life), Ajay is experiencing a widening and deepening of his intellectual and emotional world. He is finding himself in ways hitherto unimaginable for himself, be it vis-à-vis his father, mother, siblings, Muslim and Sikh friends who are a minority in India, his commitments and values or fears, anxieties, desires and wishes. Week after week he returns to his psychotherapist to think about "who" he is and the issues that his life is posing before him.

As Babu and Ajay's narrations highlight, all humans (and if I may be permitted to add, animals and plants) carry a powerful, preverbal wish-the desire to be intuitively sensed and recognized/related to. One of the deeper unconscious psychological fantasies that each person carries is that without having to explain or justify, without using words or language, the significant other would sense, feel and respond to one's needs; know oneself so thoroughly that explanation and speech would be irrelevant in a relationship. This desire to be"seen" and recognized for who one is, is undisputedly a universal psychological one. In this sense, the psychological clinic acquires a fascinating role in modern times as city dwellers turn to its secure confines in search for identity. The work domain of the psychotherapist (be it in the open, under a tree, by the side of a footpath as with Babu and others like him or in a clinic with the promise of confidentiality) becomes a place where the vicissitudes of life, experience, family and self can all be rethought. In some instances, it is in the presence of the therapist that one's emotional life is experienced with full intensity for the first time. The pair, the psychotherapist- *a vulnerable expert* and the patient – *the suffering one*, attend together to care for that part of the latter which is under siege from conflicts, secrets, anxieties, shame,that is, the unspeakable and the intolerable in the self.

Like every living organism, the city, too, strives towards harmony and integration, while unpredictable conflicts and unforeseeable mutations mark its growth. The imagination of the city is founded on the dream that every city dweller will ultimately move towards a freer and better life (economically and relationally). At a psychological level, the city promises identity and a distinctive "face" or conversely the freedom to be and experiment with oneself. This is one of the core inner fantasies inviting us all to the city. At the same time, the city also provides comfort through the anonymity it extends to its inhabitants who are otherwise likely to be invaded by excessive stimulation.

The city alienates and so does the village. The forms of alienation and the experiences therein are different. In both spaces, individuals carry deep wishes and desires to be recognized and validated and at the same time they yearn for some space to be themselves. Unlike the village, which remains framed in nostalgic reminiscences, the city is more likely to be used as a projective screen onto which those who make a transition from the village/small town to the *big city* tend to inscribe their prior histories of loneliness and lack of connection. Thus, the psychic burden of living in the city is twofold. It challenges the

inner need for continuity and harmony by imposing upon individuals, a pace which is difficult to cope with. This is evident in the manner in which living spaces, geographical distances and work cultures are organized in large cities. Life in the city also provides for lesser time to nurture relationships and friendships, leaving people lonelier and more secluded, also far more dependent on nurture from the nuclear family set up. Human to nature and human to animal relationships are also scarcer in comparison to those in villages and the countryside. It also serves as a projective screen onto which past histories of alienation and loss can be inscribed afresh.

On the other hand, the living city enables reflection by encouraging a different form of inward looking self-relatedness. Articulation, expansion of language as a symbolic weave and relatedness with one's subjectivity may lead to an explorative relationship in which notions of love, sexuality, desire, family, father, mother and personhood become accessible for psychic reflection. Within this context, human beings are more liable to think of one's singularity as well as situatedness within their specific life contexts. The relationship with the psychotherapist becomes one such bond, wherein as unconscious processes are unravelled, the darker side of culture is examined and the play of generations reviewed from the standpoint of the psyche. The living city and the living psyche meet at this point of intersection.

Several of those who visit the city based psychotherapy clinic come to think of their lives in ways so far unimaginable for them. Just as we may say that the city's unconscious is preserved and revealed by its architectural history, similarly the psychotherapy clinic becomes a pertinent site where the unconscious of the city's inhabitants (who struggle for inner continuity despite massive social and historical change) is unfurled and renowned. Like the city's architecture, which speaks of life and death, restoration and preservation, and makes a place for past and present histories to co-exist, so do the psychic configurations of human encounters in the psychotherapy clinic bring together the live remains of generational histories as each person delves into one's personal biography. To elaborate, as the architectural arrangement of the city embodies a sense of its history, its present and past, its destruction and recreation, so do the psychic sojourns of the city's inhabitants preserve a history of their genealogies and their struggles to seek identity. They bring forth currents of identification and dis-identification with culture, collective imaginaries and traditions. The relationship with the psychotherapist may serve as a

potential link allowing for an exploration of the underside of culture, society and family. The city's psychotherapy clinic (especially if it is founded on a non-consumerist orientation), becomes a place of birthing new subjectivities, embraced as they are by the involved and attuned presence of the psychotherapist.

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Endnotes

1. Ever since life began on the planet, humans have offered support to one another in many diverse and rich ways by sharing and participating in each other's grief and emotional crises. It is only with the late 19th century that a professional identity of the psychoanalyst, counselor and psychotherapist came into existence. This took place following the pioneering work of Sigmund Freud. The therapist is, in this sense, an heir to the parent, teacher, friend, religious counselor, priest and

all other imaginably supporting figures. The difference between them and the therapist being that the latter is a guide who does not facilitate a life's journey by exerting moral authority as far as possible. The attempt is to free the clinical domain of moral inscriptions as far as possible. The therapist hopes to provide rich latitude within which the patient's actions, motivations and thoughts may be related to without considering them right or wrong, evil or good. The domain of psychotherapy is one in which freedom and the playful qualities of the mind and psyche are nurtured and any form of judgment is refrained from.

2.   The story *Grief* is translated also as *Misery* or *Lament*.

3.   I am also meeting two other young persons for therapy with similar psychological trajectories of feeling alienated in the city and in search of their home back in the village or small town where they had grown up. Each life journey is full of unprocessed intensities.

Begging, Urbanization and the Lahore Dream

Dr. Sheba Saeed

Introduction

The paper explores urbanization and the begging situation in Lahore. The author will discuss her research surrounding a film project entitled, "Beggars of Lahore", which was shot in 2005 and provide an analysis of the situation then and now. More than a decade later, the begging situation does not seem to have improved nationally. The paper analyses the complexity of the begging phenomenon in Pakistan. Causes for it are multi-dimensional, ranging from socio-economic to religious, criminal and political. Likewise, the beggar does not belong to a homogenous group. The beggars are heterogeneous in nature belonging to many different categories, from child beggars to adolescent beggars, the elderly and the disabled to name but a few. The emphasis of this paper will be on analyzing the urban nature of the begging phenomenon in a large city such as Lahore where begging rings have been established. These diverse ranges of people are all answerable to a legislation, the Punjab Vagrancy Act, 1958, which condemns and criminalizes begging within a wide remit. With the exception of those who may really be misusing the status of a beggar to elicit money from donors, many who have a legitimate reason to beg also have to answer to this legislation which renders them criminal. The complexities of the phenomenon are extensive due to the polysemic nature of the issue of begging.

Background and Methodology

I first became interested in the begging phenomenon when I went on a family holiday to Lahore, Pakistan in 2004, after almost twenty years since my first and only visit during childhood. Lahore is the birthplace of my Father, who passed away in 1995. The trip to Lahore was an emotional experience and I seemed to have discovered a city that was far away from my home back in England; yet there seemed a sense of belonging, an attachment that was there, the link being my Father. In Lahore, my family home built under the close eye of my Father is

on the outskirts of the city which is almost like a developed bubble with all the amenities one could ask for anywhere in the world, away from the vibrant inner city. However, it was the inner city that I began to become inquisitive about, especially the great number of beggars. I hadn't been exposed to such extreme poverty and I began to question why it existed.

> "The vast number of beggars on the streets was something which I had never seen before. I was quite disturbed as to why so many beggars exist, in a city which is the second largest urban city and cultural hub of Pakistan. Large migration from the rural areas to find work could be one reason but then why the need to beg? Thoughts ran through my head as to what compels a person to stretch out his hand to another and beg? Why would anybody need to beg in this day and age? Is it an act of desperateness, that the individual has no other means of earning a living, or is it simply a lack of self-morale? Can we apportion the existence of begging to our social attitudes, whereby beggars have become complacent and rely on hand-outs? Does begging exist because people have turned it into a profession, or does it exist because a particular State has neglected the poor?" (Saeed, 2007, p1)

I felt a certain empathy towards what seemed to me to be disenfranchised people who were begging as a last resort; this led to a desire and academic need to research the topic. I was at the time studying for an M. Phil in History, Film and Television and I had to choose a topic which I would discuss through an audio visual documentary and written thesis. Having recently seen the begging situation in Lahore and being very inquisitive about it, I decided to study the topic. I wrote about reasons for the begging phenomenon. As a result of my legal background, the framework of the audio-visual documentary, Beggars of Lahore, (Saeed, 2007), revolved around three core questions: firstly, why is there so much begging in Lahore? Secondly, whether begging is justified? And lastly whether there are any solutions? As I was engaging in producing an audio-visual documentary, I conducted qualitative audio-visual interviews of four groups of participants:

(i) Beggars

(ii) Lay people

(iii) Politicians

(iv) Academics

Reasons Attributed For Begging

I will begin with a discussion of poverty as a cause for begging.

(i) Poverty

An obvious shortcoming of a study on begging is the lack of data on beggars, owing to the informal/illegal nature of begging as an economic activity. However, a recent Guardian article (Wylie, Nove, 2016) explores how cities are dealing with street begging and provides figures for begging in two South Asian countries. Wylie quotes 400,000 beggars in India, 46% of whom are female. It quotes 40,000 beggars in the city of Dhaka but there are no fixed figures for Pakistan. Obtaining numbers for people begging in any country is difficult owing to the very fluid nature of the begging population (Saeed, 2016). Statistics are however, clearer when it comes to measuring poverty. Figures for those living below the poverty line are worrying. According to a statistic released in 2016, by the ruling party, 60 million Pakistani citizens are living below the poverty line (Khan, 2016).

Kardar (2014), on the other hand, in a later article, speaks of the population growth rate declining as a remit of higher rates of literacy amongst males and females; a decline in child mortality rate which means more children can assist with household earnings; better conditions of households; a second person within the home working and greater work opportunities for women, which has led to women getting married at a slightly older age. However, he also notes: "this transition has been at a slower rate" than is desired to enable social and political stability as well as economic development. He also provides reasons for this slow transition to the population planning program, at best being sketchy as it has not been run through health centers, and is often ill-located both physically and in terms of distance. The main impediments to population planning, however, according to him have been linked to cultural and religious resistance to birth control. He cites early marriages of women; conservative births with little spacing; regarding a pregnancy as a gift and God's will. With reference to the last point, if the perspective taken is that the pregnancy is a gift then birth control would defy the Islamic belief.

Going back to the point being made of a rising population being one of the reasons for poverty growth, we must also note that the last census in Pakistan was conducted in 1998 (Baqai, 2017). Baqai writes of how

any figures in between now and then were estimates for the purpose of policymaking. The census in March 2017 will be the sixth census since the birth of the nation.

Various reasons have been brought forward for the increase in population for Pakistan as a whole which would no doubt affect Lahore as the second largest city (Government of Punjab, Punjab Portal). The falling death rate combined with a continuing high birth rate has been attributed as a factor for increase in population. However, one of the major causes for the rise in the population has been due to a diverse range of migration to the city of Lahore. Haris Gazdar (2003) notes a range of types of migration in a historical sense but also explains the current urbanization. The following are relevant here:

(a) Repercussions of the war in Afghanistan has led to a large number of Afghan refugees entering the country.

(b) Muslim migration from other Asian countries since 1947. The migrants were especially attracted to Lahore which was and still is an important industrial, trade and commercial center.

(c) Internal migration

(d) Urbanization: migration to urban areas as a result of limited opportunity for economic advancement and mobility in rural areas.

Gazdar notes how refugees from Afghanistan, for example, have been amongst the poorest people in Pakistan. Refugees include families and communities from the entire spectrum of society in Afghanistan. With regard to the Muslim migration from other Asian countries, this occurred in two rounds. The second round of Asian-Muslim migration began in the 1970s and intensified in the 1980s; it consisted of people from poor communities, many of whom were illegal or semi-legal in Pakistan. Internal migration and urbanization have a link to poverty whereby people move to the city from rural areas to better themselves. Gazdar highlights that the link between poverty and migration rests on certain assumptions about how the labor market operates (Gazdar, 2003, p 15). First, there are more opportunities for male migrants than for females. Moreover, there are significant differences in demand for workers in the formal private sector and the informal sector and each is manifest through distinct social networks. Third, the greatest demand is for cheap labor, casual daily wage labor in construction and

workers for occupations on the social margins, such as begging or sex work. There are several types of rural-urban migration: displacement due to projects; migration from arid areas; migration of share tenants; pastoralists; and seasonal migrants (Ibid, p 16-17).

Haris Gazdar concludes that there is no single, coherent, migration policy as a result of the diversity in types of migration in Pakistan (Ibid, p 20). However, he is of the opinion that it is possible to identify three important broad areas, which need to be better understood in formulating such a policy. They are outlined below:

1. To build on the supporting role of informal social networks, extended families, kinship groups and ethnic identity, in migration planning and policies.

2. To change laws and regulations to legalize practices, which are illegal but are widely viewed as socially legitimate.

3. To improve the access of poor migrants to housing, infrastructure and services in urban areas. In general, according to Gazdar, "there is a need for more in-depth and focused policy-oriented research on both internal and international migration" (Ibid, p 20).

(ii) Urbanization and the Lahore Dream

The above suggests that there is evidence of an increasing urbanization in Lahore whereby there is migration from rural areas to the city resulting in begging. Migration from rural areas for employment opportunities is draining resources in the cities causing disparities in society. Lahorites, too, mention how the city is expanding in every direction with an ever-increasing population.

Lahore can be described as a "primate" city which translates as a city that is dominant, socially, economically and politically. Mumford (1937) writes of the city as a social institution and describes the concept of opportunities. It could well be that many rural migrants in the hope of a utopia of opportunities are met with a dystopic future instead. Within the Pakistani context, I interviewed a vast number of beggars during the summer of 2005; however, not all were willing to disclose their whereabouts. Many by their dialects seemed to be from areas out of the city. The increased urbanization often causes disparities in the

city which may result in homelessness leading to begging. Although there may be at times, a blurring of boundaries between homelessness and begging, there is a clear distinction between the homeless and beggars. Those that are homeless are not necessarily beggars and those that are beggars are not always homeless.

Interviewing children who were at the Nigebahn Center, I was told by the staff that the children had come to Lahore owing to the attractions of a bigger city which would be an escape from their impoverished backgrounds. With regards to adults too, many of the people who work within the Defence Housing Authority have moved to Lahore from neighboring cities. Our own watchman was originally from a neighboring village of Sahiwal. Lahore is a city which attracts migrants much in the same manner as people seek an "American Dream" both within and from outside the US and in this regard the case of Mumbai is comparable to the concept of the "American Dream". Is Lahore a city of dreams? Are people attracted to the bright lights of the city? However, if it is a city which promises a better life providing an opportunity to improve one's socio-economic conditions, then why are there so many people begging? Are these all disillusioned people who migrated to the city in search of a better life and ended up begging? If they are, why is the activity criminalized? Lahore has its attractions. There is a saying "Lahore Lahore eh", which roughly translates as "Lahore is Lahore". It is a saying which boasts that no city can beat the allure of Lahore. Another popular saying in Pakistan/Punjab is "Jine Lahore nai vekheyaa, oh jamaya hi ney", literally this would translate as, "If you haven't seen Lahore, you haven't been born" which would assume that if you haven't seen the city then you haven't seen anything.

Mike Davies writes of the attractions of Los Angeles (LA) in a similar manner but goes a step further by comparing the city to a commodity. He, in fact, begins his first chapter "City of Quartz", with a quote from Morrow Mayo:

> "Los Angeles, it should be understood, is not a mere city. On the contrary, it is, and has been since 1888, a commodity; something to be advertised and sold to the people of the US like automobiles, cigarettes and mouth wash." (Davies, p17)

What is interesting is Davies' expansion of LA's comparison as a commodity. Overridden by people driven by capitalism he uses examples of people who were seduced and defeated by the city,

examples cited are intellectuals such as Faulkner, Brecht and Didion.

> "LA (and its alter ego, Hollywood) becomes the literalized Mahagonny: City of seduction and defeat, the antipode to critical intelligence." (Ibid, p 18)

On another level, is this also what's happening in Lahore? Are people also seeing the poor as commodities and being seduced and defeated by them when they become retreatist and resort to begging?

Given the transitional or temporary nature of work in the construction field, migrants may become dismayed. On a macro-level, begging found on the streets of many of the megalopolises of Pakistan may be attributed to a certain anomie or social disorder in a Durkheimian sense where there has been a drastic change in India's economic position whereby it has increased rapidly. However, this economic growth has not been relative to the population and has therefore created a situation where the rich are getting richer and the poor remain. The poor trickle-down theory, propounds that with rising economic growth wealth should trickle down to the poor (Anderson, 2012, p 1). However, what we see is an increasingly widening gap between the rich and the poor as a specific section of the population continues to better themselves whilst those on the margins remain stagnant (Mukherjee, 2008, p 285). These people will then retreat and thereby become marginalized and excluded.

With regard to begging, the very route that these people have taken of living on the street marginalizes them, even before they engage in the act of begging which is regarded as deviant behavior. This perception arises as they are not following a conventional lifestyle which is perceived as the norm, of living in a home within the dominant society. These beggars are therefore, perceived as not a part of society owing to their aberrant behavior and non-conformist method of living on the street. These perceptions came to light in the responses of my interviewees. A certain level of determinism makes it inevitable that people living on the fringes will end up engaging in illegal activity to achieve subsistence represented by the city. Hence, we have disillusioned migrants who are caught in a situation where they cannot find a job because the city is so heavily populated and there are not enough jobs. They may often resort to deviant behavior and begin to live on the street utilizing the space in a creative and entrepreneurial sense to make money. Thereby, they create a subculture and often an informal economy. People are

adapting to survive in Darwinian terms. There is a vicious cycle of taking the only choice given to them as opposed to choosing a lifestyle which would enable them to live within the conventional norms of a society.

Hence, the extent to which the urban and rural areas are inextricably linked in both social and economic terms is a pertinent point to note. Rural poverty and landlessness often triggers rural-urban migration, which in turn increases the urban homelessness in certain primate cities, such as Lahore. Rural poverty and housing shortage seems to be 'exported' to the cities (Wardhaugh, 2012c, p 216-217). However, the lack of education in rural areas is also exported to the cities in the form of rural migrants.

(iii) Lack of Education and Differential Association

Lack of education and differential association have been drawn into the discussion as factors pushing people to the city and leading them to engage in deviant behavior. The theory of differential association was introduced by Professor Edwin Sutherland in 1939. He later modified it himself and it has been challenged and elaborated upon by scholars. In essence, the principle of differential association refers to associating with both criminal and anti-criminal elements and one's interaction with them. Hence, in the event that a person becomes criminal, he does so as a result of his interaction with patterns of criminality. The individual therefore, "assimilates the surrounding culture", and learns behavior that he then engages in (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966, p 83). Research conducted by Sutherland and Cressey was an attempt to explain youth subcultures with regard to their nature and development. The stance they maintained was that crime is cultural as it is behavior that one learns. Hence, people belonging to specific neighborhoods or 'social situations' will learn behavior that is criminal in nature through their interaction with people. People may begin to engage in deviant behavior as that is more favorable in that area or situation. (White and Haines, 2000, p67)

It has been noted that in less-developed countries, serious asymmetries tend to appear when these migrants arrive, for example, in our case study in Lahore. Imbalances will occur whereby there will be a social

disorganization and people with a lack of skills and resources will look towards illegal activity to survive. The social environment is in these circumstances guilty of pushing people towards a life of crime in a disorganized society comprising anomie or social disorganization and leading to crime by way of differential association.

(iv) The Low Rate of Literacy

Saleem (2003) in his article, "Lack of Will, Infrastructure and Finance Keep Literacy Low", notes a number of reasons for low literacy levels in Lahore, such as: insufficient political will, weak organizational infrastructure, inadequate financing and delays in disbursement, low level of training, absence of standardized core curriculum, and equivalence of non-formal education with a formal education system (Ibid, p 1). He is of the opinion that positive steps have been taken at federal and provincial levels during the last year or so for promotion of literacy but states, however, that there is still room for improvement. Through more recent research, I have discovered that there is now free, compulsory primary education; however, it is only up to primary level and not beyond that, which leads to a lacuna in the system. The emphasis of the article, "Who is to Blame?" (Rasool, 2004) is on 'education' and 'sincerity' as being essential ingredients for state building. The author is of the opinion that we have to appreciate the fact that we need sincere people in the public administration and political posts of Pakistan. He argues that it is not the illiterate or the lesser educated part of the population who have introduced corruption in public bureaucratic departments but an elite class, consisting of educated people which includes an educated army, which not only interferes in the affairs of the government but has been overthrowing civil governments since 1958. Rasool believes that it is unfortunate that those that are less educated look towards the educated class, as guardians of their interests as he believes that the "educated guardians" are busy in promoting their own vested interests. Education is important to the issue of begging, poverty alleviation and human development. It should be provided in order for there to be progress of the socio-economic position of the masses and to eradicate begging. The lack of education in rural areas because of the difficulty of keeping poor children in school, affects literacy levels and socio-economic development.

From pre-partition early sources such as Chatterjee (1918) to numerous current journalistic sources, there are references to networks of beggars' rings that operate in specific areas. As many beggars are associated with a network it tends to bring the begging profession into disrepute. As a result, people often associate begging with crime, overlooking the abject poverty that would lead these people to joining networks to beg in order to earn a living. It is very difficult to distinguish whether the people who beg are doing so purely out of choice, as we cannot overlook the poverty in countries such as India and Pakistan (The Economist, 2007).

(v) Khwaja Saras

Although not one of the main reasons for increased begging, it is worth mentioning here that more recently, what we are seeing amongst the begging demographic is an increase in the number of transgender people that are engaging in this activity. The transgender community that beg are often called hijras in Urdu and khusras in Punjabi and these can be seen as somewhat pejorative terms. However, the polite way to address a person from the transgender community is Khwaja Sara.

Often Khwaja Saras are to be seen at traffic intersections, open shopping areas called bazaars begging. The Aks festival is one which promotes awareness and rights of minorities including those of the transgender community. In Karachi earlier this year, a panel at the festival comprising five transgender personalities discussed the struggles of the community as well as issues surrounding unemployment of the transgender community.

An interesting case study is one of Rifee Khan, a transwoman and advocate for transgender rights in the province of Sindh who narrated her experiences to Dawn who included them in their blog in May 2017. (Dawn, 2017) Belonging to an educated family from Larkana, and having a double Masters degree herself, Khan is unable to find work and has to resort to dancing and begging. For her the desire to live as herself, as a transwoman is the greatest obstacle of her life. She moved to Karachi with expectations of opportunities in a big urban city, only to be disheartened to find that she would not be able to pursue her dream and barely makes ends meet through the afore-mentioned dancing and begging. One advantage, however, of moving to Karachi was finding a guru and the transgender community. For a short spell she landed a job

as a tax recovery officer and in 2014 ran the Karachi Trans Community Center but that too fell apart as a result of lack of funding. Khan speaks of a quota of 2%, (which is in fact 3% in an official bill), which has been given to the transgender community. In practice she says this does not exist. She then goes on to state how many people from the transgender community are not even registered citizens and how getting an ID card from the NADRA offices (the National Database and Registration Authority) is a humiliating process with no results, although now, according to her, some NADRA offices do have separate windows for the transgender. She dispels the popular misconception of the majority of people who believe that the transgender all engage in sex work.

The transgender protection bill spoken of above, (www.senate.gov. pk, 2017) has the aim of providing for the protection of the rights of transgender persons and their wealth and all matters connected to that protection. It allows a 3% quota for the transgender in connection with their representation on local and national fronts. This 3% quota would ideally assist transgender persons in securing jobs in educational institutes and public sector jobs. The bill would also secure the right of a separate identity for transgender persons on their National identity cards, driving licenses and passports. The protection would further include separate lockups in police stations and cells in jails. It would ensure vocational training as well as grants and easy loans to transgender persons for small businesses. Hereditary laws would also ensure equal rights as per the transman or transwoman's share (Guramani, 2017).

In August of 2017 an editorial on transgender rights in Dawn, (Editorial, 2017), reported how the transgender community would be assisted through such a bill: protection for property, entry to educational institutions and protection from discrimination from others. However, what would also be required is societal acceptance. The editorial concludes how the passing of laws on their own is not enough to assimilate the transgender community into Pakistani society; what is also required is proactiveness on the part of both state and society in bringing transgender persons into the mainstream of society in education and employment, way from the sidelines and a life of marginality.

A similar mindset is prevalent in a Reuters report (Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2017). According to the report, Pakistan counted people from the transgender community for the first time for the census in

2017. There are no official figures for the transgender community. Advocacy group Trans Action has, however, estimated 500,000 transgender persons in Pakistan, out of a total population estimated at 190 million. This recognition arose from a petition filed by Waqar Ali, a person from the transgender community. His stance was that the transgender community had been marginalized and their basic rights should be recognized by including them in the next census. The order was passed issuing directives to enforce the basic rights of the transgender community. In 2012, Pakistan's Supreme Court declared equal rights for transgender citizens including the right to inherit property and assets. This was preceded a year earlier by the right to vote. The article ends in a negative tone with regard to the practical effects of passing laws; it states how this community is still shunned by mainstream society.

What is being said, in essence, therefore, is that, no matter how many bills are passed by legislative bodies as and when they are with the intention to protect transgender rights, it will make no difference to the community unless the acts are implemented. These can only be implemented if, as afore-mentioned, society plays its part: for example, employers offer employment to the transgender community instead of stigmatizing them.

(vi) The Beggar Mafia: The Flip Side of the Coin - The "Black Market" Social and Economic System

With such a great influx of diverse migration consisting largely of poorer communities and the increasing struggles of the transgender community, Lahore is faced with the challenge of not only housing the surplus population but also accommodating high levels of illiteracy and lack of skills. The outcome of the large population is that a large majority of the population find themselves underemployed or unemployed. For example, Rasool (2004) points out in his article that the economy will not be able to absorb the unemployed in the near future. The situation leads to the creation of an illegal economy which is linked to high levels of crime. This illegal economy breeds industries such as drug peddling, prostitution and also sets up conditions for begging as a profession.

Crimes linked to the begging mafia are cited in the article, "A rapid assessment of domestic work and begging in Pakistan" (ILO, 2004).

Various areas of Pakistan are investigated in this article. The three areas that are relevant to my paper are the two shrines, Data Darbar, Bibi Pak Daman, and the Badami Bagh bus stop and truck stand in Lahore. Investigations into the Shrine of Data Darbar highlighted that begging is organized at this location with "delineated groups occupying fixed spots" (ILO, 2004). Further, the writer informs the reader that the activities are managed by a few individuals with the co-operation of the policeman on duty. With regard to female beggars, the writer suggests a link between organized begging during the day and prostitution by night (Ibid). Fewer beggars, less violence and less corruption was noted at the Bibi Pak Daman Shrine. However, a racket running a large number of females, begging by day and offering sexual services by night was noted, whilst children were seen sniffing glue. It was discovered that young children from the ages of 3-5 were rented for up to 12 hours a day (Ibid). Hence, with regard to the reasons for begging, the flip side of the coin to this argument is that beggars choose to beg and that begging has turned into a profession.

As Lahore is a city which houses a vast number of people (Ali, 2013) the question which begs to be answered is why are these able-bodied beggars not working? Lahore, an urban city, is a city of opportunities for employment, why do we still see so many beggars? Have the beggars turned begging into a profession? Is there a mafia coercing these beggars to beg for a commission?

Syed Mohammed Ali (2005) brings forward possible reasons for begging in his article, "Issues concerning Beggars". Amongst his reasoning he includes the points of rationale that most local authorities are in agreement that "beggars are often part of large racketeering mafias and are involved in vandalism, theft and drug peddling" (Ibid, p 1). He further highlights how sporadic crackdowns on beggars have brought about concerns that if those beggars who beg to feed their drug addiction do not get their money through begging, they will turn to more serious crime out of sheer desperation (Ibid). He also enlightens us to corruption amongst low-level officials who are most likely to get a commission from the mafias, and further draws our attention to a sense of charity that deters authorities from taking action against beggars (Ibid).

The nature of the begging situation is both general and specific. There are generally a wide range of beggars of all ages, however, more specifically, there is a disproportionate level of child beggars.

A. K. Lodhi (2005), strengthens the argument that a mafia running a begging business does exist. He writes of how the mafia conducts the begging business by hiring "individuals especially children for the purpose and makes quick bucks" (Ibid). Examples of public places where these beggars may be seen are given and the reader is informed as to how children often beg for an unknown master and beg oblivious to critical weather conditions (Ibid). Lodhi makes references to the organization running the beggars as "a nefarious mafia who hire and rent their children" (Ibid, p 2). Figures are given as to the amount given to rent a child for begging purposes and the amounts the children can earn in return (Ibid). The whole begging network is broken down by Lodhi as he writes in detail of how children are collected and dropped off at more than 350 points in Lahore. He further informs the reader of begging techniques such as, sale of goods in the first instance, refusal of which leads to begging for money (Ibid).

Rizvi (undated) in her article, "Child Abuse, Part of Everyday Life in Pakistan", again provides further evidence in favor of the case that a begging mafia exists, as she explores the abuse of children at the hands of the mafia (Ibid, p 7). She comments on how the professional beggars wean children on opium and other narcotic drugs in order that they appear sickly (Ibid). The article further highlights emotional abuse of these children and the neglect they suffer (Ibid). Andrew West (2003) in his paper, "At the Margins: Street Children in Asia and the Pacific", devotes a section to Pakistan and writes of the different ways in which children find themselves on the street. For example, absconding from bonded labor, trafficking, poverty, domestic violence at home (Ibid, p 25-26). Ninety per cent of these children are estimated as being drug addicts with approximately sixty-five per cent using solvents (Ibid, p 26). "Mean Streets - Lahore's Runaway Children", (2004) provides case studies of runaway children and how they live by either selling rubbish, begging or receiving money in return for sexual abuse by pedophiles (Ibid, p 1). The article again, confirms how an increasing number of children living on the streets are also being drawn into a life of crime, by those running pick-pocketing or drug-pushing mafias (Ibid, p 2). In "The Menace of Beggary" (Ibid), Anjam notes that beggary has become a flourishing industry (Ibid). The reader is informed of how local mafias have turned beggary into a profession, whereby children are the worst hit as they are more prone to violence, abuse at the hands of pedophiles, exploitation, allurement and trafficking (Ibid). It is noted that some professional beggars deliberately maim children in order to

evoke greater sympathy and there are different stages of the begging industry, whereby there is recruitment, training and posting (Ibid, p 2). Anjam is of the view that petty municipal and police personnel rely on such activity as a source of income for themselves and their families (Ibid). Having focused on those beggars who are begging through rackets mentioned above and are part of a money-making industry, we must also bear in mind that there is another category of truly deserving beggars who beg out of a real need. Anjam notes how many of the beggars are victims of poverty (Ibid). In "Beggary, a Social Problem" (2004) Faheem notes two categories of beggars, professional and needy. The professional beggars use the profession as a means to earn money (Ibid, p 1). She notes how this category of beggars are part of an organized criminal network involved in the selling of drugs, deliberately breaking limbs of children in order to earn more money (Ibid). She notes the 'rat' people (Rats of Shah Dola) who beg. According to her, many of these are not born as such, but their faces are distorted and their mental growth restricted as they are forced to wear restrictive headgear from birth or childhood (Ibid, p 2).

Ahmed in "Discourage Beggary" (2005) notes how "hordes" of beggars are working for an organized mafia (Ibid, p 1). The solution provided by Ahmed is that the government should take measures to provide housing and skills for needy beggars, and punishment for habitual beggars (Ibid).

I must point out at this stage that not all poor, unskilled, uneducated people as well as migrants end up as beggars. To think in such a concrete manner would be a very simplistic view. Just because a person is of low socio-economic means does not necessarily correlate with the fact that he or she will engage in street begging. Many people will consider it a matter of pride to be able to earn their own means and subsist and often support their family. These are factors that could lead any individual without a support network whether skilled or educated on the street. However, there are other occupations that these people may engage in such as hawking, temporary lowest paid construction work, sex work and domestic work. Migration to Lahore attracts the wealthy, not just the poor. There are examples of overseas Pakistanis and foreigners who have moved to Pakistan especially in the Higher Education sector. LUMS, for example, has a very high percentage of foreign faculty.

Whilst it is noted that factors such as organized crime are amongst the reasons brought forward for the increased numbers of beggars in Lahore, the majority of the scholars inform us that social and economic reasons are amongst the major causes of poverty. In fact it has been noted that these social and economic reasons took root during the birth of the country in August 1947, when Pakistan inherited an economy that was weak and social services that were not adequate (Khanna, 1991). Soon after the birth of the country, Pakistan was challenged structurally in all areas of governance: socially, politically, economically. The priority for the governments in the early years of Pakistan was an economic challenge rather than a social one. Hence, in the 1950s, Pakistan took initiatives with regard to planned development of the economy which was to be the foremost priority along with physical infrastructure. Social services were a secondary priority (Ibid). The planned development of the economy lead to some growth in productivity as well as development of infrastructure to support the economy.

What may be ascertained from this is that successive governments have had differing priorities. A military government would bring about martial rule and defense would be a priority. What is important to note at this point is that for almost half of Pakistan's life (Jalal, 1991), the country has been under military rule under the governments of General Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, General Zia Ul Haq and the most recent government of General Musharraf. Turning now to a government advocating social, democratic policies, social welfare would be a priority. During the regime of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the emphasis was on expansion of social services (Khanna, 1991, p 7). The neglect towards social services was overcome in the 1970s during the regime of Bhutto, whereby significant changes in the realms of social welfare were made through the adoption of populist policies which were enforced for the benefit of the poor. Bhutto's tenure was not long enough to see the projects through. However, even though social welfare projects were left incomplete at the end of the Bhutto regime, Bhutto demonstrated that he was not only successful in addressing the key social problems, but was also popular amongst the public at large. The military coup of General Zia-ul-Haq ended the beginnings of the formation of a social democratic state with the conversion to a country that would be ruled under martial law and Islamic ideals. Even after the presidency of General Zia-ul-Haq, there has not been any attempt similar to the one made by Bhutto in the seventies.

The question could be raised as to why there is now a need for my work. In my work, I intend to provide a visual representation of begging which complements and goes beyond the existing academic work, within the ambit of social and economic studies of Pakistan with the potential to reach a wider audience.

Turning now to the work of academics, in Pakistan under Bhutto, 1971-77, Shahid Burki (1980) argues that during his time in power from 20/12/71 until 1977, Bhutto introduced some very important changes in the Pakistani economy, political system, and society, which include: (Burki, 1980, p 1)

1. The nationalization of industries and financial institutions (Ibid, p 114-119)

2. Labor reforms (Ibid, p 120-123)

3. The nationalization of education (p 123-130)

4. Reforms in the health sector (Ibid, p 130-135)

The main purpose of Burki's study is to find an answer to why the regime of Bhutto suffered such an early demise (Ibid, p 2). Burki believes that the most important conclusion to be drawn from his work is that "Bhutto and his associates, in seeking to remould Pakistani society, also sowed the seeds of their own political destruction" (Ibid, p 3). He outlines that the most important reason for the fall of the regime of Bhutto was the failure to understand, that by implementing the great number of social and economic policies brought about by his administration, he needed the full backing of those that had helped him into power. Burki is of the opinion, that as Bhutto did not consult those people, he lost their support, as they walked out of his camp towards the opposition (Ibid, p 4).

Omar Noman (1990) notes that although the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) pledged to alleviate poverty in their electoral campaigns and a direct consequence of that would be increased allocation of resources to social services, "in practice", the priority was the defense services. As a result of the diversion of resources to defense and public administration, the expansion of social services was squeezed (Ibid, p 86). He notes that the PPP became popular amongst the masses as a result of a program of social and economic reform, however, the implementation of these economic reforms fell short of their expectations (Ibid). Further, "erratic

and inconsistent policies" are noted (Ibid, p 97). However, he adds, that "although there was a large gap between what the PPP promised and what it delivered, the attempt at reform represented a perceived improvement from the days of Ayub Khan and his predecessors. Regimes prior to the PPP had refused to even acknowledge claims of distributive justice, propounding publicly a view that even greater inequalities were necessary to promote economic growth. Thus, even relatively mild reforms under the PPP symbolized, for the poor, a favorable shift in the government's attitude" (Ibid, p 95). Noman believes that through the acknowledgement, by the government, of the economic rights of the poor, "a distinct progress in rhetoric, if not in substance" had been achieved. The attempt at economic reforms, regardless of whether they succeeded in implementation, brought about popular support for the PPP. Bhutto, as a consequence, is remembered as the most popular politician in Pakistan (Ibid). Noman is of the opinion that "the PPP symbolized and articulated an alternative - a vision of a democratic, socialist society" (Ibid, p 101).

Khanna (1991) notes that greater emphasis was placed on human resource development during the regime of Bhutto by way of "a revised strategy aimed at reinforcing the process of rural development by provision of more resources for expansion of programs regarding elementary education, health care, land improvement, employment expansion and rural infrastructural improvement" (Ibid, p 8). Like Noman, Khanna notes that the PPP government did not live up to their own expectations. He highlights several constraints which led to the development process slowing down in terms of economic growth. He notes these as: "organizational weaknesses, resource shortages despite the new inflow of some funds from migrant Pakistani workers, very adverse climatic impact upon agriculture over several years, non-cooperation of the private sector due to its alienation by governmental policies and growing political opposition to the government's rather radical policies" (Ibid, p 7).

Khanna believes that the country had strong potential for building a prosperous predominantly agrarian economy. According to him, it is because of the semi-feudal land ownership system and socio-religious orthodoxies, which are predominant amongst those living in rural society that have tended to provide an antagonistic environment for the promotion of social equity. He notes how as a result of social orthodoxies many rural families have not educated their female children which leads to social inequities (Ibid, p 243). In 1979, the rural

population was noted as varying from 35% to 40% living below the poverty line. According to Khanna, relative poverty is aggravated as improvement in rural incomes has been very disproportionate due to highly uneven distribution of the ownership of land and other development assets. Khanna is of the opinion that national efforts would have to continue for mitigation not only of the absolute poverty but also of relative poverty (Ibid, p 250). Khanna notes that, further critiques of the successive governments of Pakistan indicate that social welfare was never high up on the agenda, which may be a result of the elite nature of the system (Ibid, p 247).

If we now analyze views of scholars writing on social and economic factors, it appears that social policies have not been in place as a result of a lack of political will. Political will to enforce any policy is determined by those in power and their circle of normally social elites. The elite nature of the Pakistani system can be traced back historically since the birth of Pakistan and becomes apparent during every regime (La Porte Junior, 1975). Even the populist policies of Bhutto became flawed when the elite decided those policies could not be installed because they were not a part of their vested interests (Ibid, p 4). Tariq Ali, (1970) in Military Rule or People's Power writes in an upfront manner against the feudal and capitalist class who he believes have been "ruling the country since 1947 in various guises" (Ibid, p 13). More recently, Ali maintains his stance on the fact that the elite still dominate politics in the country (Ali, 2006).

When analyzing the framework of a country it is, therefore, important to look at the influence of the elite in decision-making as has been done by La Porte Junior (1975). La Porte Junior has researched the elite class and highlights that their influence in decision-making influences the structure of the whole framework of the country, in a way which is favorable to them. He notes how every country has classes which regulate to a large extent what goes on within political and economic decision making of the political system. Decisions are, therefore, made according to the needs of these classes (Ibid, p 7). Whereas, "some elites are blatant about their position and power; others mask their real influence in the hope of maintaining and perpetuating that influence" (Ibid, p 2). La Porte Junior notes that the political elite of Pakistan consists of the top-level military and civilian bureaucrats, whose social base is traditional wealth and power in the form of land in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh and tribal leadership in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province, (NWFP) (Ibid, p 4). He adds

how decision-making structures and processes appear to differ with changes of regime (Ibid, p 7).

La Porte Junior writes of how "the Bhutto regime permitted, at least initially, a greater degree of political expression coupled with a commitment to modify the power of certain elite groups (the military, the civil services and the industrialists) and to encourage the participation of representatives of the middle and lower classes (in particular lawyers, professors, teachers, doctors, engineers, journalists and other professionals.)" (Ibid, p 8), however, he notes that Bhutto was himself from a landowning family in Sindh and in being so creates doubt on how far Bhutto wished to shift the elitist influence in decision-making power (Ibid, p 4).

If Pakistan is indeed embroiled in such elitist politics, can we attribute the great number of beggars living in extreme poverty to successive governments, who have administered the country in an unjust manner with inadequate social and economic policies? If we adopt this school of thought then it would suggest that government policies throughout the history of Pakistan (whether it was direct government aid or organized social policy) failed, owing to alleged mismanagement of resources for the greater part of Pakistani society and affected the underprivileged and those living on the margins.

It can be argued that Pakistan is a relatively young country, having only gained independence in 1947. However, the fact that every Pakistani regime in the past has had impressive plans but then failed to administer the results, suggests that scholars such as La Porte Junior (1975), Tariq Ali (1970) and Khanna (1991) may be correct in thinking that elitism exists in politics.

One further reason for why Pakistan is suffering despite development efforts in the form of aid is brought forward by Syed Mohammed Ali in his article, "Why Doesn't Development Aid Work?" (2005). He states that development efforts in the third world are often defined by the strategic interests of super powers and corrupt policies of politicians and government officials (Ali, 2005, p 117). He, therefore, again highlights the elitist nature of the government but combines it with the international community. Therefore, is the international community also to blame? Pakistan is currently a leading partner of the United States in the "War on Terror". Could the strategic interests of the United

States and the policies of the current government be a reason for the hindrance in the progress of Pakistan?

I will turn now more specifically to developments in the area of beggary by the government.

Child Protection and Welfare Bureau

The Child Protection and Welfare Bureau (CPWB) is an institution created by the Punjab Government, to eliminate child beggary by helping destitute and neglected children with the co-operation of the police. It is, therefore, a formal response by the Punjab Government to eliminate child beggary within the province (The Nation, 2005). The pilot project began in Lahore. In December 2004, the CPWB was extended to Gujranwala. In an unattributed Daily Times report, "Government doing its best for children's welfare, says Pervaiz" (Daily Times, 2005). The author is of the opinion that progress seems to have been made as the Chief Minister stated that three beggar gangs had been busted and the operation for the CPWB would be expanded to seven other large cities within the province of Punjab (Ibid, p 1).

In the documentary, Dr Faiza Asghar, the Chairperson of the CPWB in 2005, states that the CPWB rehabilitated 200 children during early 2005 over a period of eight weeks and consequently provided relief to 181 families (Ibid, p 1-2). In "Punjab, CM orders steps to end beggary" (Pakistan Times, 2004), the working of the CPWB is again defined, and it is noted that the CPWB had evolved a comprehensive plan for rehabilitation of child beggars and enhancing income sources of their families, whereby, financial assistance is sought from Bait-ul-Mal and Khushhali Bank.

Hence, with regard to child beggary, my analysis would be that, steps have been made in the right direction and that there has been expansion since 2005. To extend its services the Bureau has established Child Protection Institutions in Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Multan, Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Rawalpindi and Bahawalpur where destitute and neglected children are being provided all these facilities and services. In my opinion, if the CPWB is the solution for the elimination of child beggary then the CPWB program should be expanded on a national scale and not limit itself to the province of Punjab. An article in the Pakistan Observer reports of a rounding up of 29 children who were

begging in Lahore that were sent to the CPWB. The center were to contact the parents to rehabilitate the children (Pakistan Observer, 2017). The child beggary problem is not exclusive to Lahore; it affects the country as a whole.

The above analysis of the CPWB raises a broader question of national politics whereby the Pakistani government has made headlines as the foremost partner of the United States in the "War on Terror" and through the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. With regard to government input, progress has been made with economic growth of the country. The military government of General Musharraf chose to follow free market policies which led to economic growth. It has been noted by Walsh (2006) that Pakistan had the fastest growing economy which grew by 8.4%, second to China. In my opinion, these policies have restricted work against social welfare. The economic growth has made the existing rich in the country better off; however, this economic prosperity has not trickled down to the poor or the beggars. Hence, with regard to help towards the poor, there has not been a repetition of the social democratic policies brought about by the regime of Bhutto.

Even though the phenomenon of begging seems to be rooted in the government policy of the 1940s, the government itself is not the only dimension for providing social welfare. There are other potential bodies such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). NGOs have been prominent in Pakistan for decades (Bryer, 2005), and have provided social welfare programs. Their numbers are increasing. However there is a lack of co-ordination amongst them and due to their adhocism they are not moving in the same direction as each other or the government.

Khanna provides an in-depth sight into NGOs or Voluntary Agencies (VOLAGS) (Khanna, 1991, p 234-42). He defines NGOs or VOLAGS as non-profit bodies of varying sizes and resources, most of them being small, mostly based in urban areas. According to him, only a few of these NGOs are working in villages. Some NGOs engage only in social welfare work, for example: welfare of mother and child, welfare of women, welfare of the handicapped, whilst others deal with areas, such as adult literacy, health and nutrition, birth control and planned parenthood (Ibid, p 234-235). They obtain their resources from membership fees, local donations and grants from the social welfare councils set up by the government as well as from other governmental agencies. Some NGOs obtain grants from foreign donor agencies and international organizations through the governmental channel. The

sixth plan recognizes the significant role of these rural and urban NGOs and promotes co-operation between these and the government (Ibid, p 208). Inadequacies and obstacles which limit the role of NGOs have been noted. As mentioned above, adhocism is often associated with the work of NGOs, Khanna notes that to some extent this seems unavoidable as it stems from an uncertainty in their resource position such as, funds, staff, or material. The number of NGOs has increased but they largely work in isolation of each other. Khanna notes that resistance from vested groups is a significant hurdle; for example, when any voluntary effort meets some success, it also meets opposition from those who wield power as they feel that their own power base is being eroded (Ibid, p 236). Tariq Ali notes how only a few NGOs are doing work that is worthwhile, the majority of them struggle to keep themselves operating and hence, petty rivalries exist amongst them (Ali, 2006). Another limitation, according to Khanna, is that organizations have to face an apathetic attitude or lack of co-operation from local government officers concerned with rural development (Khanna, 1991, p 236).

In my view, the work of NGOs would be more effective if they all formed part of a co-ordinated network with other NGOs and the government, covering different areas of a city and then holding regular meetings to review the situation of beggars or poverty generally, to assess whether their efforts have made a difference and in which areas they need to make improvements. This would then lead to effective use of resources, prevent duplication of work and also failure to provide results. However, judging by the number of NGOs that are based in Lahore alone, I do understand that if such an operation was taken on board, it would be a vast project, and the co-ordination alone of such an operation would take a great deal of time, money and resources.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it seems that the attraction of the city lures people to thinking that they will be able to achieve their dreams through an array of opportunities (Mumford, 1973). Indeed, many rural migrants believe that they are heading towards a better life. However, the reality is that there is an urbanization, whereby there is a lack of resources which lead to stark disparities. In extreme cases, this can lead to homelessness and in yet, in other cases it can cause people to beg as there is no other

way in which they can subsist.

Reasons for begging in Lahore have been explored above. They seem to be part of a vicious cycle, one leading in turn to another, unable to leave a cyclical movement. Indeed, the State by virtue of laws seems to be creating a situation which endorses retreatism, the concept whereby people reject goals that are culturally prescribed along with the institutionalized or conventional method of achieving them (White and Haines, 2001, p 66). As a consequence, the majority of people create a subculture of deviancy which will breed illegal activities and give birth to characteristics within people who will turn to crime and be perceived in a negative light by the majority as they are not, on the face of it, presented with the deeper scenario of who is responsible for this infrastructure.

If the majority of beggars are begging as a result of their poor socio-economic background then surely we should be questioning why this scale of endemic poverty is being criminalized, victimized and concomitant to that why these people are being marginalized? If this is the case, then we must analyze the legal definition of begging in the context of Lahore and question the structures that are labelling these people as "beggars".

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Of Other Skies: The Socio-Historical Dynamics of Tibetan Thangka Artists in Exile

Sarah Haq and Sama Haq

Introduction

In Vajrayana Buddhism[1], human will is harnessed through the help of wisdom (*prajñā*), means of action (*upāya*) and meditation (*sādhana*) in order to cultivate a Buddha nature (*Buddhabhāva*) in oneself. With the help of these methods, a practitioner (*sādhaka*) is able to awaken his senses, to resist ignorance and enter the state of non-duality (*śūnyatā*); for the true meaning of Buddhahood stands for the 'one who has woken up'. In light of the above statements, thangka becomes a significant intermediary between the spiritual realm (*alaukika*) and the worldly-physical realm (*laukika*). The word 'thangka' is conjoined of two words – (Tib) *than* or flat surface and (Tib) *gka* or painting. Thangka belongs to the genre of paintings made on a flat surface having ceremonial or religious purpose. It may also be observed that the practice based on meditation or (Tib) *sgrub thabs* transforms a thangka into a visual apparatus but also animates into a spiritual understanding between the deity and the practitioner. As a result, thangka is worshipped as a didactic visual aid for Tibetan Buddhist religious practices.[2]

An ontological approach towards Tibetan painting predates the origin of Buddhism in Tibet even before 7th century CE, with the help of neighbouring cultures such as Central Asia, India, Nepal and China. Prior to the spread of Buddhism in the Tibetan mainland there is no evidence of any specific artistic tradition that reveals painted forms like thangkas.[3] Tracing the origin of the artistic and socio-cultural practices behind a thangka recalls the use of Central Asian ceremonial banners with a similar practice and philosophy. Tibetologists such as Guiseppe Tucci have also traced a close affinity to the Indian art form of *pata* painting, which has been an important form of folk-art tradition in eastern India. Tucci reiterates, "*Pata*, mandala and painted representation of the lives of the saints, for the use of storytellers and of guides to holy places, are the threefold origin of Tibetan tankas".[4] The earliest utility of thangka belongs to the art of narrating stories based on religious themes just like its Indian inspiration of *patas*. These stories were painted as a means of narration and religious preaching to the laity.

From private practices to public rituals, the use of thangka in Tibetan Buddhism is hierological and diverse in nature. Through this paper, an attempt will be made at surfacing the socio-religious values of thangkas while situating the presence of thangka artists in exile and the emergence of their creative self in a neo-urban refuge. The paper extrapolates the historical shifts in the production of thangkas in order to formulate and analyze the structure of Tibetan art as a social institution.

Institutionalizing Thangkas: Some Theoretical Considerations

Within Sociology, institutions have been classified based on their functions and significance for fulfilling the basic needs of the people and secondly, in terms of their importance as carriers of cultural knowledge. By this definition, there is a divided opinion about the status of art as an institution and many sociologists believe that art only constitutes a secondary institution.[5] That is, it is not vital to the survival of society as family or economic institutions may be. However, more recently, philosophers such as McIver and later Fiebleman[6] have noted that certain societies place greater importance on cultural and spiritual values rather than on material values. In these terms, art is given primary importance along with philosophy, religion and the sciences.

From the point of view of visual arts and the social sciences, such a framework of understanding art as a social institution provides a crucial juncture for tracing the historicity of the varied creative practices and artifacts of the people and to mark out their significance in the lives of individuals who are in direct contact with them. For instance, in the case of the Tibetan thangkas, the overt linking of art and religion suggests that these areas have common cultural values which are reflected in the shared modes of beliefs and codification of beliefs. There are certain structural dimensions of the thangka paintings which may cast light on their socio-historical significance for the community.

To begin with, the question of the structure of thangka art as a social institution beckons an understanding of this art form as a system of social interaction. In his phenomenal work, *The Social System*, Parsons places art within his larger theory of social[7] and as such, art activates a chain of social events because of a specific path of reciprocal interaction

between the artist and the public. The artist, according to him, responds to the needs of his public and in turn receives a symbolic expression of appreciation and admiration for his work. The typical art uses the language of symbols and acts as a means for social interaction and solidarity between the parties involved. The model can facilitate an account of the work itself as an object of aesthetic experience both for the audience and the artist and it allows taking into account the artistic traditions, social situations and broad cultural values. Although it is much contested whether Parsons' theory can include such material elements within the social system, Parsons himself settles the debate and shows an increasing awareness of the role of physical objects such as art in the social system.

> "…Human action is organized through and in terms of the patterning of the meanings of objects and of orientations to objects in the world of human experience."[8]

In this light, art serves as an essential link in the elaborate network of social and cultural relations and a detailed study of art necessitates an account of the art product as an object or process of aesthetic experience. The present exploration of the Tibetan thangkas as a sacred institution, too, locates itself in such a framework and it proposes to analytically trace certain key elements of art in order to animate the structure of thangka art as a social institution. These elements would bring forth that art, rather than being ahistorical, responds to transformations in society in a specific way, such that the object of art itself gets reconstituted in the lives of the people, thereby bringing forth newer discourses. The focus on the transformations in the aspects of these basic elements or forms is hoped to create an academic understanding about the historical and social nuances which have perhaps shaped the state of thangkas in the present and raised questions about the possible outcome for the practice of thangka production.

Some of the elements that are discussed include,

- Technical aspects such as raw material, tools used, techniques and skills inherited and invented.
- Specific content and meanings that have constituted the traditional form and how these have changed or remained unchanged through time.
- The socialization and training of artists in acquiring and practising their creativity.

- The system of agents and patrons, museums, dealers and their distinct set of norms and values.
- The viewer and his/her own sets of interests in the art.
- The broad cultural values which support thangka art in society such as its ability to refine emotional awareness and produce religious and social solidarity.

Thangka as a Process in the Making

To analyse the visual trope of a thangka, the deified representation of Buddha, *bodhisattvas* (enlightened beings) and gods, in Tibetan Buddhism, alludes to appearance as a conscious cognitive principle (*pratibhāsa*) (Plate 1a, 1b). As ascribed in a 7th century CE Buddhist ritual text, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, before an image can be constructed, the artist goes through a purification ritual by recitation or chanting of prayers (*mantrās*) in order to enter a meditative cycle till the deity emerges as a physical-psychological manifestation in the artist's mind.[9] Although, this notion is highly debatable as the religious and artistic value of recreating a sacred environment has been modified by Tibetan artists in today's context. The ritualistic paradigm set by monks previously (who were also adept painters) has now been re-established within workshops/studios by modern day thangka artists worldwide. The creation of the worldly or living order of the cosmic balance in the visual form is hence represented or reproduced in the painting "as a ritual act".[10]

Plate 1a

Body measurement of Śakyāmunī Buddha. © Sama Haq

Plate 1b

Measurement of Buddha's head. © Sama Haq

The apotropaic formula behind a thangka then lies between the practitioner and his painting. As seen in iconic religious art forms, thangka also serves as a visual apparatus between the deity and the practitioner. Once the sacerdotal aspect
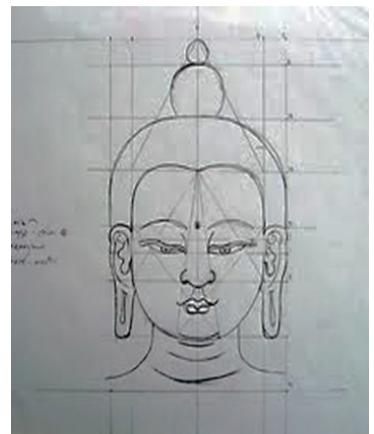
of the painted image is revealed through ritual consecration (*prāna pratisthā*), it enjoys the status quo of a vision, which is first beheld by the artist and later by the patron. Hence, the presence of an artist is crucial in understanding the *buildungsroman* of a thangka. Furthermore, the rich brilliant colors are imbued to impart a spiritual and mystical significance to the artistic creation and to appeal to the lay practitioners. The pragmatics of a thangka then relies on a cyclic process, that is, of the visualizer (the artist and the patron), visualization (by the artist and the patron) and finally the beatific vision of the deity (internalised by the artist and patron).

Going back to the importance of a cloth painting, which serves as a catalyst in delivering a cult image of the deity, it is necessary to allude to a painted cloth simile (*citrapatanyāya*), "just like a canvas rolled open reveals its figure, so does the Supreme One make manifest the whole world concealed in him by the *karma* of the souls."[11] Monks or artists absolve themselves of any impurity of thought and physical state to paint with greater ease keeping in mind the crux of the meta-galaxy of the gods to be visualised for the commission. As emphasised by Geshe Lakhdor, "One of the earliest arts that came into Tibet from India was the art of the image that is related to the mind… it can also be called 'the art of the mind'…"[12], while Pratapaditya Pal calls it as (Tib) "*mthong-grol* (spiritual liberation through sight of the deity)."[13]

This 'method of the mind' is further stabilized by the sacred syllable *om āh hum* written at the back of thangkas which represents the enlightened body, speech and mind (Plate 2).[14] These syllables are written overleaf on the head, mouth and the neck of the deity. It is written by the artist at the time when the final sketch has been made. It corresponds to the psychic state of energising the physical, verbal and spiritual merit of a practitioner's will. Meditating upon the *mantrā*, an initiate cleanses his system by producing a reverberation of these syllables and initiating a channel for the deity to become one with the visualizer. To further comment upon the vitality of the sacred syllable, Glen Wallis calls *mantrā*

Plate 2

The sacred syllable behind a thangka. ©

Sama Haq

a 'sonic' undulation for the divine beings to manifest themselves onto the corporeal level of humans, which when applied iconographically creates a 'cult object'.[15]
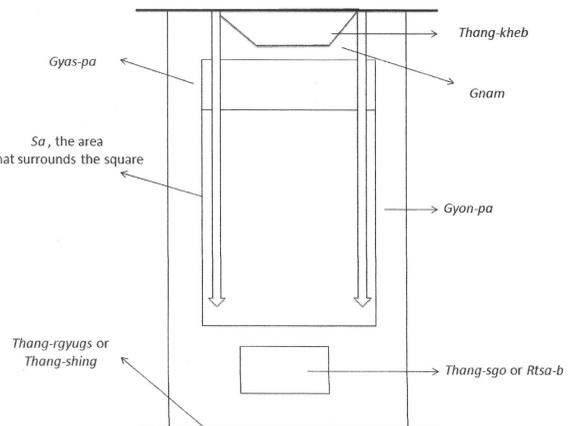
Besides the meditative quality of a thangka, there are also ways to structurally approach and mark the 'aesthetic unfolding' of a thangka (Plate 3). To understand the various elements[16] we begin with the canvas or (Tib.) *me lon* or mirror, which is prepared from cotton or at times silk; the area, which supports the brocade frame on all the four sides of the canvas, is called (Tib.) *sa* or earth. It is the support/land on which the canvas stands; (Tib.) *t'an sin* or wood of the thangka, to support the painting from top to bottom. In some earlier thangkas, the lower rod also contained a bag of sand to help balance the weight of the painting; (Tib.) *thang kheb* or cover of respect, for protection against dust and smoke of the incense during the ceremony. In the presence of a non-practitioner, this cover helps to conceal the image from any disrespect. A horizontal strip of cloth, which is attached to the rod on top, is called (Tib.) *gnam* or sky of the painting. The vertical strip that runs on both sides of the frame is called (Tib.) *gyas pa* and *gyon pa*, the right and left sides. Usually, at the bottom, a square patch of another fabric is sewn in the middle, known as (Tib.) *thang sgo* or *rtsa ba*, which translates as the door of a thangka or a channel for the devotee to pass through the *saṃsāric* doors into the realm of the gods.[17] A cardinal rule to ensure respect to a thangka is to roll it from bottom to top. Hence, the act of unrolling symbolically suggests revealing a deity. Before mounting the canvas, an artist inscribes the sacred syllable on the reverse side of the painting. This inscription may also be present at the back around the sacred mantra of *om āh hum*. Upon its completion, thangkas are consecrated by a monk or (Tib.) *bla ma* or (Tib.) *dge bshes* (the highest order given to a monk), made prominent with his handprints, on the reverse side of the thangka.

Plate 3

Line Drawing of a Thangka. © Sama Haq

Thang-kheb

Gnam

Gyas-pa

Sa, the area that surrounds the square

Gyon-pa

Thang-rgyugs or Thang-shing

Thang-sgo or Rtsa-b

Aesthetic Understanding of Two Thangkas from the National Museum, India – A Case Study

1.   Title: Śakyāmunī Buddha
     Provenance: Tibet
     Period: 18th – 20th century CE
     Medium: Gouache on cloth
     Acc. No: 48.5/26
     Gifted by His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama

(Plate 4) A basic visual topography of this thangka features Śakyāmunī Buddha, prominently seated in the centre, attended by two disciples, Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana, who are holding a mendicants staff and an alms bowl. They are shown wearing chequered robes of red and a golden pattern covering their monastic robe (*trīcīvara*). The artist has rendered Buddha in hieratic portraiture, his hair is neatly tied in a bun (*usnīsa*) mounted by a round jewel ornament. Dark and sombre tonality, punctuated by flickering gold, seems to echo the mystical aura surrounding the enlightened one. From Buddha's golden face exudes a brilliant radiance, his eyes appear to sink inward and seek the viewer outwards. Under his majestic throne, are two Indic gods, three faced Brahmā (God of creation) offering Buddha the wheel of law (*dhamma*) and Indrā (God of rain) offering a conch shell for resonating his teachings (*dhamma*) in all directions. Surrounding Buddha in tiered placement are various emanations of Buddha.

Plate 4

Thangka of Śakyāmunī Buddha. Courtesy: National Museum, India.

On the top corners are two tutelary deities (*yi-dams*) which refer to the religious cult of the practitioner. At the bottom are guardian deities with Vaiśravana in the middle, a guardian deity of the north, holding a victory banner. On his right stands Kubera, a commander to Vaiśravana's retinue. Sitting between Kubera and Vaiśravana is a female deity called Vasundharā, who is considered as a

household deity of prosperity in Nepal. She holds a vessel of plenty (*pūrnakalaśa*) in her hand. To breathe naturalism along the left-over surfaces, the artist has skilfully painted the vacant space with withered rocks in blue and green highlight. The outer cloth of the thangka is of golden and blue silk borders; bales of silk were specifically brought from India and China and gold dust from Nepal for making thangkas. At the bottom, one may also see the door of the thangka stitched in light blue silk.

2.   Title: Śakyāmunī Buddha and the Historical
     Kings
     Provenance: Tibet
     Period: 18th – 20th century CE
     Medium: Gouache on cloth
     Acc. No.:   48.5/20
     Gifted by His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama

In Plate 5 Śakyāmunī Buddha is seated in the centre in a hieratic scale on a wooden altar with two stylised white lions supporting the pedestal. In between the two lions, a red lotus schematically springs in front of the alter. From this magnificent lotus rises a sword, which symbolises the piercing wisdom and knowledge. Red Lotus (Tib: *pad-ma-chu -skyes*) in Tibetan art signifies the true nature and purity of heart and is symbolic of love and compassion.[18] The visual design of Śakyāmunī Buddha thangkas embodying the presence of two attendants, Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana, are not to be seen here. Their absence is further highlighted by the presence of 'the Dharma Kings' or the three great historical kings of Tibet at the bottom of the painting.[19] They are shown seated in royal attire of silk brocade and are adorned with jewelled crowns. King Tsong-san-gampo is seated in the centre; on his right is King Trisong Detsen and King Tri

Plate 5

Thangka of Śakyāmunī Buddha and the Historical Kings. Courtesy: National Museum, India.

Ralpachan, towards his left. King Tsong-san-gampo is the only one in this triad whose presence is marked by the brilliance of a full body halo (*prabhāmandala)* since he is heralded as the first Dharma King who set the wheel of law in motion in Tibet.

On top, in the middle is Je Tsongkhapa in a pointed yellow hat, the 14th century CE founder of the Geluk order. Surrounding him are two Buddhas on a lotus throne. The use of orange hues in the swirling clouds of the background around Buddha's aureole imbues the entire thangka with the mystical quality of a vision. Often the utility of a thangka extends from sacerdotal functions to pedagogic function. Here, the use of Dharma Kings is amalgamated to venerate the triad while also using the painting as a tool to educate worshippers about Tibet's historical legacy.

Although, Tibetan society is governed by hierarchical formations, the cooperative structure of social interactions tends to highlight the collective over an independent, self-reliant modality of working. In such a framework, obedience and responsiveness to the wishes of others is highly valued and useful. The thangka artist too is animated by similar social ethics in his/her practice. Traditionally, the artist is commissioned by a patron family to paint a desired deity. In other words, the frame or the boundaries of the work are already marked for the artist. The artist would then meditate, ruminate and finally construct the desired effect based on his/her own visualization. He/she is completely guided by the desire of his/her patron in formulating his artwork and the predetermined formulaic styles of painting, thereby ensuring a limited, if any, projection of his/her own 'unique' style or art or oeuvre. The metric principle of constructing a thangka ensures that the artist's own creative renditions do not become an overbearing presence but a venerated mediator between the transcendental spirit of Buddha and the worldly gaze of the practitioner. Thangkas thus, present a theoretically rich plane for understanding the figure of the artist since they cast light on cultural and social traditions where the personal isolation and the encouragement given to the values of competence and individual expressiveness in western societies become insignificant. The artist here relates to his/her creativity not through a personally closed ego but responds to the needs of other sentient lives in his/her environment. It is contested that in the case of thangka art, the socio-cultural development that shapes it is not completely in the service of the repressed fantasies. Rather, the social aspect of the thangka addresses the formula of reformation and restoration of the

life-giving forces, through a visualization of the absent figure of the Buddh,a onto the visual medium of the canvas itself.

Thus, thangka art appears to contest the Western understanding of the aesthetic need as a secondary domain and here art moves away from the gratification principle, wherein a work of art is theorized as a purely recreational activity that marks a disjunction from the ordinary work life and becomes psychologically cathartic in fulfilling the needs of the public. Thangka art may be seen to contest this notion since the social interaction between the artist and the viewer/visualizer is not of leisure, rather the artistic experience in itself is constituted as 'the work'- for a heightened consciousness of the self.

Nameless Thangka Artists

Art historians and critics have theorized about the stylistic developments in arts across cultures and societies from the point of view of the availability of materials worked with, the stimulus of forms in the natural environment such as the use of curved shapes over straight lines, of abstract symbols over naturist images, and such others. However, an understanding of the influence of social changes on the stylistic developments in an artist's work has not acquired enough academic platforms. To begin with, the connections between art forms and socio-cultural conditions have remained localized in their focus on a few branches of European civilizations. Rarely, if any, work has involved an anthropological analysis of the social life of arts of the Oriental societies. The present study situates itself in this lacuna of research on the exploration of the social within rich artistic traditions such as that of the sacred art of Tibet in order to extrapolate the place of the social conditions which have shaped the course of the practice of thangka art in the present time.

Sociologist J. L. Fischer[20] addresses the social factor in respect to the agency of the artist himself/herself. Within the Psychoanalytic paradigm, the artist serves as the carrier of the wish of the collective. This is seen to be activated by the social mores of his/her culture in the unconscious expressions of his/her own fantasies about social situations which promise to yield pleasure or security. The artist's social fantasy emerges as a powerful determinant of the art form and the artist projects his own society and collective history in his visual art. The artist thus, becomes crucial machinery who links the social

with the material and the representation of his/her art. An important assumption here, is that the artists themselves may not show any conscious awareness of their art as representative of fantasized social situations. Western psychoanalytic theory has responded to the social life of art by addressing the absences – that is, the repressed material in a work of art.

However, if this framework is extended to analysis of artworks beyond modern Western societies, we see that the individuated expressiveness of the artist which is so fundamental to a visual theory in the West, appears to fumble and certain other social factors tend to be present in the development of the arts in these other societies. Thangka art in itself is premised on this presence of the artist in absentia. As a part of a sacerdotal practice, thangka art acquires its identity from the establishment of a spiritual relationship between the viewer and the content of the painting – the representative deity(ies). The question of artistic authorship is in a way taboo in Tibetan thangka art because of its functional value as a part of the religious practice.

Another issue that emerges in tracing the social life of thangkas is how artistic complexity and technical development are influenced by the socio-political developments in the society. In his study of the artistic trends of European, American and Asian societies, Barry[21] found that socially stratified and hierarchical societies give predominance to individual competence and uniqueness and the arts of these societies are marked by development of individualized, independent styles which are representative of the personality of the artist. However, in the case of thangkas, the artist's own persona is not considered to be of prime importance. The absence of the artistic 'oeuvre' in thangkas reflects the hierarchical nature of the larger Tibetan social fabric. The Tibetan society is governed by the principle of collective welfare over self-reliance and competition and in such a scenario, a Tibetan thangka artist too works within the social values of obedience and compliance rather than personal isolation and individual expressiveness of his/her art. In thangka art, the artist shows a commitment to his/her patron and consciously practices his art as an intermediary medium between two other entities – that of the transcendental which is deified in a sensual form through his/her creativity, and the other of his/her patron.

Moreover, the highly formulaic and symmetrical nature of sketching the deities with sets of simple and straight lines, combined with observation of certain rituals as part of the painting practice, they all

have contributed towards a closed artistic tradition where there are fairly strict social controls on the production of art. While the basic structure of the drawings has remained largely unchanged, certain key aspects of the institution of thangka art have undergone major social transformations over centuries.

Due to the sacred quality ascribed to the thangkas, the tradition of glorifying thangka artists was never given any time or space; any reference to the acknowledgment of an artist or a group of artists was considered a blasphemy. Moreover, artists/ monks travelled to various monasteries in order to spread their teachings and mastery over fine arts and crafts. Neither thangka artists nor thangkas have been chronologically placed in the Tibetan painting tradition. It was the act of earning merit that led the painter and the patron commissioning a painting that was carried forward as a socio-cultural interaction. Any kind of dedicatory inscription running along the painted image or on the reverse side of the thangka was the only seal or mark allowed for the purpose of worship and ownership.

As a result, we have a 10th century CE account of a senior Tibetan monk named Lumé, from the famous monastery of Samyé, who travelled to China to study the iconographic details of great sages (*arhats*).[22] In the 11th century CE, the famous Ladakhi monk, Rinchen Zangpo, travelled to Kashmir to learn a Khache-Tibetan (Kashmiri-Tibetan) style[23] but we do not have any record of the twenty-five monks from Kashmir (who were also skilled artists and craftsmen) who accompanied Rinchen Zangpo to nurture the religious and artistic styles of Tibetan monasteries. Guiseppe Tucci mentions a 14th century CE account of the famous Newari artist named Aniko, who had come to Tibet with twenty-four artists to work around the time of Sa-skya hierarchy.[24] In a 17th century CE account, *The Illusive Play: The Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, we find a distinct mention of twenty-four artists from Nepal along with their names. "These artists were Dsyobhan, Siddhi, bKra sis (Mangal), Dhar ma de vo, Dsai sin, A ma radsati, Dse la k'ran, K'ra pa tsusa; among other images, they made also that of the fifth Dalai Lama himself…"[25]

Since Tibetan art has been highly ritualistic and codified into set formulaic conventions of iconographic and iconometric principles, any use of artistic skill or progression of thought, was avoided. However, to continue with this legacy in the 20th century, over the years, trained Tibetan artists in exile have tried to revive an interest in the younger

generation of artists by providing a professional and commercial space for their artistic skills. This has resulted in development of new methods which are in harmony or at times in contradiction to the older concerns of thangka-making.

In fact, when an artist earns a commission to paint a thangka, it is painted in accordance with the patron's requirement. Any other detail about the spatio-temporal setting of a thangka is purely an artist's vision. This vision is rendered through background landscape, expansive skyscapes, architectural motifs, use of a varied color palette, and vignettes of flora and fauna as a cultural memory, which is consciously or unconsciously played while giving the artist scope to experiment and display his artistic oeuvre. Besides, a lush use of gold brush work in intricate patterns and detailing coupled with dominant blues and greens was a benchmark of the 17th century CE nationalistic style of the Menri Tradition,[26] which originated in Tibet and later evolved as the New Menri Style and is widely practised by Tibetan artists in exile till now.

The recent trend of painting thangkas in artist workshops in Dharamsala (also known as little Lhasa), Himachal Pradesh and other places in India and abroad have been adopted as revolutionary measures to strengthen the tradition of thangka painting in the new socio-political environment of a Tibetan life in exile. One of the famous training institutes for thangka artists, the Institute of Tibetan Thangka Art in Dharamsala (Plate 6), is run by two senior Tibetan faculties, Migmar Tsering and Tenzin Ngodup who were trained in the Menri style by the great Tibetan master – Venerable Senge Yeshe of the famous Ganden and Drepung Monasteries in Tibet. The Institute is a part of a long-lasting tradition of Tibet's cultural and creative expression established under the aegis of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama in India. A school of thangka art was opened in 1977 under the tutelage of Ven. Senge Yeshe and the guidance of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala; it was later re-christened as a non-profit organisation in 2004 in the name of the Institute of Tibetan Thangka Art.

Plate 6

Institute of Tibetan Thangka Art, Dharamsala, India. © Sama Haq

Migmar Tsering spent his early years training in Tibetan monasteries, whereas Tenzin Ngodup was trained in India. Both the faculty members/artists regularly paint thangkas for His Holiness and get commissions to paint for Buddhist practitioners from all over the world. Their thangkas have also been exhibited in India, France, and South Korea (Plate 7).[27] The Institute has been functioning through generous donations made by wealthy patrons, commission earned through the thangkas painted in-house, donation of books for study and reference and exhibitions of students' work conducted all over the world. The methods for sustainability are evidently commercialised but the exposure to young and new artists coming from Tibet provides a medium to earn a living while adapting to new life-skills in India.

Thus, the participants in the study were found to explore the challenges of their emerging identity as artists of an art in a historical flux. In the exodus from the traditional institution of their homeland, their personal and professional lives as artists[28] of a sacred art was questioned in light of the challenges of commercialization and their own status as refugees. With these social transformations, thangka art in itself has acquired a duality of meaning in relation to the practices of the artists in the towns and cities of exile, such that the changes in the artistic 'praxis'[29] has led to a shift in the construction of thangkas outside the meditative space and into the secular terrain of the urban markets. This extension of the new meanings of thangkas has emerged as a key element of its existence as a diaspora art in the cities where it has found refuge.

From the 1970's, many such schools have opened in Dharamsala focussing on the promotion of Tibetan art and crafts and especially thangka art as a living tradition. Needless to say, time and technology has introduced new methods which are for some, in conflict with older practices and philosophy. For one, a target based execution of work in big or small workshops as opposed to a more meditative process

of preparing thangkas in the inner quarters of monasteries by senior and novice monks is a grave concern of Tibetan ecclesiastics and the struggling artists. Nonetheless, it is the test of time which a thangka and a thangka artist face due to rampant commoditization of this sacred art form (Plate 8).

The Transformations in Tibetan Thangka in the Exiled Society

To begin with, thangkas moved out of their original position as an exclusively monastic system to an art performed by the laity, as described in the accounts of the Fifth Dalai Lama, in the 17th century. While the artistic hands shifted over time outside the realm of monasteries, the form and the material underwent less changes during the time. This is because the choice of colors, the design and the material was already a predetermined tradition. While the silk tapestry for the thangkas was accumulated from China during the 16th-20th centuries, silk from the Hindukush valley particularly Varanasi was a desired material because of the association of Indian soil with Buddha and his teachings. Through such controlled traditions in the form of painting, the Tibetan thangka constructed and maintained itself as a sacerdotal art. It became a transportable medium of establishing a personal connection with the transcendental force in worship through visual images and symbols.[30]

However, this social practice of a co-existence of art and the religious philosophy of the region has undergone disruptions with the cession of the independent kingdom of Tibet in the middle of the 20th century and the expansion of the People's Republic of China. The Cultural Revolution of the 1960s-70s led to desecration of an expanse of Tibetan monasteries and cultural artifacts including the sacred scrolls and art. Thus, conservation and continuity of the ancient traditions created an urgent need for the transportation of the material culture to safer places in exile outside Tibet. The thangka artists too joined the population of nomads, farmers, monks and children who sought escape to the neighboring countries of India, Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar in the hope of survival as refugees. However, life in exile ushered further challenges for the social organization of the Tibetan community outside their homeland.

In such a changing political scenario, cultural objects such as art and religious practices become a crucial aid in establishing a continuity and

identity to the community (Plate 9). Over the years, thangkas have also participated in this function and allowed the artists to create a Tibetan presence in the visual art scene in the world. Thus, in the contemporary time, thangkas have increasingly moved into the realm of a social symbol rather than a religious medium. The presence and circulation of thangkas in exile is observed within the domain of the art market. In this regard, thangkas have moved away from the institution of patronage to one of commodity dealership. It is their close association with the esoteric and religious practices which have made the thangka a popular collectible item amongst tourists to regions of Nepal and the upper reaches of the Himalayas in India. The use of vibrant colors, the portability of the paintings along with the popular symbolic appeal of the use of symmetrical designs and the mandalas in thangkas have all contributed to their mystique as a desired artistic commodity for tourists to the Himalayan region.[31] Ironically, the original symbolism which led to their appeal as a commodity or "tourist thangkas"[32] is also the one which has disintegrated with time as modern thangkas have moved out of their purely religious meanings and become a more secular form of art which is prevalent in the urban markets in exile.

Plate 9

A Tibetan Buddhist monk working on a thangka at the Institute of Tibetan Thangka Art. © Sama Haq

In the present context, the thangka is no more a synthesis of sacred and divine; from reverence the focus has shifted to drawing room display. Art aficionados are more intrigued by the rich colors than its sacerdotal purpose and their interest is met by an inquisitive demand of factory produced thangkas from India and Nepal, devoid of any artistic or technical merit. Regardless of the criticism, since the establishment of artist communities in exile settlements much credit has been given to individual artists and their scope for creative expansion in the sacred realm of the canvas and in the spiritual world of the visualizer.

In other words, the disintegration of theocracy in Tibet created a social condition that has influenced the style and artistic fantasy of thangka making itself. There is a shift in the meanings of thangka, from purely sacred and a spiritual 'medium' in the lives of the practitioners, to an 'exotic' artwork from the Orient which is purchasable and displayable. Life in exile further challenged the practice due to the limited availability

of materials. The traditional silk canvas which was prepared by the artists themselves was replaced with market bought canvas; organic and mineral-based colors have been replaced by cost effective commercial oil-based colors. Instead of commissions by nobility and patron families, the thangka artists now work in close interaction with art dealers and/ or training institutes as instructors. All this has increasingly led to a commoditization of thangka paintings. It is analyzed that the arts of a marginal culture such as that of the Tibetan culture have emerged as a separate entity which is distinct from all aspects of utility, social and cultural meanings and this has created grounds for treating these art objects as 'treasure troves' for museum displays, and souvenirs on the mantelpieces that have been pulled out of their actual or possible original contexts. From a functional tool of meditation, it is a significant means of conservation of the socio-cultural traditions of the homeland and it therefore, exists as an identity marker for the Tibetan diaspora.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is forwarded that for the fields of Sociology and Visual Arts, the study of thangka art and social conditions open up a new dimension to our reconstruction of the life of people in displacement from their material remains. This differentiation makes it possible to identify art groups and the ways in which our urban discourses of aesthetics and market economy in society affects the arts. Today, the genre of Thangka is an art in exile and as such, it lives as a duality of meanings in refuge within towns and cities across the world.

Like society, the art of Tibet too shows resilience to a gradual withering and its practitioners continue to affirm to the prescribed form in art in the face of the shifting historical trajectory, in order to render a continuity to the social and the psychical search for the higher skies, beyond the limits of the material boundaries.

Endnotes

1. Vajrayāna Buddhism, or the Diamond vehicle, is the third vehicle of Buddhism; the first two being Hinayāna (the Individual vehicle), Mahāyāna (the Universal vehicle). The third phase in Buddhism developed largely through the esoteric teachings propagated in eastern India from 6th century CE onwards. It focusses

on a contemplative path to enlightenment which is accessed through various visualisation techniques to attain enlightenment in one's lifetime without the burden of *kārmic* efforts and re-birth. Mahāyāna includes much of what is taught in Hinayāna but it realizes the altruistic realization of the practitioner to attain complete enlightenment in order to save sentient beings from suffering. Vajrayāna, means 'continuum' or 'unbroken stream' from ignorance to enlightenment. It is a continuation of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and has been passed on through initiations from masters to disciples. In the Tibetan form of Vajrayāna Buddhism, all three vehicles merge and become a unified path.

2. Sama Haq. "The Religious and Social Significance of Chenrezig in Vajrayāna Buddhism", in *Art of the Orient, Vol. 5* Ed. by Dorota Kamińska-Jones and Agnieszki Staszczyk. (Poland: Polish Institute of World Art Studies, 2016), 148-149.

3. Pratapaditya Pal. *On the Path to Void – Buddhist Art of the Tibetan Realm* (Bombay: Marg Publication, 1996), 16.

4. G.Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Volume II* (Thailand: SDI Publication, 1999), 271.

5. Milton C. Albrecht, James H. Barnett and Masonn Griff. *The Sociology of Art and Literature*. Ed., 2nd Edition (London: Duckworth, 1982).

6. Ernst Cassirer. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, 3 Vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953, 1955, 1957).

7. Talcott Parsons. *The Social System*. Ed. by Bryan S. Turner (London: Routledge, 1991).

8. A. L. Kreober and Talcott Parsons. "The Concepts of Culture and of Social System", In *American Sociological Review, XXIV* (Washington D.C.: American Sociological Association, April 1959), 246-250.

9. Glen Wallis, *Mediating the Power of Buddhas: Rituals in Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

10. Bernstorff, Dagmar and Hubertus von Welck. Ed., "Vibrant Arts", *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2003), 306.

11. Wallis., 87-88.

12. Interview with Geshe Lakhdor, Director, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, India, in November 2012.

13. Pratapaditya Pal, Ed., *On the Path to Void – Buddhist Art of the Tibetan Realm*, 183.

14. Charlie Singer. *Reflections in a Mirror: The Nature of Appearance in Buddhist Philosophy*. (Bloomington: iUniverse, Inc., 2011), 25.

15. Wallis., 102.

16. The basic features mentioned here are inferred by the author, Sama Haq, during her interviews with the faculty/artist, Migmar Tsering, Institute of Tibetan Thangka Art, Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India in November 2012. For further study, see David Jackson and Janice Jackson. *Tibetan Thangka Painting: Methods and Materials*. (New York: Snow Lion Publication, 2006).

17. Tucci., 267-268.

18. Robert Breer, *The Handbook of Tibetan Symbols* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, Inc., 2003).

19. "Buddhism came to Tibet in 7th century CE through the great monarch, King Tsong-San-Gampo, of the Yarlung Dynasty. He consolidated the neighboring territories by marrying Buddhist Princesses from Nepal and China. King Trisong Detson, a devout Buddhist further strengthened Buddhism by re-establishing the ecclesiastical order in Tibet. King Tri Ralpachen, the last of the Dharma Kings, encouraged the translation of canonical texts, establishing strict monastic rules emphasising upon skilled craftsmanship for propagation of religious arts. Their consolidated period of kingship is also known as the golden period of Tibetan history"; see Sama Haq, "Historicizing Religion and Kingship through Tibetan Buddhist Thangkas", in *International Journal of Visual Arts and Communication*, Vol.19, (Silchar/Almora, 2016), 31.

20. J. L. Fischer. "Art Styles as Cultural Cognitive Maps", In *The American Anthropologist, Vol.63* (USA: American Anthropological Association, 1961), 79-93.

21. Herbert Barry. "Relationships Between Child Rearing and the Pictorial Arts", In the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *LIV* (1957), 380-383.

22. Pratapaditya Pal and Hugh Richardson. *Art of Tibet: A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 118.

23. Pratapaditya Pal. *Tibetan Paintings* (Switzerland: Bassilus Presse, 1984), 38.

24. Tucci., 277.

25. Tucci., 278.

26. Pratapaditya Pal. *Divine Images, Human Visions: The Max Tanenbaum Collection of South Asian and Himalayan Art in the National Gallery of Canada* (Canada: National Gallery of Canada, 1997), 112.; Lama Gega. *Principles of Tibetan Art* (Netherland: Karma Gardri and Freek F. Joustra, 1981), 59-60.

27.   <http://www.tibetanartschool.com/about-itta2.html> Accessed on 11/08/2017.

28. For a conceptual understanding of identities in the diaspora, see Stuart Hall. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", In *Identity and Difference*. Ed. Kathryn Woodworth. (London: Sage Publications,1997), 51-59.

29. Pierre Bourdieu. *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Translated by Nice Richard. Ed. by Meyer Fortes, Edmund Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

30. Lokesh Chandra. *Tibetan Art* (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2008).; Lokesh Chandra. *Transcendental Art of Tibet* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1993).

31. Yael Bentor. "Tibetan Tourist Thangkas in the Kathmandu Valley", In *Annals of Tourism Research, Vol.20* (U.S.A: Pergamon Press, 1993).

32.   Yael Bentor., 107-137.

An Analysis of Folk Puppetry Tradition (*Putli Tamasha*) in the Punjab as a Form of Storytelling in the Context of Urbanization

Mahrukh Bajwa

Introduction

Indigenous folk cultures have always been a necessary ingredient in a society's social recognition, thus making up for the society's ability to convey adequate outcome to its various members. Members of a society who happen to share common cultural operating systems and values, which have been organically formulated over time, are more prone to form a cohesive social structure comprising of trust and mutual understanding that work effectively towards mutual advantage. In this regard, folk cultures effortlessly seem to provide the essential raw material that aids in shaping a common identity and direction, which generates a sense of belongingness to a certain culture. One such form of persistence of these cultural norms is the tales and oral histories that have become a conduit for the transfer of cultural codes and morals. A story or a narrative told, therefore, becomes a representation of a certain community, thus projecting the image of it. Over the passage of time, the indigenous values and morals are carried from generation to generation via informal ways of sharing.

In the light of the aforementioned discussion; this study will examine the puppetry tradition in the Punjab that has been an authentic device interpreting these stories, over the passage of time, in a unique manner. Like other such performative practices, including music and dance, folk puppetry takes many forms but they all share the process of animating the inanimate to tell a story.

Methodology

For conducting this research on the folk tradition of puppetry (*putli tamasha*) as a form of storytelling in the context of urbanization, the researcher applied certain research methods and techniques in order to collect relevant data, thus fulfilling the requirement of a qualitative study. The methodology used for collecting data is described below.

Nature of Study

The research design that was followed for the study was a qualitative and descriptive study and the study primarily revolved around the puppeteers and traditional performers and the puppet show organizers. A puppet museum was also the part of the universe of the study. Open-ended and in-depth interviews of 2-3 performers in Lahore, who have been working as professional performers for the past 10 years and beyond were done. Other than interviews, general observations were carried out for data collection. Personal photographs, recordings and field surveys were also used for this purpose.

Data Analysis Techniques

Data was analyzed through decrypting and interpreting the interviews further to access valuable information in order to meet the objectives and to formulate the themes suitable to answer the questions raised in the study and since it was a qualitative study the findings are also described by analyzing the secondary data, as the sample was quite small and selective.

Puppetry in its Quintessence

The art of Puppetry[1] by defining credentials, involves handling and manipulation of puppets to carry out a theatre performance, usually on a miniscule stage. A puppet is an inanimate and artificial object, or in a certain sense may be seen as a craft that is manipulated with strings or rods and also with the hands. In its etymological outlook, the name 'puppet' originates from the Latin word "*Pupa*" or "*Poupee*" which means 'a doll'[2]. Although it accounts for the entire doll family according to Gross (2011), the Latin term is still used in entomology to describe the middle stage of an insect's metamorphosis. Furthermore, the word puppet had been used as an abusive remark for prostitutes in England during the renaissance era[3]. "There is sometimes an element in this word about something trivial or unserious, or that carries contempt—as in puppet government" (Gross, 2011). In order to examine puppetry as a phenomenon, it seemed important to take its renderings as a storytelling cum entertainment device.

My focus predominantly implies the traditional puppet that, in its essence, holds a significant position in the domain of storytelling; mainly through dramatic art. Stories that are etched in our memories or have been kept alive through this tradition reflect the fascination

of humans with the inanimate object that is animated in a dramatic manner.

Delimiting the Basic Idea of Puppetry as a Folkloric[4] Practice in Pakistan

While examining such a performative practice that has its core linkages with folklore, it becomes imperative to delineate folk tradition first, in its inherent sense. As Jan Brunvand (1978)[5], states folklore encompasses the traditions that remain unrecorded as they deal with the form of communication that occurs between individuals through verbal exchange. Furthermore he augments:

> "Folklore is the traditional, unofficial, non-institutional part of culture. It encompasses all knowledge, understandings, values, attitudes, assumptions, feelings, and beliefs transmitted in traditional forms by word of mouth or by customary examples." (Brunvand, 1978)

While examining the oral narratives and their relationship with the craft-oriented culture of communities that have developed in the rural suburbs, what strikes me out of curiosity is the art form of puppetry as an essentially rich model of storytelling and also quintessential to folk performative practices. This folk tradition is found in almost all human societies for entertainment in ceremonial rituals and celebrations such as carnivals, though in visually diverse forms that vary from culture to culture.

However, reflecting upon the culture of Pakistan if we trace the whereabouts of this art-form locally and specifically in Lahore and its peripheries, we happen to see that this tradition is now probably more familiar through television and films rather than through live performances. This argument holds significance since the puppeteers who also performed in films recently, claimed that the film industry has become a sound medium for gaining enough stipend for their skill. However, according to some of the puppeteers who have adopted an alternative approach while reconciling with the modern outlook, it still holds the same status that the traditional format held previously. Once folk puppeteers happened to roam in the streets of Lahore and also in their regional premises as they staged their shows that were sheer sights of street theatre.[6] These street puppeteers are now scarcely seen or rather are diminishing as I believe there has not been a sound documentation of this traditional art form over the years. Although it

is difficult to define the exact time frame when it became part of the urban cultural dynamics, it is vital to study the position of this age-old tradition in the process of urbanization.

The outdoor performances of puppet theatre being conducted at Alhamra (Pakistan Arts Council, Lahore) have managed to sustain something of the live performance aesthetic followed by the traditional puppeteers.

Traditional Puppetry as a Veritable Form of Expression

This exclusive and incomparable form of storytelling and entertainment has a deep-seated history in the sub-continent. In Rajasthan, Central/South Punjab and Gujrat many artisans used to earn their living through this art from. I would like to coin the term 'authentic tradition' for folk puppetry as it happened to remain intact over the years despite being subjected to multifarious cultural appropriations[7]. In the light of the data that was collected through in-depth interviews of the street performers/folk puppeteers who still live and perform on the outskirts of Lahore and Multan, genealogical references have been a core device in the survival and transfer of this heritage.

However, concerning the sustainability of the art form in the urban undercurrents, what I gathered during the course of study was challenging for me to register, as the traditionalists believe that the stories and characters they have carried throughout are the ones that may be labelled as genuine. On the other hand, there happen to be other modifications as well which have been due to the wide spread preferences of urban audiences, for example, the Rafi Peer theatre group and Uncle Sargam, introduced by Farooq Qaiser. Both of these examples have dealt with the idea of puppetry in a versatile manner. Yet, it becomes imperative to question whether it was necessary to bring about a change through revivalist dynamics of the age-old practice regarded as an anachronistic model of performance and storytelling in urban settings. To what degree has the essence of the traditional model been preserved in its actual form? Considering these dimensions what

seems to hold prime importance for us is to forge the rift between traditional and modern approaches, since these concerns were raised by the folk street performers while I conducted the interviews.

The Apparatus of Conviviality and its Arrangement

In this performing act it can be seen; it happens to involve the whole body of the performer including his voice along with other accessories, members of the same family took up the task of performing. The male member of the family operates or orchestrates the string puppets/ marionettes (Fig. 2) and lends his voice by blowing a whistle to produce sound effects that function in the background, whereas the female member or his wife presents the supporting narration by singing and playing the *Dholki* (form of drum). In some formats, according to Salwat Ali (2005), the children or other members of the family also took part in the handling of puppets and a senior member, usually the grandfather assisted as a secondary narrator.[8]

Figure 2

The male member manipulating the puppets. Source: Author, 2017

Figure 3

Folk puppets. Source: Author, 2017

These puppets are usually made of wood and they are then adorned with vivid attire that is changed once a year. According to the puppeteers, the *Putlis* (puppets) are usually handed down from generation to generation and are repaired periodically; new ones are rarely made. In the past, puppet shows were carried out in Festivals, *Melas* (Carnivals) celebration of the arrival of *Bahaar* (as it was the harvesting season) and at marriage ceremonies, as they were associated with conviviality. While talking about the puppet shows in the proximity of his village, one of the performers revealed that there was a time when he used to do a monthly *Putli Tamasha* in his village. Whenever he carried out the performances, people belonging to all age groups used to gather around and adored the show but during the last decade these shows have been diminishing. He further asserted that people have

lost interest in these performances with time. The presumable reason behind this shift might be the advent of technology and popular media in rural culture and they have lost that idea of simple living and the very indigenous flavor that is the crux of the rural suburbs. Along with technological advancement, the displacement of performers towards the urban centers in search of better financial prospects might also be a contributing factor in this regard.

Communicative Stories and Narratives in the Plays

The folk stories that are narrated through these plays are traditionally the same albeit with certain variations. The narration is the crux of the puppet plays but the characters may differ. These are mainly Akbar Badshah in his court, Dulla Bhatti, Patey Khan, Noor Jahan and Gauhar Jan, the famous dancer who used to perform in the court of Akbar. Certain other cultural narratives include folk stories comprising the characters of Heer-Ranjha, Laila-Majnoon and Sassi-Punnu.

According to the traditional puppeteers, the character of Akbar Badshah is the portrayal of the actual Mughal Emperor Akbar. The puppeteers used to perform in the court of the emperor which served as a grand assembly where other kings or state heads gathered. It is said that the Emperor wanted to view how his court looked and was being perceived, so in order to fulfill his desire the puppet play was organized which was somehow a parody of the actual court procession. Thus, this narrative remained the same as there happens to be a hazy demarcation between fact and fiction in the traditional folklore that is beyond the confines of time and space.

The play starts with Akbar Badshah acquiring center stage accompanied by his *Wazirs* (Courtiers) Salwat Khan and Birbul, where Patey Khan is the watchman who has been entrusted with the responsibility of looking out for any act of indecency. During the play, there happens to be a snake charmer as well who amuses the Emperor with his act. After that Gauhar Jan appears, who serves as the prima donna of the play. Her singing and dancing skills along with her guileful charms were meant to entice the audience and the puppeteers today try to enact the same. Last but not least is the act with Akbar Badshah's *dhobi* (washer man). The King who is not satisfied with his washing, asks him to do it better. In order to comply with the wishes of the Emperor, he goes

to wash at the bank of the river where in search of fresh water he gets caught by a crocodile and back at the court they presume that it might have been a curse laid upon him for not performing his task efficiently.

Most of these traditional plays do not require a well-appointed set as in a theatre performance. The shows happen to be performed at night and two *charpoys* are used flanked with sheets that serve as a backdrop, placed vertically on a wooden *takht*. The performer operates from the back of the curtain or the sheet which makes him invisible to the viewers. Ordinary light bulbs are used to illuminate the area or any street lamps in the premises may be sufficient as the main emphasis is on the story and the skill in handling of the puppets.

Present Condition

The folk puppeteers have peculiar codes and protocols that they adhere to in order to perform. Nowadays, they perform in small gatherings or when summoned by some influential figure for their family functions owing to the size of these puppets which is not suitable for large processions and festivities. The dialect in which the tales were narrated has also in certain instances changed as contemporary film songs and tunes have gained more popularity among the audiences.

The families of these puppeteers live on the outskirts of the urban communities yet they remain poverty-stricken and their sole bread-winner is the tradition that they have inherited from their elders and sworn to protect. They usually prefer temporary dwellings as it is not possible for them to build their own houses owing to their economic conditions and also belonging to a consumerist society where being propertyless makes them outcasts.

Figure 4

Muhammad Jamil with his puppet. Source: Author, 2017

A handful of these traditional performers are still performing and they operate in groups whose names are after the chief puppeteer of the clan such as Muhammad Jamil (Fig. 4) and his group, Bashir Dhamali, Khalid Hussain and Muhammad Siddique. A few of the members of these groups who used to perform, have died and some have stopped performing and have started looking to other professional endeavors in order to sustain a living. However, in the view of some puppeteers, the

narration and the old tales have been an important factor in keeping the tradition alive that most of the members have forgotten, which might possibly cause them to lose their grasp over this tradition.

These traditional puppeteers hold their traditions sacred and happen to defend these authentic narratives that have been transferred from generation to generation. The art of making wooden puppets has also been on the verge of fading out as one correspondent at the Puppet Museum asserted. Those artisans who know or possibly knew the craft, no longer exist and those alive refrain from practicing it, rather they rely on the previously available marionettes that they have inherited from their elders, as according to them, this is a laborious and time consuming craft that demands considerable effort.

Some recent developments that have been carried out in the name of reviving this traditional art form proved beneficial in some way or the other. Traditional puppetry was an integral part of the international puppet festivals held in 2006 and 2009 under the patronage of the Rafi Peer Theatre Workshop which happened to organize the festival every year till the security conditions of the country became susceptible, having a profound impact on the cultural activities in the country.

A Museum of Puppetry has been established by Faizaan Pirzaada near Qadaffi Stadium in order to protect this traditional art form by conducting puppet shows on a weekly basis. It has worked to bring forth this once popular art form to the recognition of younger generations who are not familiar with this tradition or only happen to see its appropriated version in the form of modern puppets, muppets, rod puppets or glove puppets.

However, in the view of the traditional performers, the most important factor that needs attention has been the authenticity concerns that enable the puppeteers to disregard all these efforts which certain organizations are putting up in order to revive this art from. They seem rather to disparage this craft and art form as it was not properly acknowledged and received by the mainstream organizations and they used their names for the intended commodification of the art form rather than the preservation of the cultural heritage that has remained intact over time. Yet, what concerns me as I quarried the essentials of this art form, is that the art for the masses has been reduced to being constricted to small circles only.

Conclusion

This study has covered some aspects of a folkloric tradition that has been regarded as a dying art form whenever we happen to engage in discussions regarding traditional puppetry and its place in urban dynamics. In my opinion, although not entirely non-existent, this art form persists in some distant and remote form as any tradition cannot become extinct while the traditional artists believe in transferring the knowledge to the younger generations, who in turn take a keen interest in learning and performing the succinct techniques required to keep the art alive. One might say that since they are not as readily approachable on account of multiple reasons quoted above and only a handful of them are practicing, they still exist, though struggling to gain acceptance in urban centers. However, certain economic support and permanent income sources could count for the benefit of the puppeteers who feel disappointed, holding on to their traditional values as they drain them financially. This art form is a prime form of storytelling and a tradition that has been preserved and transferred via the oral histories for centuries that still functions as the reflective image of the local taste and customs of rural communities.

Albeit financial support remains the primary focus, a constant interest of the concerned authorities is required in order to bring the desired results. Cultural programs and festivals may also be a catalyst in order to keep the spirit of these art forms alive specifically in the urban avenues the likes of which have been done in the food street near the Badshahi Mosque. I believe that this present art form holds more potential than what is visibly referred to as dying art.

Endnotes

1. According to the dictionary definition, puppetry is the art of making puppets or conducting shows   that involve puppets. Puppetry. Dictionary.com. *Dictionary. com Unabridged*. Random House, Inc. http://www.dictionary.com/browse/puppetry (accessed: June 10, 2017).

2. Archbold, Geoffrey. "Puppets through the Ages". *Design* 38, no. 1 (1936): 3-10.

3. Other than the etymological perspective, the word puppet holds a dual yet suggestive connotation as described above; being inanimate yet metaphorically referring to the state of manipulation of certain animate figures. Gross,

Kenneth. *Puppet: An Essay on Uncanny Life*. University of Chicago Press, 2011.

4. Folklore is the traditional art, literature, knowledge and practice that is disseminated largely through oral communication and behavioral example. Every group with a sense of its own identity shares, as a central part of that identity, folk traditions. www.afsnet.org, retrieved January 11,2017

5. Jan Brunvand. *The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction*, 2nd edition. New York: W.W. Norton, 1978.

6. Ali, Salwat. *Animating the Inanimate; Puppet Theatre in Pakistan*. Ferozsons (PVT) LTD, 2005

7. A process by which cultures are influenced by other customs and cultural codes and try to assimilate or absorb them for their own purposes. https://quizlet.com/ traditional indigenous folk cultures flashcards, retrieved January 11, 2017.

8.   Ibid

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Lahore and its People's Poems, Songs, *Bannian* and Dialects

Dr. Kanwal Khalid

The city is a living, breathing and thriving agency that grows or shrinks with time. Its people are its reason to live and their expressions, language, poems and slangs are its vital signs. Lahore is no exception in this regard. A good way to know a city is knowing how its people portray it, and the references associated to Lahore are innumerable. The portrayal of Lahore by its poets is markedly different from that of its historians and writers. Styles of street poems were developed by its citizens on their own and this has been in practice for centuries. They are a proof of the genius and vitality of Lahoris and their expressions provide us a wealth of knowledge and poetic aesthetics.

The current research is focused on some of these poems which were born out of this land and that have nothing to do with its kings and rulers.[1] This paper is quadrilingual[2] and I have tried to translate the languages, however, the original street expression is stronger than its translated counterpart.

Although ancient chronicles are quiet about the word 'Lahore' but they are all in praise for the region of Punjab. It is written in *Rig Veda*, "This place (*Sapta-Sindhvah*, later called Punjab) is happy with the treasures of sweet plants."[3]

In 1859, a famous poet Zeerak Kalanori writes,

"Punjab is a sword in the hands of a beautiful woman who has great charm and allurement."[4]

Unlike the *qaseedas* (laudatory poetry) of the royalty and aristocracy, nobody ordered the poets and writers to write about the city. Whatever literary material that we could find of Lahore and its poets, is the voice of its people.

Generally, Abulfarj Masood Runi and Saad Suleman have been declared the earliest known poets of Muslim Lahore but there was another poet, Abu Abdullah Rozbah Ibne Abdullah Alnakti Allahori, who belonged to the period of Sultan Masood I[5] of late 10th and early

11th centuries[6] (1010c). Abdullah was the rhymester of high merit and first recorded poet who used the metaphor of *Nargis* to compare the eyes of his beloved.[7]

به نرگس بنگری چوں جام زریں به زیر جام زریں چشمه چشمه
تو گوئی چشم معشوق سے منور زنار ع نیکوی گشته کرشمه

"When you look at the flower of Narcissus that resembles a golden goblet, it has the feel of a stream under the wineglass.

This is said that my beloved with intoxicated eyes, has a coquettish gait while showing charms of her magic."[8]

Abulfarj Masood Runi, another great poet of those comparatively lesser known times, was probably born in 1035c and due to the high quality of his Persian poetry, was mistaken as an Iranian poet. Later, it was proven that he was born in Runa, a small town in the vicinity of Ghaznavide Lahore but was desolated even before the Mughals, most probably because of the invasion of the Mongols.[9] According to historians, he was only twelve years older than Saad Suleman but died twenty or twenty five years before Saad.[10] His poetic abilities were legendary and he was deeply admired by later generations of the poets of the Subcontinent. In one of his poems, he is requesting the king to hire him as a court poet and this is how he describes the way his talent is being wasted.

بنده در گوشه است کز عطشت زوبه تف تشنه ماند آب زلال
سرد از بهت تو گز شب او روز گرد و به شعلے از اشغال

"O my beloved your lover, due to the desire of your being, is lying in a dark corner, sad that I am thirsty even so close to such huge wealth of water.

You (I) are being punished for spending the nights praying for you (king), instead of spending all hours of day and night serving you."[11]

Saad Suleman is a well-known poet of the Ghaznavide period. He served different kings and was imprisoned more than once. He is at his best in *Habsiyat*, verses that were composed in the prison[12]. At one time, he was sent to a prison far away from Lahore and this is how he lamented,

"O city of Lahore, how is thee without me?

How are thee lit without a bright sun like me?

I decorated thee with my poetry

How are thee surviving without *Lala* (tulip), *Banafsha* (violet) and *Susan* (gladioli), that's me

Suddenly thee lost a worthy son

How are thee wailing with the pain of such big loss?"[13]

Even Milton (1608-1674) could not escape the charms of Lahore and mentions it along with the finest cities of the world in *Paradise Lost* and writes in book 10:

"His eyes might there command whatever stood

City of old or modern fame, the seat

Of mightiest empire, from the destined walls

Of Cambalu, seat of Cathian Can,

And Samarcand by Oxus, Temir's throne,

To Paquin of Sinaen Kings, and thence

To Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul..."[14]

The great Mughals were mesmerized by the magic of the city and the poets were awed. Sometimes it was the kings and queens, ready to sell their lives in exchange for the beauty of Lahore.

لاہور را بہ جان برابر خریدہ ایم
جان دادہ ایم و جنت دیگر خریدہ ایم

"We have bought Lahore at the expense of our lives. We sacrificed our lives and in return we bought a new heaven."[15]

In 1741 Shah Faqeer ullah Aafreen Lahori writes:

در آن ملک لاہور عین السرور بہشتی از لبریز حور و قصور
چہ لاہور نزہتگہ روم و چین چوں بینی بود زیب روئی

"In this country, there is a delightful city of Lahore, which is full of beautiful women and human errors. What is Lahore? A city that

refreshes you like Rome and China and beautifies the earth the way nose beautifies the face."[16]

Baba Bulleh Shah compares the eye brows of Heer with the bows of Lahore because they were famous for their five curved shape and accuracy.

بھنواں ایہو ہیر دیاں
جیویں کماداں شہر لاہور دیاں

Bhanvan aho Heer dian

Jeevain kamanan Shehar Lahore dian

"The eye brows of Heer are as pretty as the bows of Lahore"

Apart from these formal writings, the best expressions came from its street people. _Tappey_, _Mahie_, _Dhola_, _Bannian_, _Lori_, and slangs are born in the hearts of people. They need no support and no medium to pass on from one generation to another. Nobody recommends them and no government forces had them memorized. It is our children who chant, our women who sing on the weddings, our men recite them in the fields and streets. They have humor, satire, irony and sometimes the tragedies of that particular era and society.

One beautiful _Bani_ recited by the youth of the city, during a game named 'Ghori', says;

Eechna pacheehna Mahmud ka ladu kia yaro

Teen ka laga teekna parai ghori dhen maro[17]

Basically this two-liner narrates the invasion of Mahmud Ghaznavi and how his blessings are rejected with the notion that one day his rule will be overthrown. When explained, this two-liner summarizes the emotions that the people of Punjab had towards the invaders of their land.

Then the people's pride in the beauty of the city is expressed beautifully with these questions and answers:

Mainu das han Shahar Lahore andar

Kinee bohe te kinnian barian nain?

Tenu dasan main shahar Lahore andar

Lakhan bohe te lakhan barian nain

Mainu das han athe dian khuian

Kinian meethian te kinian kharian nai?

Jinhan khuian ton mashuq bharan pani

Oho mithian te baqi kharian nain

Mainu das han athe dian thanwan

Kinian holian te kinian bharian ne?

Jinhan thanwan te ishq dhamal pai

Oho holian te baqi bharian nain

مینوں دس ایکھاں لاہور اندر

کنے بوہے تے کنیاں باریاں نین

مینوں دساں میں شہر لاہور اندر

لکھاں بوہے تے لکھاں باریاں نین

مینوں دس ایکھاں ایتھے دیاں کھوئیاں

کنیاں مٹھیاں تے کنیاں کھاریاں نین

جنہاں کھوئیاں توں بہرن معشوق پانی

اوبو مٹھیاں تے باقی کھاریاں نین

مینوں دس ایکھاں ایتھے دیاں تھانواں

کنیاں ہولیاں تے کنیاں بھاریاں نین

جنہاں تھانواں تے عشق دھمال پائے

اوبو ہولیاں تے باقی بھاریاں نین

The grandeur was enjoyed even by the ordinary man and then the streets echoed with a poem;

Uche burj Lahore de

Tay heth wagay darya

Athe Ranian behn barian

Rangle pehan qaba

Athe katak faseelay foj de

Utre lakh sawa

Hathi barchian phar kay

Pahre den sada

Durun khalqat vekhdi

Nehre vee na ja

Shahi muhalla vekh kay

Saray akhan wah bhai wah

Uche burj Lahore de

Tay heth wagay darya[18]

اجے برج لاہور دے

تے بیٹھ وگے دریا

ایتھے راڑیاں بیٹھن باریاں

رنگلے پہن قبا

ایتھے کٹک فصیلے فوج دے

اترے لکھ سوا

بتھی برچھیاں پھڑ کے

پہرے دین سدا

دوروں خلقت ویکھدی

نیڑے وی نہ جا

شاہی محلہ ویکھ کے

سارے آکھن واہ بھئی واہ

اجے برج لاہور دے

تے بیٹھ وگے دریا

This poem is almost 400 years old and portrays the grandeur of the city under the great Mughals. The houses were high roofed and the women sitting in the windows were dressed beautifully. The guards protected the city while standing on the wall and the entrances, holding Lahori spears that used to be of 10 to 12 kilograms of weight.

Another important point to note here is that now, the Shahi Muhallah, has been anonymous with Red Light area, which is the hub of crime and prostitution but this was not the case in the past. It was only during the British Raj that the location was used to facilitate the *Farangi Sepoy* (British soldiers) for their sexual exploits. Before that it was the richest and one of the most beautiful *muhallah* (neighborhood) of Lahore.

Additions to the poem were made by the creative citizens of Lahore;

Peeng chute de do jhere oye

Ashiq te mashuq we mahia

Peeng chute de dhay gaye oye

Ho gaye chakna chur way mahia

Uche burj Lahore de

Heth wagay darya vay mahia

There are many poets associated with Punjabi and Qadir Yar is one of them. Born in 1803, he died in1892.[19] Although he wrote a lot to praise the Sikh regime but much of his poetry was meant for ordinary people. *Qissa Sohni Mahinwal, Puran Bhagat* and *Raja Rasalu* were sung by popular minstrels (*Dhadis*).[20]

He also expressed in the poetic genre of *Seh Harfi* by using Arabic alphabets as the first letter of the first word.[21] He was a symbol of Punjabi resistance and associated himself with Sikh ruling class against the Afghan invaders.

Dialects

Apart from these poems and songs, different dialects and slangs are also a specialization of Lahoris who are famous for perfect employment of words to describe any situation, event, emotions and such in a sarcastic or hilarious manner. During my research I came across many but here I will describe only a few.

Pakh Lagana

This is a favorite of Lahoris and is used to describe someone and something, which is both irritating and annoying. In reality, the word

Pakh is associated with laborers who use donkeys to carry the debris and other loads. As a motivational tactic, to move a donkey swiftly, they would harness it together with a very weak donkey. The healthy one will look at its partner and feel furious and threatened. As a result, it will try to run faster. That weaker donkey, to prompt the strong one, is called *Pakh* and the whole process is called *Pakh Lagana*.

Basheer Karana

It is used to get rid of someone by lying or cheating. Years ago Basheer was a character in the walled city who was famous for his lies and treachery so his name became synonymous with duplicity.

Sheesha Belgium Vekhana

There was a time when looking mirrors from Belgium were greatly appreciated by the people of Lahore because of their very fine and clear reflection. Soon the term Sheesha Belgium was used to describe someone who would refuse any cooperation in any situation very blankly so the people would say that I went for help but "*Oney te mainu sheesha Belgium vakha deta*".

Latest terms and technological elements are also added in the daily language such as,

Rental Power lay Kar Aana

This is used to describe a situation where a person is bullied with the help of professional hooligans: "*O mainu dehmki den aaaya te ohde nal rental power vee see*."

Sara Kam e Titanic ho Gia

This is used in a situation when all is lost so instead of saying *Barra Gharaq ho gia*, now it is, "*Sara Kam e Titanic ho Gia*".

An interesting aspect of these slangs is that most of them are the result of the creative minds of the women of Lahore who are famous for their bold attitudes and fearless behaviors.[22]

These enchanting poems and lovely stories are evidence to the fact that the city was never a dead entity but the aesthetics and great sense of humor flows through its veins like blood. The way fresh blood adds to the vitality of a body, in the same manner that flow of poetry and slangs has been added to the city for many years and the process is going on.

Endnotes

1. I am grateful to Faqir Saif ul Din, Curator Director Faqir Khana Museum Lahore, for his time and sharing of knowledge and information used in this paper. Much of the research is based on interviews and input by my students at Naqsh School of Art Bazar e Hakeeman, Bhati Gate Lahore.

2. Part of the paper is in Urdu and Punjabi to understand the essence of the expressions used mostly by the population living inside Walled City of Lahore.

3. Rehmani, *Punjab Tamaduni or Moasharati Jaiza* (Lahore: Alfaisal Publishers 1998), 21.

4. Zeerak Kalanori, *Masnavi Aryang* (Delhi: 1933), p. 127

5. *Maasar Lahore*, p. 229

6. Bemhard Dom, *History of the Afghans: Translated from the Persian of Naemet Ullah.* London: Printed for the Oriental Translation Committee, 1829, p.79.

7. *Maasar Lahore*, p. 230

8. I am grateful to Dr. Faleeha Kazmi, Head of Persian Department, Lahore College for Women University for her never ending support to translate the Persian scripts.

9. *Maasar Lahore*, p. 230-231

10. Ibid, 231

11. Translation by Dr. Faleeha Kazmi, Head of Persian Department, Lahore College for Women University

12. Muzaffar Alam, "The Culture and Politics of Persian in Precolonial Hindustan". In *Cultures in History, Reconstruction from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock, University of California Press, 2003, p. 137

13. I am grateful to Dr. Moeen Nizami, Professor Persian, Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) for translations.

14. "Lahore – Paris of East". *Logic is Variable*. Available at <http://logicisvariable. blogspot.com/2010/07/lahore-paris-of-east_14.html>

15. Muhammad Aleem ul Din Salak, "Ulma i Ikram, Deeni Madrasay", *Naqoosh, Lahore Nama* (Lahore: Idara-i-Farogh-i-Urdu 1962), 479

16. Muhammad Akram Ghaneemat Knjahi, *Masnavi Ghaneemat* (Kanpur: 1897), 158, 159

17. Interview Faqir Saif ul Din, Curator Director Faqir Khana Museum Lahore

18.   Interview Faqir Saif ul Din, Curator Director Faqir Khana Museum Lahore

19. "Qadir Yaar". *Punjabi Kavita*. Available at <https://www.punjabi-kavita.com/Qadiryaar.php>

20.   J. S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab (The New Cambridge History of India)*, Revised Edition, Cambridge University Press United Kingdom 1998, p112

21.   My deepest gratitude to Mushtaq Soofi, Professor, Institute for Art and Culture, for making me understand the significance of the poetry of Qadir Yar.

22.   Interview Faqir Saif ul Din, Curator Director Faqir Khana Museum Lahore

Artists Respond: Class and Imagined Worlds in the Urban City

Zohreen Murtaza

Introduction

A new middle class is emerging in our cities. It is seen as trying to negotiate between a distinct brand of imported piety and a desire for upward mobility which is encapsulated in material possessions. This religious piety is inspired by an imagined glorious Islamic past that was reinforced by Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization process - ideas that first gained currency when Pakistanis travelled for overseas employment to the Middle East (Hafeez 1991). Their desire to consume and own, mimics the lifestyle of developed societies. Many components of the imagined future of this class are therefore, built upon a construct of imported ideas. Nevertheless, this middle class has begun asserting its vision of modernity and is contesting the dominance of the old middle class through a distinct set of aesthetics and material culture. Not only have they unsettled the balance but their transnational approach towards aesthetics has created a new hybrid style.

In this paper, I will explore the visibility and aesthetics of this new brand of material culture in our urban cities through the works of two artists, Saba Khan and Risham Syed. Both artists comment upon how architecture and development in the urban city is reflecting these changes.

Background

Saba Khan is a graduate of the National College of Arts (NCA); a Fulbright Scholar who has exhibited both nationally and internationally. Her mediums mostly include oil, mixed media and collage. Khan's observations about the new middle class reveal that it is steeped in consumerism with a desire to acquire instant social status; it seeks education for status and not knowledge (Hafeez 1991) and this, coupled with unfulfilled desires of acquiring the same status and validation as "the mimic men" created by the British (Bhabha 1984, 128), has fueled the creation of a hybrid of aesthetics and ideologies.

Khan's work also explores how the aesthetics that are emerging from this post-colonial dilemma are now visible in our cities; she studies the nature of certain contradictions that are now visible as a result of this merger between commodification and piety. These observations contest the idea of a singular cultural narrative whilst also signaling the corrosive influence of religious fundamentalism.

Risham Syed graduated from NCA in 1993 and completed her Masters from The Royal College of Art. A product of missionary school education at Sacred Heart, Lahore (Naseer 2012) and hailing from a liberal family where her mother was a singer and her father a poet/government servant (Naseer 2012), Syed's work is tied into a preoccupation with a collective loss that the old middle class to which she belongs has experienced and I shall demonstrate how that manifests itself in her images through memory and nostalgia relating to her city. The characteristics of this class have been aptly summed up in the following words in the article, "Meet Pakistan's Middle Class" and her work is colored by her upbringing.

> "In Lahore, Pakistan's second-largest city, old middle-class families distance themselves from the upwardly mobile through their genealogical ties to prestigious families, local notables and their display of affinity for the "lost" culture of the 1950s and 1960s… The old middle class sees Pakistan as being on the path toward modernity before the Islamization agenda of General Zia-ul-Haq (1978-88) brought upheaval. Their nostalgia influences foreign commentators, who tend to showcase events, such as literary festivals, that glorify the earlier progressive history of the country." (Maqsood 2017)

Based on the characteristics of the old middle class mentioned in the quote above, one may say that this view of modernity is in direct opposition to what Khan is exploring in her work. Syed's oeuvre is vast and diverse; therefore, I have selected specific images for this paper that demonstrate these ideas. These images are steeped in the ethos of a class wallowing in collective loss as she examines the legacy of a colonial aesthetic and its effect on class and taste. Her solicitous tone albeit mingled with wry humor, is echoed by architect and writer Gautam Bhatia when he bemoans the onslaught of unplanned growth and the shift of population from the rural to the urban areas. Bhatia's lamentation is critical of the new culture and values that have accompanied such a rapid drive towards modernity. He expresses this in the following words, "There is a feeling of historic loss; there is a loss of culture, a degradation of personal

identity…" (Bhatia 1994, 17). This genteel horror is also that of the older educated middle class whose cultural values are now being encroached upon by an emerging new middle class with its own divergent views about modernity and progressive thinking. Ayub Khan failed to deliver on his "modernist promises" (Maqsood 2017) but remnants of that vision have translated into a certain sensibility and "a moral claim" as Maqsood puts it in her book, The New Pakistani Middle Class, when she says,

> "Nostalgia for this past laments not only the end of that era but, more importantly, its imagined future of a "modern" Pakistan. It transforms into a moral claim, one that is directed at newer groups in the city for not sharing the "modern" sensibilities of the past. This nostalgia in local class politics dovetails with, and draws strength from, the larger national narrative through which Pakistan is often explained to the outside world - a country that was on its way to progress before being destroyed by the religious extremism that now grips the country." (Maqsood 2017, 6)

Although this "moral claim" in particular does not form the basis for all her work that I have discussed in this paper in that the tone is not patronizing and derogatory, it is still obliquely referred to in "Vaila K'vaila" and "Kaal Pakhan" discussed later in the paper. Bhatia's sentiment though which refers to "a loss of personal identity" is certainly echoed in the works by Risham Syed that I have discussed.

Risham Syed: Colonial Nostalgia and the Old Middle Class

To imagine oneself "elsewhere" both literally and metaphorically is a notion that has influenced many artists. Pop artist Peter Blake speaks of "a damaged nostalgia" (Sooke 2015) that influenced his work.

> "Time spent with his paternal grandmother steeped in Victorian bric a brac and norms was also an assault on his senses and helped him conceive a vocabulary for his work that talked about the past in the present." (Sooke 2015, 37-41)

Syed too grew up in a house that was over a hundred years old (Naseer 2012); her parents played an important role in shaping her consciousness (Naseer 2012) and her father too, as Maqsood defines the old middle class by their professions in "Meet Pakistan's New Middle Class", was a government servant (Naseer 2012). The works by Risham Syed that I

am discussing are steeped in an old world sensibility and nostalgia for colonnades, porticos and bungalows that made up much of the suburbs of the Lahore that she knew. The colonial sensibility that she observed in the familiar facades of her city fire Syed's imagination and color her world view.

That then becomes the lens through which we view her work. However like Blake, it is also nostalgia rooted in a concern for her present when we look at one of the works in her "Modern Art by Punjabis" series (Fig.1). Syed's description of the work reflects upon a simulated and constructed world informed by colonial norms and aesthetics. This is how she describes this particular art work.

> "The disparate images akin to an abstract collage by the French painter Georges Braque talk about a Punjabi sensibility that has nothing to do with the folksy image of rural Punjab; instead they reconstruct a cheap kitschy mockery of a suburban world steeped in fragmentary memories where space, time and location are immaterial. Victorian embroidery patterns, fragments of an old envelope, a little girl in a birthday outfit (a mockery of the British monarchy perhaps?), Baroque armchairs culled from cheap magazines, a photograph and sepia tinted painted sketch of the Quaid-e-Azam Library perhaps (or is it a façade in London) all unsettle and serve to question the source of our aesthetics. '…Lahore being an extension of London, this whole colonial history and its references…'" (Naseer 2012, 137)

Dreamlike and fragmentary we may infer from this description that these could be assorted remnants or personal memories, therefore, Syed presents to us, a nostalgic vision of her past. The deception and loss of "aura" (Benjamin), which is a byproduct of mass production, is obliquely referred to as Syed questions whether the building is the Quaid-e-Azam Library or just a façade in London. Therefore, it becomes atemporal and temporal at the same time for we can identify the styles as Neoclassical, Victorian and others. That contradiction defines the nature of the disorientation.

There is a comparison between the photograph and sketch which is like a translucent ghostly remnant - have the British really left this land? How "authentic" is our culture really and does our colonial legacy inform our aesthetics when we link it to our idea of modernity: are our "modern" aesthetics referencing the intent to aspire towards a Euro-centric sensibility and superior status that we yearned for as a colonized nation? The fragments in the collage hint at the daily life of a Punjabi upper middle class suburban home except that home could be in London or in just about any other colony of the British.

These colonial edifices may also be interpreted as her personal lifeline to lost mores. They become a metaphor that represent a way of life and values her class was accustomed to and which have been obliterated in the name of unplanned urban sprawl and the insidious crawl up the social ladder of a new class that aspires for quick gains and flashy accommodation, yet the same respectability, a theme explored by Saba Khan in her work.

In "Vaila K 'vaila" (Fig. 2) a narrative of sorts consisting of a shirt (found object), painting and a quilt accompanied by a black and white documentary with a woman describing the demolition (Khan 2016) embody this loss in the form of the demolition of Syed's grandfather's home. Her grandmother's actual wedding dress contrasted by the ghostly presence of her mother in the solitary ruins of her home hint at the erasure not just of an individual or a generation in the form of physical entities but a value system, for her mother had been an influence in her life and the way it helped her translate her work. This is validated by the following quote where she mentions how her mother's pervasive influence helped shape her ideas.

Figure 2

Syed's narrative mourns the loss of old values and the changing landscape of the city. Source: Vaila K'vaila, 2016. Retrieved from https://images.dawn.com/news/1175377

"And embroidery and my childhood, my upbringing, my environment, my mother, my experience of my mother and her education, how she saw me and how she saw my upbringing, all of these things." (Naseer 137)

In its place, we see a quilt onto which the pell-mell of contemporary life today has been stitched so that they have melded into one entity. The repetitive diamond shaped pattern of the stitching covering the quilt also forms a sort of netted fence and so we become silent witnesses to unplanned urban sprawl. New urban narratives trace a path on personal territory. Apartments vie with piles of belongings in a compact space devoid of colonial architecture. It is actually hard to decipher or make sense of the urban environment and its values today. This visual vocabulary is repeated in other works as well. The use of old photographs and the repeated use of the quilt as a motif also refers to her interest in embroidery and stitching indoctrinated in her by her missionary school as part of her Victorian upbringing (Whiles 2012).

In figure 3 we see Syed being critical of the dominance of Wahabism and its threat to the existing social and cultural fabric of the city. This critical attitude fits in with the characteristics of the old middle class that Maqsood refers to in listing the characteristics of the old middle class in her article "Meet Pakistan's New Middle Class" (Maqsood 2017).The colonial landscape of the city, a vast white vertical expanse of a stitched quilt actually seems beleaguered by the flashy presence of the large Saudi motif placed vertically on top of one of the works in Syed's "Kaal Pakhan" series when a garden of marigolds - a common sight in the two main parks that date back to the colonial times of Lahore, namely Lawrence Gardens (Bagh-e-Jinnah) and Race Course Park (Jilani Park), with a sign saying "Do Not Pick Flowers" is visible as a small entity in the corner of her quilt. In the upper portion, a tiny photograph of what could either be the Quaid-e-Azam Library or a colonial style building in Europe is visible with a portrait of an English gentleman placed next to the quilt. Kaal Pakhan (Blackbirding) refers

Figure 3

Syed questions whether the colonial legacy will be replaced by the looming influence of Saudi Arabia. Source: Kaal Pakhan, 2016. Retrieved from http://www.artnowpakistan.com/risham-syed-blackbirding/

to the schemes in which people, in particular people of color, were tricked, captured and shipped off to work as slaves in inhumane conditions (Rustomji 2016).

Based on this definition, one may assume that perhaps the sign is a warning to the ambiguous presence of the black crow against the picking of colonial slaves but Syed's work could also be grappling with issues of identity where the city is on the cusp of a new influence - an ominous warning of what is to come in the form of the creeping influence of Saudi Arabia attempting to map its presence on the cities' inhabitants by luring them away with their siren song of greener pastures in the Middle East and ushering in an influx of new ideas relating to the notion of "home".

The white of the quilt lies empty and expectant, its topography waiting to be re-mapped by this new influence. This flamboyant new influence that Syed is critical of becomes more visible in Saba Khan's work which we will examine in the next section.

Saba Khan: Imagined Worlds and Depthless Facades

Envisioning an "imagined world" as an equivalent to one's home is an idea that is intrinsic to Saba Khan's "Rosy Dreams with High Walls" series. Gautam Bhatia has summed up this psyche very aptly with respect to architecture and the ideal home of an Indian. This idea applies to the artificial middle class of Pakistan as well for he says,

> "The well-to-do Indian after all, is coated in dream and memory; he thinks of places where he has lived, places that have nurtured his hopes and dreams, places like Hoshiarpur and Bhatinda, and he thinks of places far away where he wants to live, places that require green cards, places like Birmingham and Vancouver and deep from within his psyche, from the darkness of his architectural recesses, he withdraws the images of a verandah, a colonial portico and an American log cabin. For they are features that will ultimately help him make a home." (Bhatia 1994, 32)

The idea of imagining oneself elsewhere is also elaborated upon when Bhatia narrates his experience of designing a "Bhatia Villa" for a family of garment exporting brothers where one of them was prone to pulling out a copy of a "Historic American Homes" magazine and insisting

that it mimic Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's house in Virginia which he had personally visited (Bhatia 1994, 134-137).

These quotes demonstrate that the appropriation of other cultures is a common characteristic of this class and this is a theme that Khan, as she adopts a sociological lens in her examination of norms and values, analyzes and critiques. This is also a class that seeks wealth first and then considers education as a secondary requirement (Hafeez 1991). The dilemma is embodied in a conversation Bhatia has with a client who insists upon a Roman façade for his home that is a replica of Thomas Jefferson's house at Monticello, Virginia. Harminder is one of three brothers who run an import/export garment business. Bhatia tries to dissuade him by providing alternatives that are rooted in his own country's history. Harminder expresses complete ignorance of this history.

-"No but there are two thousand years of recorded history from which you can choose something for your house."

-" I don't want a Mughal tomb."

-" Why don't you look at Fatehpur Sikri."

- "What is that…?"

(Bhatia 1994, 143)

Such lack of historic consciousness and awareness is just one of the elements that Khan also examines as she paints the kitsch laden world of the status-obsessed middle class Lahori whose aesthetic absurdities and incongruities are the result of excess and longing for privilege. She focuses specifically on Lahore stating that "I want to know what Lahoris think, eat, how they live, what they wear." (Khan 2017, Personal Communication)

What her work really brings out is the sensibility of the Punjabi who has just migrated from the village to the city or families who have lived elsewhere such as in the Middle East or even "Birmingham and Vancouver" (Bhatia 1994, 32) and are looking to put down roots of the family name and its prosperity in the city. Her inspiration for recreating similar homes with the ideals espoused by Bhatia come from Lahore where, "mushrooming housing schemes, and gated communities, these buildings use aesthetics of haphazard assembly and cheaply available industrial material" (Leghari 2015).

Khan's equivalent of "cheaply available industrial material" (Leghari 2015) as her reconstructions mimic the aesthetic of ideal homes on paper and canvas, come from the wholesale Shah Alami Market where the masses shop. She uses glitter, acrylic and other mixed media but mostly a plethora of cheap crystals, sequins, beads and other ornamentation that are normally used for clothing and fabric. The influx of Chinese goods and the pervasive influence of Bollywood and its flamboyant bling aesthetic prompted Khan to use it in order to make a statement about their role in daily suburban life. She also questions the complexity of authenticity and the loss of what Walter Benjamin calls "aura" (Arendt 1969, 4) as a result of modernity and industrialization, for these homes are not exact replicas; we cease to think of stately White houses and Palladian mansions as soon as we look at the excessive adornments on the facades and use of cheap construction material.

Figure 4

Khan is inspired by estate ad posters and looks at the loud synthetic pastiche that is the idea of an ideal home of the artificial middle class. Source: House and Garden, 2015. Retrieved from http://sabakhan.com/ artwork/3879279-House-Garden.html

Figure 5

Khan photographs buildings for her paintings that stand out for their "indigenized" neoclassical aesthetic. Source: Urban residential area in Lahore (Khan 2015)

In addition, Syed also draws inspiration from and collects real estate ads paying particular attention to the odd assortment of gaudy graphics and text whilst borrowing heavily from their color palette (Khan 2017, Personal Communication). Therefore, much like the residents of these homes, she too appropriates to make her point. In "House and Garden" (Fig. 4.), the proportions and color palette of the image mimic the proportions of a real estate poster. Khan has drawn inspiration from facades in homes such as the one provided in the photograph (Fig. 5) and employed the trope of kitsch to deceive and lull one into the promise of a simulated world devoid of meaning. The color palette of the outer frame is drenched in thick impasto where saccharine hues of pink and blue saturate our senses and define the sensibility. It is as if the construction is akin to a tactile mirage rising literally from the darkness represented by the band of black paint in the lower half (or the darkness of the well-to-do client's architectural recesses according to Bhatia), radiating gloss and shimmer and reinforcing the element of "dream and memory" (Bhatia 1994, 32).

The house itself is a pastiche of mismatched aesthetics all struggling to simultaneously gel (Bhatia 1994) where we see a variant of a Greco-Roman façade, Corinthian style columns of a colonnaded building that have been "decorated" in pink and blue Chinese manufactured shimmery beading. The graphic and heavily outlined image recreates an absurd urban mirage - a paradise where an assortment of kitschy lawn ornaments adorn the upper half of the image while the outer frame is topped by a baroque style sofa and the painting as a whole is framed to mimic an ornate and expensive work of art. The nature of materiality in Khan's work is employed as a celebration of this aesthetic. Unlike Syed's fragmentary reminiscing, to view Khan's work is to view an event or Show.

As opposed to Syed's sedate and quiet pathos about our changing urban landscape, Khan's work offers the following conclusions about the desires of the new middle class and the city that,

a) They have succumbed to consumerism and commodification. Taste is immaterial; like a heavily decorated cake their ostentatious display of wealth is a spectacle that must reaffirm their affluence.

b) Baudrillard talks about hyper reality and Disneyland (Poster 1998) as being a world that is neither true nor false. This new middle class also wants to wallow in this deliberate display to build links with a colonial/aristocratic legacy - in other words a simulated reality, for the idea is to be transported elsewhere yet remain here. Moreover, capitalism and consumerism in the form of real estate ads have helped peddle such vapid simulated urban fantasies.

c) The flat graphic style of the architecture is devoid of presence or human imperfections. Its truth lies in its deception. Depth is replaced by surface, therefore the "depthlessness" of society is visible both literally and metaphorically (Jameson 2003, 13-14) and meaning is lost in this capitalist fantasy.

d) If we observe Khan's working reference (Fig. 5) for "House and Garden" we can see that it completely disregards its surroundings. If this is modernity then it is the antithesis of Louis Sullivan's "Form follows function" mantra for "House and Garden". It is a negation of these values. It is unclear as to whether it can function as a family space or a private institution.

In (Fig. 5) the signage tells us that it is "The Murree Continental Hotel" so this double appropriation becomes a visual pun in Khan's work and is echoed in Bhatia's acidic assessment of a client's taste in the following words.

> "For me, it was difficult to tell if the buildings were being created for family comfort or as a visually commanding private institution or as an open ended chamber of familial pleasures; but nonetheless it was a place which imparted a strangely archaic sense of appropriated aristocracy." (Bhatia 1994, 99)

In that respect, "Dream and Home", represents the ultimate urban utopia but one that shows no regard for environment or function. In figure 6, Khan uses humor and wit to draw attention to the problem of housing and the rise of unplanned housing societies where homes are reduced to pristine white miniature boxes when in fact they are situated near the infamous landmark of Lahore, a sewage line known as the *Gunda Nala* (dirty sewage line). This paradox of the implicit threat of filth vis a vis the promise of dirt-free, shiny "white" houses is not lost on anyone who has been living in Lahore.

Baudrillard argues that rather than an affluent society, we are living in a society that is its opposite which is a "growth society". Growth produces both wealth and poverty with poverty being a natural consequence of growth and where needs will always outstrip production of goods (Ritzer 1991). Khan gives us two views; we peep into the rosy promise of a suburbia as a voyeur and are taken in by the leafy paradise protected by bars as well as the promise of "Nice Homes" shimmering like creamy pastries waiting to be consumed. Wealth and prosperity beckon. Yet, it is built on the filth of poverty and we are forbidden from viewing it. As we see Baudrillard's emerging contrasts in our cities, the question to ask is: do we care? Would the smell assault our senses as we sat in or Palladian doll's house paradise? Galbraith criticized the values of just such an affluent class stating that they prize private wealth over public wealth or the public good (Woodward 2007, 49). Baudrillard calls this phenomenon that teeters between indifference and ignorance "misrecognition" (Ritzer 1991). We are offered signs that allude to the promise of the real. We exhibit curiosity and then we move on. This desensitization or "misrecognition" is part of the utopia the artificial middle class wants to willingly indulge in.

Khan exposes this simulacrum of advertising through the use of kitsch in her choice of material: the promise of urban utopias mask and inoculate against economic disparity and the deficits that exist in our cities in terms of the provision and distribution of basic infrastructure. Even the mishmash hybrid of English and Urdu text in the scrolls harkens back to a postcolonial construct - shaky and prone to falling down like a house of cards because it lacks meaning and coherence. Other works in her series use words and even hashtags such as "#Stay Blessed", "#Happy" and "#Double Security" allude to the transient nature of these empty promises. These are not urban spaces rooted in any reality or a historical consciousness.

Figure 6

Khan uses the site of the *Gunda Nala* (dirty sewage line) of Lahore to talk about class disparity and the mushrooming of housing schemes. Source: Nice Homes Near the Sewage Line, 2015. Retrieved from http://sabakhan.com/artwork/3879276-Nice-Homes-Near-the-Sewage-line.html

Encroachments: Sites of Conflict and Contested Identity

Khan narrates the story of how her ancestral home in Chauburji is now the site of Jamat-ud-Dawa's headquarters. It was initially sold off to Sipah-e-Sihaba Pakistan which was declared a terrorist organization and as a result changed hands where to this day it remains the property of Jamat-ud-Dawa (Khan 2017, Personal Communication).

This tale of exchange and ownership inspired Khan to research numerous sites in the city that have fallen prey to such a fate. She visited sites that were temples, churches and graveyards - sites where ownership, religious identity and even violence has left markers of occupation and encroachment: erasure, demolition and alteration. The Jamat-ud-Dawa building, Sukhaah Taalab, Waris Road, Bhansidar Temple Anarkali, Dawat-e-Islam Mosque, Gosha-i-Aman (Place of Peace) Church, Garhi Shahu, British Army Barracks that share a wall with a makeshift mosque, Raj Pal's house where Ghazi Ilm Din assassinated him were all photographed.

Yet many of the photographs (Fig. 7) and (Fig. 8) reveal the presence of an uncanny and unsettling sight - that of a bejeweled structure akin to a jumping castle but topped with mosque-like minarets standing out in each frame. This kitschy construct is decorated with a pattern and inspired by the black color and glittering diamontees of a *burqa* (a garment that acts as an outer covering or veil that covers the body and sometimes face); it carries the same sensibility as her sparkling paintings. By transmuting a personal garment associated with religion into a mass produced object of Chinese origin selling on the road, Khan

bravely questions the nexus between commerce, historical consciousness, religion and ideas of tolerance with respect to the middle class sensibility. What has fallen through the cracks? Interestingly Syed and Khan are both unanimous in their reservations about fundamentalism here, yet humor deflects Khan from making "moral claims" the old middle class is susceptible to (Maqsood 2017). The glitter and black humor belies the darker content and subverts the basic function of a jumping castle - the childish innocence of freedom and enjoyment. These are markers of power; they assert their identity but signal impending dystopias if questions about their place are not answered.

Khan and her driver were "hustled" as she describes it, by men of African descent dressed in religious garb when they attempted to photograph the castle at the site (Khan 2017, Personal Communication). The jumping castle is a metaphor for the omnipresent specter of a particular "brand" of imported and packaged religiosity that has pervaded the lives of many in the new middle class. It is everywhere. It is the Trojan horse.

Conclusion

The art critic Clement Greenberg looked at kitsch with derision and called it a product of the industrial revolution (Greenberg 1991, 9) and a "simulacra of genuine culture" (Greenberg 1991, 10). The onset of Pop Art changed this perception but Khan exploits kitschy sentimental value to raise questions about ownership and how "genuine" a culture really is if it is a colonial/Eurocentric construct. Syed too, points out colonial legacy yet expresses dissatisfaction at the kind of modernity encroaching upon norms and values of the old middle class.

If the Chinese middle class has developed an affinity for "Shanzai" (knock off or copy of western iconic architecture) architecture and accelerated growth owing to a "Jungian metanoia" that tries to self-repair, heal and consequently be unaware of existing wounds, it is because they are trying to compensate for the time they lost for modernization (Pan 2015, 155-157) but Lahore's middle class is not far behind and is showing similar inclinations for such "visual utopias" (Pan 2015, 166).

As Fromm points out, the problem is not so much that people consume, it is the nature of the consumption that is the problem (Woodward 2007). Given the acerbic nature of Khan's "Encroachment" series one cannot help but wonder just as Fromm points out, that the accumulation of consumer objects distract from urgent questions relating to identity and sexuality (Woodward 2007), so this begs the question is our middle class so pumped up on the desire to mimic and acquire that it fails to address or even think about the various white elephants in the room such as vast tracts of farmland being taken over by housing authorities or rising food prices or even the environment for that matter? Salman Toor, as he reviews Khan's exhibition titled "Home Sweet Home", mentions that, "Developed countries are mostly made of this sturdy middle layer that came into existence in the West in the eighteenth century." In a bid to play catch up they are certainly aping many cultures but at what cost (Toor 2016).

Maqsood answers this by saying that the old middle class had connected modernity with a certain kind of awareness of the outside world. The emerging middle class too, has connected with the outside world but on the basis of recognizing itself as being part of "an abstract global Muslim identity" (Maqsood 2017, 136), hence, the motif of the Saudi flag in Syed's "Kaal Pakhan" and the use of material for *burqas* in Syed's "Encroachment" series. By drawing from a multitude of cultures, many of which are completely alien, the new middle class is also attempting to fulfill another latent desire, that is, to mimic their culturally superior colonial masters on a subliminal level. Based on Khan's observations, they have constructed edifices, facades and gated communities where they either mimic neoclassical and baroque architecture or have created a hybrid architecture that falls into the ambit of "kitsch" and "pastiche".

There is a sense that even as this new middle class struggles to define itself by adopting "global" trends, the indigenization of culture is simultaneously taking place.

> "…at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one way or another: this is true of music and housing styles…" (Appadurai 1990, 295)

This indigenization is also highlighting and exacerbating glaring ruptures in our society such as the unchecked physical and ideological encroachment of a certain brand of imported and indigenized religiosity that is aggressively carving inroads into our cities, homes and minds. Unpacking these anomalies is fruitless if our flawed urban policies, amongst other things, are not revisited.

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The Possible Propagandistic Desires behind 'Public Art' in Karachi

Sana Burney

Introduction

Karachi, the largest metropolis of Pakistan is the most populous city of Pakistan. It is even larger than some countries of the world. It has a diverse multiethnic population of over 23.5 million people such as Pashtuns, Sindhis, Shedis, Makranis, Urdu-speaking (people who migrated to this region in and after 1947), Baloch, Bengali and so on. People from different regions of the country come here to make a living. Not only do people from different provinces of Pakistan come here but after 9/11, Afghan refugees flocked to Karachi to find opportunities for earning. There was a migration earlier in the 1980s due to the Soviet-Afghan war. Karachi is the economic hub of Pakistan and generates 70% of the revenue for the country. This percentage goes extraordinarily high on festival days. Karachi never sleeps. Markets remain open till midnight almost all year round. It is the city of M. Ali Jinnah, the father and founder of the nation - his mausoleum is located in the heart of the city. This city has a beautiful blend of colonial, Islamic and modern architecture. Also it is blessed with beautiful beaches where people celebrate their weekends, festivals and holidays.

Most importantly, Karachi is the key seaport city of Pakistan, so goods are continuously transported from here to the rest of Pakistan. The people of Karachi appreciate art whether it is within closed doors or in open spaces, accessible to the public as Public Art. The term "Public Art" implies any work of art that is designed for and revealed in a space accessible to the public, from a city square to a wall inside a building, that is open to the public.

Public art in the United States of America started after World War II, initiated by government programs such as Federal Art Projects in response to the Great Depression. The first project in this development was New Deal. It was conducted in two tiers: The First New Deal (1933-34) and The Second New Deal (1935-38). According to historians, the New Deal art program focused on the '3Rs': Relief for unemployed and poor, Recovery of the economy to normal levels, and Reform of the financial system to prevent a repeat of the depression.

President Roosevelt introduced programs such as the New Deal that facilitated the development of public art in the Great Depression. The Federal Art Project was one of the New Deal art projects; it was nationally directed by Holger Cahill. The Federal Art Project was the largest of the New Deal art projects and was sponsored by the Works Progress Administration.

One of the controversies about the subject matter of all government-supported art was that it should conform to what was commonly termed as 'The American Scene' (Realism), therefore, disqualifying the minority 'abstract artists' from equal opportunity.

Moreover, the WPA and its authority between state and federal governments could not meet consistent standards in selecting art workers for art projects. State project directors were under pressure to fill quotas and consequently, often allowed personal need to affect a decision more than artistic qualifications. As a result, mediocre and incompetent artistic objects permeated the program and filled the storerooms.

The Federal Art Project changed the relationship between artists and society by making art accessible to people. The New Deal art and architecture established 'Percent for Art' programs. In 1950, Philadelphia became the first city to pass percent-for-art legislation. These were a structure for funding public art and are even operational today. The intention of this program is to give half a percent of the total construction cost of all government buildings to purchase contemporary American art for the same constructed building.

The principle of public art in the US is that the public should truly preserve art. The foundation of current Public Art was set by early public art programs. Subsequently, towards the end of the 1960s, the alliance between urban redevelopment programs and artistic interventions changed the idea of sculpture in public spaces. This idea of public art radically changes during the 1970s.

In this background, public art gains a status that is much more than mere decoration and display of national histories in public spaces. Hence, achieving more power for site construction and artistic interventions in the realm of public interest. Public art started representing the public. This changed perspective reinforced the New York-based *Public Art Fund* (1977) and numerous urban or regional *Percent for Art* programs in the United States and Europe.

Public art in public spaces is accessible to the public regardless of their class, caste, ethnicity or literacy; it is a powerful mode of communication. While Mural art, that is one of the integral parts of Public Art, is essentially not limited to studios, museums and art galleries - it has the advantage of engaging wider audiences.

Mural art is as old as human civilization. In early ages, it was used to record the events, traditions and faiths of their times for future generations. These valuable art pieces are now being used to trace the history of the world.

In Europe, modern mural painting flourished in the Renaissance, after Michelangelo and his contemporaries painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and other public buildings. Subsequent examples of modern mural paintings are Mexican artists, Diego Rivera and Jose Clemente Orozco. In 1920s, they painted murals of historical events and glorified Mexican history on public buildings. It was illustrated so that common man could understand.

Figure 1

Walls by I Am Khi at
MT Khan Road

In the last few years, Karachi has witnessed an explosion of astonishing works of Mural Painting in the public art domain. It started from a few walls of mural painting at MT Khan Road and spread onto many walls, flyovers, bridges and schools across the city. This is not the inception of mural painting in Karachi; earlier it was witnessed circa 1960s when maestro Sadequain painted his first two murals on the walls of Jinnah Hospital, Karachi in 1955. His third mural was for Karachi Airport. Sadequain in his life span of an artist, painted 45 murals in total. His murals are spread over India, Pakistan, the Middle East, Europe and North America. Starting from the early 1950s and until 1987, when he passed away, he painted, on average, at least one mural for every year of his professional life. Sadequain painted on a gigantic scale and at a pace that has not been seen in the country before.

Sincerity of man, man's struggle and innovations in the past and hope for the future were the glorified subjects of Sadequain's murals. Sadequain did not choose to paint flowers, landscapes and so on; his emphasis was to highlight the subjects of the common man - the hardworking class.

In the daily newspaper, Khaleej Times of the UAE, in the June 20, 1980 edition, in an interview Sadequain said,

> "People ask why I don't paint flowers, butterflies and landscapes? I tell them that I seek the truth and I am after reality. I am not inspired by someone posing against the backdrop of roses in a vase or pink curtains. What inspires me is a person who has gone hungry for hours and is struggling for survival. The expression that lights his face at the end of the day when he has finally found some scraps, that is what touches me. I am a painter of the expression of reality."

The unique use of calligraphy in his murals and other works of his art blossomed into the revival of Islamic calligraphy in the history of Pakistani art. His calligraphic works inspired many other known and unknown artists to work in the genre of Islamic calligraphy.

Calligraphy or Urdu text was already inbuilt in our culture. Many

artists who did not have formal art education learned the technique and started working in the business of calligraphy. That now can be seen everywhere on exteriors of local shops, on products such as cans/bottles, on locally made cheap items, on wall advertisements. Pakistan now has a large group of calligraphers/painters who write for these local small companies on walls of different areas of the city/country.

Has the Notion 'Walls of Peace' Brought Peace in Karachi?

'Walls of Peace' is a public art program of I Am Karachi which proclaims messages of the positive values of peace, tolerance and diversity by replacing negative and politically charged graffiti with positive images. Their aim then was to convert hundreds of walls across the city into creative visual landmarks. As per the I am Karachi website, in 2016, local artists, artisans and citizens were involved in creating unique public art and reclaimed thousands of walls in various neighborhoods.

Adeela Sulemen who was heading the 'Walls of Peace' at I Am Karachi and also a renowned Pakistani artist explains,

> "Very few activities were happening. For *I Am Khi* the kind of money that they had they decided to do it city wise. I got interested simply because something would happen in the city. I thought that it will be a great chance for me, for my students and for the people who are working, so that they would learn something about the city and the thing which happens in a closed environment and safe place of an institution will be out there on the roads and people can witness how we work, so that's what my whole intention was. The intention of the whole project was to generate interest and to get rid of the negative wall chalking from the walls; that is something I was really interested in and that is why I said yes to the project. It was huge in terms of the number of walls that we had to cover."

The term *Re-imagining the Walls/Reclaiming the Walls of Karachi* that was initially used by *I am Karachi* created controversies as the entire program was internationally funded and initiated questions of how an internationally funded program could reimagine/reclaim the walls of your city? Adeela Sulemen also rejected the use of the term 'reclaiming or reimagining'. She says,

> "The point is we are not reclaiming or imagining the walls. I myself had a huge issue in terms of *I Am Khi* using the term reclaim. I said I am not a *qabza* mafia (property grabber) to reclaim, *jitni dewar meri*

itni dewar us admi ki hai jisne ad lagaya hai (The wall belongs to me as much as to the person who pastes the ad). You can disagree with his imagery but you are doing the same."

The project, *I Am Khi*, was also discussed in terms of hidden agendas. Adeela Suleman does not refute the impression. She adds,

> "There's a hidden agenda behind CPEC which is happening with China. There are hidden agendas with everything even if we go and do something out in public space there is a hidden agenda. Anything that you do has an agenda. So, if people say we don't want to do it with American funding then don't live in this country because you cannot even breathe without that. Your country is running on IMF loans."

There is the notion that the subjects of *I Am Khi* selected from different periods and apart from peace and tolerance are either contentious issues or people who are controversial. Munawer Ali Syed who was part of *I Am Khi* and an acclaimed sculptor rejects the notion and says,

> "It was the artist's discretion that, anything that follows the theme should go on the walls. Since that was the time when the operation against Karachi's leading political party was happening and the city was transforming that may have impacted the artists."

The second stage of 're-imagining the walls of Karachi' was considered a strong example of propagandistic desires when finished murals were defaced by using hate messages and graffiti. Later, a maestro cartoonist took an initiative and came forward to fix the murals.

As per *I Am Khi's* representative, this shameful act was done by one of the religious political parties of Pakistan. This act of insensitivity towards art was quite well received in the media. It instigated many questions and makes one think that every other project that is internationally funded, whether it is an art project or something else, always has some kind of hidden goal or agenda. For instance, in this specific case one questions the subject matter of the walls, although it was an open call for artists across Pakistan to send in designs on the theme of 'Women Heroes of Pakistan'. The selected portraits of women are somehow controversial.

Zainab Khoker who is an architect says,

> "Sabeen Mahmud and Parveen Rehman both were very distinct characters but in a limited society a regular person of the street would not know them. I am not sure what message they are trying to get across with those figures. I think they should have picked up personalities who are more acknowledged like Mukhtaran Mai, the one who fought the gang rape. In the 80s there was a girl crushed under a bus. She gained more recognition than these two. I respect what Sabeen Mahmud and Parveen Rehman were doing and they are known for tolerance and fighting against land mafia respectively. Both of them were taking very strong stances but the problem is many people don't know much about them; they can't relate to them or even acknowledge their deaths. That's why they were taken away. Just painting them on a wall does not propagate the idea it should've been more popularized."

Besides, this project has awakened artists, painters, muralists and social activists to work in the public sphere.

Figure 5

Mural painting project done with ceiling paintings and light works at FTC Flyover by author Sana Burney

Undoubtedly, *I am Karachi* has initiated new thoughts in the minds of traditional thinkers. It has instigated new discussions, research and

investigations on the subjects of mural painting and public art in Pakistan. It is undoubtedly responsible for the emergence of a new art movement that entails the public in a wider spectrum.

Pakistan is rich in art and crafts, which are inbuilt in our culture whether it comes out as a painting on a small clay pot or a painted truck that carries goods from one city to another on the highways.

Similarly, there is a unique and prevailing art of Billboard Painting for film advertisements or advertisements for goods of daily use in the technique of realism. Cinema billboards were especially colorful and entertaining to look at.
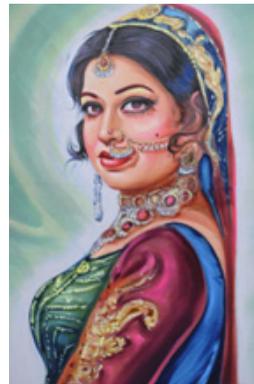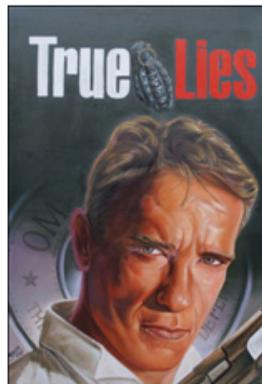
Figure 7

Hand painted cinema billboards

A billboard is hand-painted and is designed and manufactured for the purpose of advertising and for movie promotions. Billboards are basically made of tin sheets on wooden beams. Painters first get the pictures of the characters or products supplied by the producer/ad agency, then they approve compositions and then finally paintings are done with the use of enamel paints.
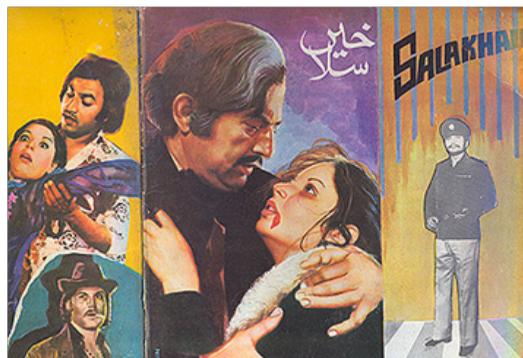
Figure 8

Hand painted billboards for Pakistani cinemas

However, since the late 2000s, due to the new construction of Cineplex cinemas and demolition of old historical buildings, the gigantic beautifully hand-painted billboards have been replaced by huge panaflex (digital printing on flex) screens, resulting in the demise of the traditional art of billboard painting. The tradition of billboard painting in Pakistan employed many artists; for many of them billboard painting was their family business. Their families have been involved with this art since before Partition. Now, after the decline of this art, artists who were involved in this business are either employed in other fields or have joined hands with mural painters/artists.

The possible similarities between Billboard Painting and Mural Painting are the use of color that pops out when people drive by walls/buildings and also the use of realism that impresses people on streets to stop by and have a view. The key dissimilarity between the two is that Billboard Painting has the purpose of advertisement for which people who are involved in the activity get paid. Whereas, Mural Painting claims to be art for the public, it talks about people and is for the people and for which most of the time artists do not get paid. Sometimes, they themselves stand against the issues and do quick murals using spray paints and sometimes stencils to engage the public.

Many artists have been working on and conducting projects to respond to core issues through art. For that matter, one of the intriguing projects in the field of public art is *Rang dey Karachi*. In 2010, as an outcome of a conversation with Durriya Kazi about social responsibilities of artists, Munawer A. Syed initiated the public art movement, 'Rang Dey Karachi', an ongoing project, which aims to engage the public through art-making. To make it more accessible and less upper class, the intention was to integrate art into the public fold. The desire of the movement was to bring joyful, direct and literal imagery, highlighting peace and tolerance in the public, outside the confined space of the art gallery, through graffiti, performance and visual art.

Another project about Karachi is 'Karachi Kia'. *'Karachi Kia'* was the brainchild of two contemporary artists, Roohi Ahmed and Abdullah Syed. It was a community collaborative project to investigate the invisible and unobserved. Artists and volunteers reached 18 administrative towns of Karachi and presented a question, "What is Karachi? What did it mean to them?" The team then collected their responses in visuals and on post-its. Subsequently, all the collected expressions transformed into 18 silkscreen maps - Plexiglas panels representing 18 different administrative towns of

Karachi. Projects of this nature might not become visible on the map of the art scene but they are practical in building the history of any city.

Conclusion

In any society, Public Art is revealed in public spaces, either in city squares or on walls or inside closed spaces accessible to the public. It aims to engage the masses to create a visual dialogue on existing issues of the community by conducting research at grassroots level that makes its inclusion in the community. Also it informs the public about the glorified national history of the country. Many private and government organizations fund such projects that usually have no hidden propaganda.

In Pakistan, and specifically in the city of Karachi, there was no recognition of public art before the mid-50s. There was some art in the form of *Sadequain's* murals and a few other sculptural monuments that had been placed at different city squares of which the very well-known one was the *Allah Monument* near Tariq Road, which is one of the main shopping hubs of the city. Earlier, public art in Karachi was referred to as clay pottery that was sold near the streets by local craftsmen and truck paintings/decorations; the public was not aware of the term 'Public Art', so to speak. Now, the concept of public art in Karachi has evolved and conforms to the said definition. Truck art is now considered a form of art and is identified as Karachi Pop in recent years. The term 'Karachi Pop' was not only first coined by Durriya Kazi in the mid-90s but she was one of the main pioneers of this. This art already existed in selected localities but after making it a part of many mural works in recent years, it has now been established as a unique art form for diverse audiences.

Unfortunately in this third world region, Pakistan and other countries depend on different kinds of support and funding for first world countries. The support received may have agendas or dictate terms and

conditions. Managing the priorities responsibly plays an important role in the execution of projects. For that matter, use of the term 'Reclaiming/ reimagining the walls of Karachi' and the chosen subjects that have no recognition for diverse audiences, especially when deploying huge amounts of money, generated controversies. Moreover, it is significant how monuments, murals, memorials and sculptures in public places are complex cultural treasures/archives that must speak to increasingly diverse groups.

Responding to the quite pertinent context of agenda and propaganda, Adeela Suleman says that Pakistan runs on international funding in various sectors and one cannot disregard this. Not only America and China but quite a few European countries are funding us; therefore, there is no harm if art projects are funded and change the outlook of the city, adding colors to the canvas of the city. As a response to these public art projects, the emergence of many programs that had been in creative minds from ages are now sparking off. To further this discussion the recent and first ever Karachi Biennale 2017 that contained a large number of programs involving the public and public spaces needs to be analyzed and discussed.

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Architects as Urbanists: Keeping the City First

Sami Chohan

Introduction: Public Space and Fabrics of Cities

The physical fabrics of urban settlements are widely represented, studied and understood through figure-ground diagrams. While the figure represents the built, the ground represents a network of open spaces around the built (Figure 1). These open spaces embody the public realm and commonly appear in the form of streets, parks, squares, marketplaces, riverside promenades and even beach fronts. Cities that demonstrate a strong notion of public are also cities that best understand the many benefits of such spaces. They strive towards adding, enhancing and providing access to them, while preventing private appropriation of land (Anderson, C. 2016). Sufficient and well-maintained public spaces make our surroundings physically attractive and environmentally sustainable. They encourage social interaction and help create an atmosphere of cohesion, inclusion and well-being. They also have the ability to spur economic development and revitalize declining neighborhoods. On the other hand, insufficient and neglected public spaces contribute to physical deterioration, environmental pollution and social instability. For these reasons, public spaces play an important role in shaping not only the physical and environmental fabric of our cities but also their social fabric. It is no accident that such spaces have been termed windows into the soul of the city (Zukin, S. 1995).

Figure 1

Figure-Ground Diagrams, from Left to Right: London, New York, Paris, Rome. Source:https:// garrettryanmiller. wordpress. com/2012/07/19/ program_new-primitive-for-the-new-city/

Transforming City Fabrics: From Traditional to Modern

In traditional urban settlements, open spaces were central to the lives of urban dwellers. Walking was the common mode of travel and streets served as dynamic avenues for social exchange. Market places, squares and parks also served as lively arenas for communal sociability and

recreation. The built and the open appeared in harmony, with neither more important than the other. They shared a reciprocal relationship with one another, both in terms of scale and form (Bess, P. 2014). Since the turn of the 20th century, however, the physical fabric of urban settlements, especially those in European, North American and Latin American regions, has been transformed. The settlements began to expand. This incomparable expansion resulted from a rapid increase in urban populations. As the world's economy was shifting from being agrarian-based to one that was based on industrial and service activities, more people began to migrate from rural settlements to concentrated urban spheres. Drawn by greater employment opportunities and improved livelihoods, the city was the place to be. Such was the pace of this transition or urbanization that 30% of the world's population was residing in urban areas by the mid-20th century, as opposed to just 10% leading up to it (WUP 2015). This unprecedented increase in urban populations led to growing demands for new buildings: residential, institutional, commercial and industrial. At the same time, overpowering commercialization and proliferating privatization turned buildings into tools for capital. Rampant construction began to rapidly consume urban land and with it spaces for communal sociability and recreation. Parks and playgrounds struggled to keep pace with new constructions, squares became increasingly isolated and marketplaces were replaced by malls. Streets, on the other hand, surrendered themselves to motor vehicles and pedestrians were pressed to the sides. Suddenly, the built and the open no longer appeared in harmony. Buildings were now far more important than the open spaces around them. The reciprocal relationship that once existed between them,now largely disappeared. Over the next few decades, these trends engulfed the Asian and African regions as well.

Towards the end of the 20th century, nearly 50% of the world's population was residing in urban areas (WUP 2015). Cities now appeared very different from their pre-industrial past. They had expanded considerably,both horizontally and vertically. Their physical fabric was largely characterized by an indefinite number of closely packed buildings with insufficient or inadequate public spaces around them. At the same time, their social fabric revealed a growing sense of isolation and insecurity. When we look at how our cities were transformed during that epoch, we cannot escape the conclusion that our changing physical patterns must have played a part in prompting social ills (Adam, R. 1995). With little or no consideration for public spaces, this was perhaps inevitable. Conditions in some cities of the world appeared very worrying. Most of these cities were concentrated in the Asian and African

regions which were now urbanizing much faster than their already largely urbanized European, North American and South American counterparts. Today, well into the 21st century, they are still rapidly urbanizing. Together, these two regions alone account for nearly 90% of the global urban population increase by the mid-21st century (WUP 2015). It is here that urbanization has tailored – and continues to tailor – abnormally dense and disorderly settlement patterns with dangerously low shares of public space. Some are now so densely built that they appear as concrete jungles with severely congested streets and high levels of environmental pollution. They are also home to exacerbating economic disparities and social exclusion. Poverty and shortage of affordable housing in cities like Mumbai in India, Lagos in Nigeria, Karachi in Pakistan, Dhaka in Bangladesh, Manila in the Philippines and Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of Congo, have forced many to reside in urban slums or informal settlements characterized by appalling living conditions (Figure 2). Similar patterns have been seen in many cities across Latin America, although ongoing efforts to reverse these patterns in that region are promising.

Rethinking Modern Cities

Under such worrying circumstances, non-profit organizations such as Project for Public Spaces (PPS) and movements such as New Urbanism surfaced in the 1980s. Since then, they have been emphasizing the need to

improve the physical, environmental and social fabric of modern urban settlements. They have incessantly publicized the many benefits of public spaces and advocated for investing in them as instruments for urban revitalization. Many architects have been at the forefront of this drive. One such architect is Jan Gehl, who is also a writer and professor based in Copenhagen. Gehl offers a simple yet highly effective approach towards public space-led urban revitalization. His approach is characterized by three stages: 1) systematically documenting public spaces, 2) making incremental improvements to them, and 3) documenting them again. He successfully used these tactics to expand and improve Copenhagen's central pedestrian district that opened in 1962 (Walljasper, J. 2012). Through systematic mapping, comprehensive analysis and incremental development, he managed to transform the district into a thriving public space in the heart of the city. Over the years, his contributions have transformed Copenhagen into one of the most livable cities in the world. In recent times, many cities around the world have revitalized themselves by investing in the public realm, such as Barcelona, Freiburg and Strasbourg in Europe, Vancouver and Portland in North America, Bogota and Curitiba in Latin America, and Melbourne in Australia (Walljasper, J. 2012). Not much progress, however, has been observed in the rapidly urbanizing Asian and African cities, such as the ones mentioned earlier. With rapidly growing urban populations and already dismal urban conditions, these cities are in dire need of urban transformation. If not Copenhagen, they can draw critical lessons and inspiration from more comparable cities in Latin America. One such city is Bogota, the capital of Colombia. In the last forty years, Bogota has rapidly grown from a city of less than a million inhabitants to one with over nine million inhabitants (Fajardo, M. 2005). Unable to cope with the pressures of urbanization, it quickly turned into one of the most ruthless and unlivable cities in the world. Neglect and privatization of public spaces not only caused the physical and environmental conditions of the city to deteriorate but also left a significant part of the population socially excluded. In 1999, the city embarked on a major urban transformation process led by changes in city administration and urban revitalization projects (Fajardo, M. 2005). These projects relied on enhancing, adding and increasing access to public space throughout the city (Figure 3). The rethinking of the city from its public spaces eventually transformed Bogota from a hostile urban environment into one of the world's leading models of sustainable urban development. Another Colombian city that offers hope to some of the Asian and African cities is Medellin. Once home to atrocious crimes and socially excluded settlements, Medellin managed to transform itself into a cultured metropolis within a short span of time (McGuirk,

J. 2012). Like Bogota, Medellin's incredible urban revitalization was also led by changes in administration and substantial investments in dynamic public spaces.

Public Space-led Urban Revitalization: A Global Mandate

Today, public space-led urban revitalization has emerged as a global agenda. In 2011, it informed the 23rd Session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme(UN-Habitat) which promotes sustainable urban development in cities facing unprecedented demographic, physical, environmental and social challenges. During this session, member states mandated UN-Habitat to develop and promote public space policy and directly assist such cities in public space initiatives (Anderson, C. 2016). In the same year, UN-Habitat established the Global Programme on Public Space which aims to improve the quality of public spaces around the world and primarily focuses on cities with high percentages of populations living in informal urban settlements. The Programme is currently working in over 20 countries, including Bangladesh, India, Kenya, Haiti, Peru, Mexico and Kosovo (GPSP 2012). These developments also led to the formation of Future of Places (FoP), an international conference series and movement which aims to highlight the significance of public space in urban development. Arranged and financed by Ax:son Johnson Foundation in collaboration with UN-Habitat and Project for Public Spaces, Future of Places has managed to gather a large and diverse network of stakeholders around the transformative power of public spaces in cities, including academics, practitioners, decision-makers, media, communities and private sector (Anderson, C. 2016).

The Role of Architects

None of the positive developments in European, North American and Latin American cities would have been possible without competent city governance. In other words, they would not have been possible without focused, responsible and inclusive city administrations working

closely with the private sector, professional associations, civil societies and local citizens. Surely, everyone must contribute if we are to achieve sustainable urban solutions. For obvious reasons, the professional associations of urban planners and architects have a very important role to play in this process. While urban planners shape policies on development and management of urban land, architects shape the form and functionality of it. Where city administrations led from the front in cities like Copenhagen and Bogota, so did architects. This comes at a time when architects have been widely criticized for contributing to the deterioration of urban environments since the turn of the 20th century. Peter Blake, an American architect, writer and critic, believed that modern architects simply failed to live up to their socialist and egalitarian objectives in serving the needs of a growing urban society. He refers to Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier, two of the most influential architects of the 20th century, as abstract artists who produced buildings as symbols of a new age and a new lifestyle without realizing that actual people will be living in them (Wohlfert, L. 1977). He believes that modern cities that resulted from such thinking produced nothing but "traumas of a horrendous nature" that made no sense in the way people live (Wohlfert, L. 1977). Gehl, having dedicated his entire career towards improving the way of urban life, is also very critical of his profession. He believes that architects seem to be more concerned with form and appearance of buildings, rather than functionality. He argues that most buildings are designed on the basis of what looks good on the covers of magazines, rather than in consideration of the people who inhabit these buildings and the spaces around them (Lykkegaard, A. 2014). Renowned Dutch architect and urban theorist, Rem Koolhaas, has also criticized the fixation of architects on the objectivity of buildings and their lack of concern for the surroundings. He argues that this fixation has led to the "death of urbanism" and calls for greater interconnections between buildings and the urban context (Koolhaas, R. and Mau, B. 1993). Fred Kent, President of Project for Public Spaces, has lambasted design and architecture critics for also focusing merely on the form of buildings, while ignoring how these buildings shape human experience,both within and around them. In one of his articles, he draws attention to Nicolai Ouroussof, an acclaimed architecture critic who wrote for the New York Times between 2004 and 2011 (Kent, F. 2012). Reviewing the celebrated architect Thom Mayne's, Cooper Union Building that opened in New York in 2009, Ouroussof wrote:

> "It is not a perfect building but it is the kind of serious work that we don't see enough of in New York: a bold architectural statement of genuine civic

value. Its lively public spaces reaffirm that enlightenment comes from the free exchange of ideas, not just inward contemplation."(Ouroussof, N. 2009)

Ouroussof further writes:

"The curve of the corner, which lifts up to invite people inside the lobby, has an unexpected softness. Even the bulky exterior mirrors the proportions of the [Cooper Union] Foundation building [across the street] – a friendly nod to its older neighbor." (Ouroussof, N. 2009)

According to Kent, however, the colossal façade of the Cooper Union Building only succeeds in creating "a dead zone in the middle of what once was a vital, connected street scape" in the city (Figure 4). He suggests that critiques such as the one put forth by Ouroussof reduce buildings to mere objects, utterly insensitive to the public realm around them. Fortunately, many architects in contemporary times are also rejecting the notion of buildings as isolated objects, while accepting them as opportunities for improving the way of urban life. One such architect is Giancarlo Mazzanti.

Figure 3

The Cooper Union Building in New York. Source:https://www.pps.org/reference/toward-an-architecture-of-place-moving-beyond-iconic-to-extraordinary/

Learning from Mazzanti and Medellin

Bogota-based Colombian architect Giancarlo Mazzanti's contributions to the public space-led urban revitalization of Medellin serve as an important precedent for architects around the world. His proposal for the Espana Library Park has become a symbol of Medellin's transformation. It was one of the five Library Parks planned in the less affluent neighborhoods of the city between 2005 and 2008. Each serves as an urban complex consisting of a library, training rooms and an auditorium, surrounded by ample open space for public use. Their purpose was to aid economic, cultural and educational development in underprivileged, crime-ridden and socially excluded communities, while providing spaces for communal sociability and recreation. Benefitting around 800,000 people, their success prompted

the proposal for five additional Library Parks in the city between 2009 and 2011. Completed in 2007, Mazzanti's Espana Library Park was one of the first to be built and the most celebrated of the lot (Figure 5). It looms over Medellin from atop a surrounding hill which is home to one of the city's poorest slums. It reveals three disjointed and monumental buildings, each housing one of the three primary functions of the Library Parks. These buildings appear as monolithic rock formations, similar to the ones found in the topographically broken region of Colombia in which Medellin is located (EL/GM 2008). Rather than appearing as meaningless and isolated objects, they together serve as an extension of the fragmented landscape and become an interpretation of it. A public square at the base not only connects the three formations but also provides views into the city (EL/GM 2008). More importantly, it encourages social interaction and helps construct a strong sense of community. The Espana Library Park marks a critical shift in urban policy for South American cities which, for decades, have refrained from acknowledging slums as part of the city proper (McGuirk, J. 2012). Mazzanti's colossal and daring design solution, sitting in the middle of one, makes the slum as visible as it can be, and in doing so acknowledges it as an integral part of Medellin. For once, architecture does not appear as sculpture for the sake of appearing as one but with the purpose of emphasizing and addressing an overlooked social reality.

Figure 4

Espana Library Park, Medellin. Source: http://www.archdaily.com/2565/espana-library-giancarlo-mazzanti

Conclusion

Developments in the 20th century transformed urban settlements in the most unfortunate ways possible. They left the physical fabric of our cities in a miserable state and with it the environmental and social fabrics. Although some cities around the world have successfully revitalized themselves in recent times, others are in the process of recovery. Recognizing the many physical, environmental and social benefits of

public spaces, these cities are committed towards improving the quality of life for their citizens by providing adequate street space, parks, playgrounds, green areas and other venues for communal sociability and recreation. Architects, such as Gehl in Copenhagen and Mazzanti in Medellin, have been at the center of these positive developments. Many cities, especially those in developing countries, however, continue to remain on the path of deterioration. With growing urban populations, the physical, environmental and social conditions of these cities are expected to deteriorate further. It is in such cities that architects must step forward and play their part, with or without the support of competent city administrations. They must assume their responsibilities in the best interest of not only those who inhabit buildings but also those who inhabit spaces around them. As responsible citizens and shapers of the urban environment, they must advocate for developing strong interconnections between the built and the open. They must withdraw from viewing buildings as objects devoid of contextual implications. Instead, they must view them as opportunities for making positive contributions to the surrounding public realm, may it be a sidewalk, a street, a park or combination of two or more of them.

Architects too must demonstrate a strong notion of "public" and redefine their role as urbanists, or wardens of the urban environment.

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Water Towers of a New Lahore

Syed Haseeb Amjad, Zeeshan Sarwar and Maham Zohair

Introduction

Recent years have seen the historic city of Lahore expand horizontally in the form of numerous residential and commercial developments catering to an ever-increasing urban population. Gated housing communities and large commercial enterprises have sprouted along the edges of the expanding city, pushing its boundaries upon its unoccupied agricultural land (Khaliq-Uz-Zaman, Arif Anwar Baloch 2011). Promising their residents a safe and progressive lifestyle at par with the lives of foreign citizens, there has been a hurried construction of infrastructure such as road networks that connect the newer developments to the rest of Lahore. From amongst the types of infrastructure required for the access and sustenance of any urban development, water towers are a unique feature found in the urban landscape with an architectural potential that makes them the focus of this paper. They exist as ordinary and repetitive objects with the sole purpose of storing and supplying water to their surroundings. Their large number is in direct proportion to the great urbanization the city has faced but can be used as a benefit if each water tower becomes a potential armature for thoughtful architectural interventions. Their presence in the urban setup is primarily functional but their specific form allows for possibilities of architectural solutions that could make them useful for the city through the addition of a visual and functional architectural layer. The form of a water tower is driven by simple laws of hydrostatics (A. E. E. McKenzie 2014). Storing the water inside a raised reservoir helps provide the required pressure for supplying water to the connected buildings. The height of the water tank increases the potential energy of the stored water, making it convenient to use water when needed. In order to hold a large body of water with stability at heights normally taller or equal to three stories as seen usually in upcoming housing communities, the supporting structure of the water tower needs to be appropriately rigid and dependable. Two types of support systems are usually found in Lahore: a monolithic concrete cylinder or a concrete space frame. In either system there is

a unique set of ideas that can be drawn by imagining new spaces that are attached or formed within. Their presence as objects with latent architectural potential allows them to be an effective tool for teaching students of architecture about giving a new value to mundane urban objects. The paper will use examples from a design studio taught to fifth year architecture students in order to emphasize the potential of water towers to acquire a meaning that is dedicated to the people around them.

Architecture Studio Project

This paper will discuss the outcome of a studio project based on reusing or inhabiting the empty spaces inside and around water tower structures found in Lahore with the objective of creating a renewed identity for the structure which could benefit the people around them. Students were expected to propose architectural designs that would add a new functional and visual purpose to the water towers (Fig. 1).
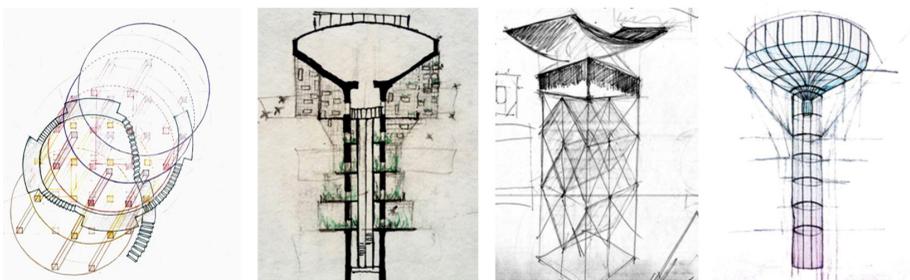
Figure 1

Sketches of developing architectural ideas by students with water towers as the underlying canvas. (Sketches by students, 2015)

Students were to consider how their proposed additions would have a socially beneficial role in the surroundings of their chosen water tanks. Students of the fifth year design studio at Beaconhouse National University at Lahore were given the task of searching the city for varying water towers. Because water towers were documented in different parts of the city, they proposed varying contextual challenges that automatically became a reference to which the students could respond. Two distinct types of water towers were found. One type constituted a structural spaceframe supporting the water reservoir above it (Fig. 2).

Figure 2

Typical water tower supported by a structural spaceframe. (Photography by students, 2015)

The structural frames of the towers exist in three different cross-sectional shapes including square, hexagonal and octagonal footprints. The shape of the reservoir in many cases would be circular but in some cases, would be consistent with the cross-sectional shape of the structural frame supporting it. The material of this type of water tower was mainly concrete but in a few cases students found abandoned water towers from colonial times that were mostly constructed of steel. Design proposals for this type by students would mainly feature the use of the empty space inside the armature of the columns and beams. The second type is the 'mushroom', which has a central circular concrete core supporting the water reservoir above (Fig. 3).

The core consists of a spiral staircase leading to the water reservoir which cantilevers outward from the core to create the required capacity for holding a large volume of water. The narrow central core and larger reservoir would constitute its characteristic 'mushroom' shape. The outcome of the designs proposed by the students consisted of a mix of solutions consisting of recreational environments, educational spaces and commercial spaces for the public, and sculptural renditions.

Case Studies

Kuwait Water Towers

The Kuwait Water Towers were used as a prominent case study for students involved in the studio project. They are an example of the use of the water towers for representing a newly established infrastructure system while contributing to the contemporary identity of a progressive city (Yasser Mahgoub, 2007). Completed in 1976, the project became a recipient of the Aga Khan Award. They do not fall under the category of existing infrastructural elements that are modified for a new purpose. However, they are effective in displaying the potential symbolic value of such structures which are otherwise considered typical and banal in the environment of the city. Two types of water towers were created in this project, of which there were 31 mushroom shaped water towers and a group of 3 prominently designed towers that were located in

the Kuwait bay. Of the two types, the mushroom shaped towers were more effective in this project because of their relevance to the form of water towers found in Lahore. The mushroom towers fulfilled the role of functional necessities as well as architectural sculptures. They are a

very visible sign of the new water supply and distribution system of Kuwait City. They were divided into 5 groups with each consisting of 6 to 9 towers depending on the water consumption in each area and were held by central concrete shafts of different heights. Each group consisted of a closely arranged cluster of mushroom towers that engaged the space on the ground below by providing shade and creating opportunity for landscape, parks and recreational activities. All groups were distinguished by differing heights, painted patterns and striking color treatment. Their unique presence made them landmarks for their districts (Fig. 4). They held great significance because not only are they essential for sustenance of life in Kuwait, they were symbolic of the rise of an economic power. Such aspects were considered important to show students alternate approaches in which water towers were designed and planned in a manner that exalted their meaning for the people (*Water Towers*, 1980).

Totem Poles

Totem poles were also used as a significant example for students to understand the symbolic power of a prominent vertical structure. They were asked to consider the existing water towers of Lahore as potential totem poles that could express certain ideas to people in the environment after being modified. Although the spatial structure of the water towers allowed for inhabitable spaces to be formed inside and around them, the collective outcome of each water tower could bear the expressive value of a totem pole. Unlike the Kuwait water tower project described earlier, totem poles did not perform functions of utility. They were mainly used to illustrate the beliefs and social understanding of the indigenous people of North America. They were not idols for religious worship but carried carvings and drawings that held representative purposes. As seen in the book *Looking at Totem Poles* by Hilary Stewart,

"They displayed images that represented a people's origins and lineages, their rights and privileges, their supernatural experiences, their exploits and achievements, their acquisitions and territories, their marriages and memorials. These recorded histories gave the people cultural identity, and proclaimed their wealth and status in the village and within their nation." (Hilary Stewart, 2009, 26)

They could be used as freestanding towers that worked as welcome signs for people arriving in the villages. Homes of high ranking chiefs would have totem poles carved with emblems of family histories. There would be memorial poles that would display the achievements of a deceased chief's family. Some poles would even be used to mock and ridicule rivals of important individuals. Such purposes may not be directly relatable in the given context of a design project for recasting

Figure 5

Totem poles and water towers share a common symbolic presence. (Left Image: https://i.pinimg.com/736x/29/f8/4a/29f84aa11ca6245287e16c357661a653--stanley-park-vancouver-totem-poles.jpg. Accessed November 10, 2017). Right Image: (Photography by students, 2015)

the meaning of Lahore's water towers but the function of totem poles as symbolic towers for communicating ideas in a society make them a worthy reference (Fig. 5). Architectural intervention upon the water towers can be expected to produce a signal or message for the environment while fulfilling a specific function as well.

Discussion of Student Projects

School of Art by Moeed Ahmad

Figure 6

The water tower lying next to the park becomes an opportunity for inclusion of the children in educational activity. (Moeed Ahmad, 2015)

Figure 6 shows a water tank that lies between the vicinity of a school, which is part of an affluent housing society and a small park belonging to an informal settlement whose children occupy the park on a daily basis. The water tank was in the process of being decommissioned, making it an attractive site for rejuvenation through a new architectural intervention.
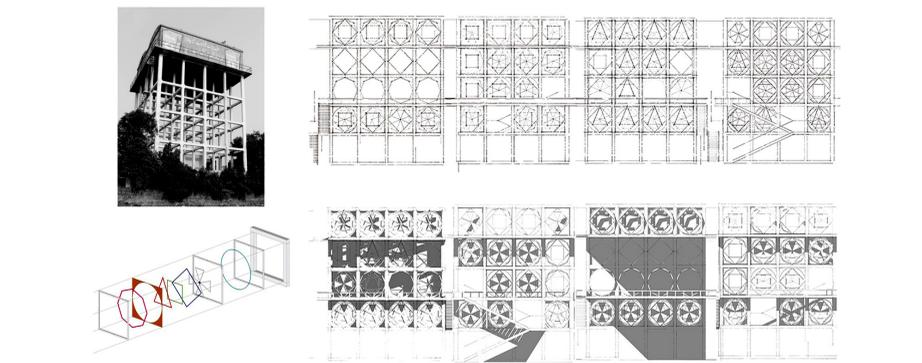
The student considered the existing situation of the water tower as an opportunity to design a school of art which would become a space for the collective activity of children from the school and the park below. It was imagined as a lighthouse by the student for the uplift of its immediate environment. The new intervention would allow children from the school to co-exist with children from the informal settlement in an attempt to educate them through activities of art and performance. Composite floors were added with metal sections that attached to the existing structure to create spaces that allow the children

Figure 7

A structural breakdown of the metal addition made to the existing concrete structure of the water tower. (Moeed Ahmad, 2015)

from the vicinity to come and work in co-operation with each other. The former water reservoir at the top of the structure had an ample internal height of sixteen feet, adapting it into an informal theatre. The opaque concrete roof was replaced with a light weight metal covering that gave generous vertical space and diffused light from the sleeves at its perimeter. Several smaller spaces were generated inside the spacious inner space where children could draw, gather and play (Fig. 7).

Figure 8

Transformable screens are attached to the existing structure to allow for visual reordering to commemorate important dates. (Zaki Ansari, 2015)

Performing Object by Zaki Ansari

The idea proposed by the student in this case was about benefitting from the overwhelming presence of the structural system of the water tower for the representation of various important events throughout the year.

The water tower is located within a dense urban fabric. Transformable attachments such as movable screens and lighting fixtures were proposed within the structural frames of the tower that would reorganize themselves constantly (Fig. 8). The tower could transform into a dark mass during Muharram (Fig. 9), while performing through colorful surfaces on the arrival of Eid. It would become a device for announcement while sometimes playing a participatory role in the activities around it.

Space for Gathering by Ali Rehan

The volume of space that a water tank encompasses within its structure is similar to what a small commercial outlet would require. However, the space is stretched vertically compared to its conventional horizontal format. The vertical space of the inner structure would become beneficial for gathering through the provision of platforms for public seating. In this particular case the student found a water tank in the vicinity of M. M. Alam Road which is a prominent hub for food and retail in Lahore. The found structure lies in very close proximity to commercial activity which caters to thousands of people every day. The student proposed a coffee shop in its space that is elevated high enough from the ground to receive the views of the charged M. M. Alam Road on one side and Liberty Market on the other. After an analysis of the structure by the student, a minimum addition of steel structure was added to the design to create utilizable floor space that could provide appropriate sitting space and an open terrace around the circumference of the core of the water tower. A small lift was also added to improve the accessibility of space at the top.
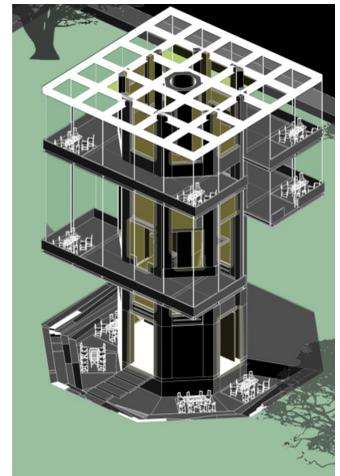
Conclusion

For a city that has expanded with the speed of Lahore in recent time, many opportunities tend to occur in which students of architecture can be introduced to issues for which they may provide creative solutions. The existence of a large number of water towers in Lahore is a direct result of urbanization. One approach is to accept their banal presence as infrastructure but a more fruitful approach would be to use them as a canvas for interventions that contribute to society through thoughtful modifications. The problems of rapid urban growth cannot be simply undone but the resulting situation may be modified to provide a beneficial outcome for the city. The studio project discussed in this paper is an attempt to equip the future architects of Lahore with a conscious mind with which to identify issues and formulate positive outcomes from within them.

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City As A Living Organism – Urbanization and The Event

Zahra Ali Naqvi

Introduction

This paper entails the study of event provocation and activation by means of documenting instances in the local context. The research concentration has been stimulated by the writings of Bernard Tschumi and his application of event based design in architecture. The research carried out for the paper include primary and secondary sources of research, that is,relevant literature that has been cited and first-hand information based on conclusions from interacting with end users. The outcome of the paper necessitates the documentation of the idea of an "event" in the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi and how they have developed over the course of time by observing different typologies of events in the local context.

The Identity of a City

Every city or a large town is a region delineated as having certain flavor and its very own character that distinguishes it from another urban area. There are intrinsic qualities that speak of this character. It is a blend of resources, numerous layers of auxiliary systems and expression of the communities or individuals that inhabit it.

Cities form and expand because of the events that take place in them. The physical manifestation of events takes place by the juxtaposition of physical and metaphorical identities. Physical here refers to architecture and planning and their archetypal instances. The metaphoric being the impact these instances leave on the city in terms of emotional or intelligible reaction that is produced by or in the architectural and planning instances.

The urban identity of a space may be addressed in terms of elements of city image: nodes, paths, edges, landmarks and districts (Lynch, 1960). Wayfinding and mental mapping is one of the ways to determine the identity of a city in tangible terms. The intangible identity of an urban

space may be based on the experiences, events and emotive quality of the space; here events may vary from being enforced or eventual reactions of an action.

Memory mapping and mental image of a city is one of the most common ways to identify and find places in the city used by its inhabitants. This act of finding spaces and remembering the ways around the city is highly dependent on the events taking place in it. These events may be tangible or intangible. The elements of way finding can act as events as well and add to the discernment of the mental maps for an inhabitant. Once the elements of the city image act as events they are more human, that is,user-responsive in nature. As written by Aldo Rossi, "The city is a theater of human events." (Rossi, 1966)

Process of Urban Formation

The essential point here is that it is a theater not simply in the sense of plain portrayal of life but as a reality that experiences the process of being detailed by the people of the city. This is one of the aspects of the development process which incorporates the collective will of the people, since it is dictated by the variety of choices made by them. Thus, the city now becomes a constructed situation, "a moment of life, concretely and deliberately constructed by the collective organization of a unitary environment and free play of events" (Setha M. Low, 2014). In order to complete the logic of this statement we need to understand the characteristics of this process, where experience starts from a point and becomes a generating agent that goes on to produce a line that becomes a three dimensional identity and shifts into a realm of time in relation to the dynamics of the city.

At the beginning of the Baroque period, the ordering principle in the growth of cities was the establishment of lines of force, which defined the relation between various landmarks within the city. These relationships of lines and their eventual reactions resultantly set into play the design forces, that is,the architecture that is developed along them. For example, in Baroque Rome the city's old landmarks, fountains and basilicas were imagined as stars, from which processional roads would emanate. These processional roads cut through the winding pathways whereupon Rome's urbanism had developed, connecting the different images of Catholicism to each other, both visually and physically. In Baroque Rome, artists endeavored to draw audiences into their work,

Figure 1

Processional Avenues in Baroque Rome. (*Urban Theatrics: Baroque Rome*)
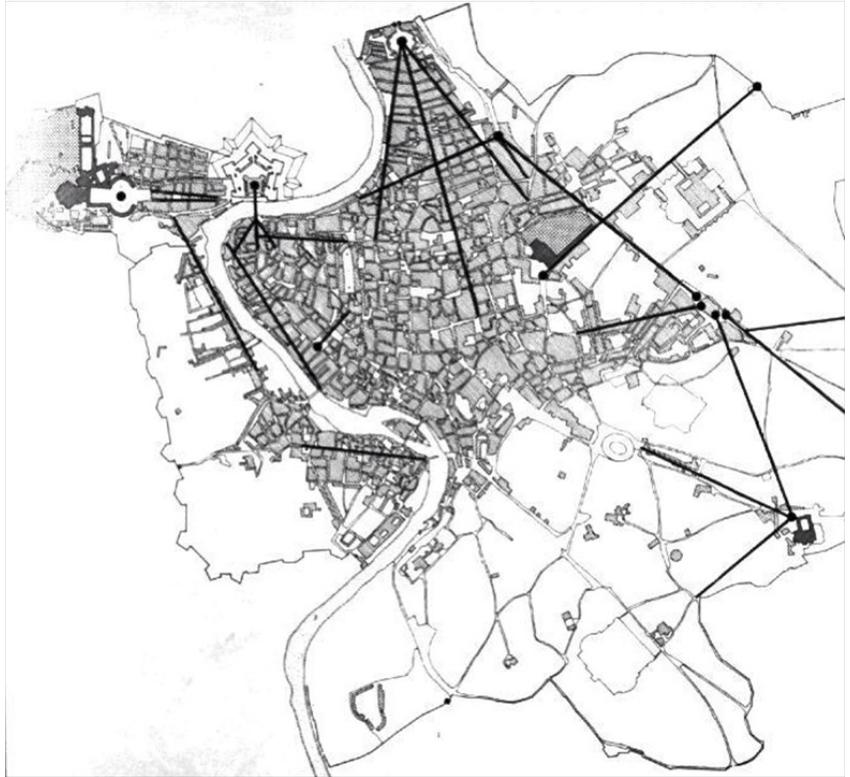
while architecture made utilization of theatrics to interact with people and urbanism heightened the experience by connecting these along a discernable way, re-establishing the Catholic Church's place at center stage of the city. (*Urban Theatrics: Baroque Rome*)

Although the catalyst in the development of Baroque Rome was religious in nature but it shaped the cities and surroundings by virtue of the landmarks being connected. That is, the influence on the events comes from the grandeur of the landmarks on the way.

One of the examples from the Roman city is of the Roman Coliseum; it was initially used as an arena to stage lavish performances such as the gladiators against wild animals, or even by emperors displaying their best skill in warfare. The Coliseum works as an urban artifact in the city of Rome which has itself been on display and been used for display. The people of Rome are still being entertained for it serves not only as a historic monument but also as an exhibition space and in recent times it is to be restored to host events again. The Coliseum here acts as a landmark as well as an event activator, both silently and outwardly.

Interaction and Consequence

The primary ideology of urban spaces lies in layering. More so it is dependent on how these different layers come together to form a collective whole. The interaction here varies from primary to tertiary levels. Tertiary being the interaction between layers, secondary is the interaction between objects on these layers and primary being the interaction between characters. Scrutinizing these kinds of interactions we come to the conclusion that architecture or the objects on the layer have secondary importance to characters, that is, the people whose interaction gives meaning to the space.

The characters here may be introduced by an external activator, that is, an activity not common to the context, which might have an impact on the surrounding, such as discrepancy between the new intervention and the contextual fabric itself. These may take a constructive or a destructive approach depending on the scale and acceptance of the new intervention.

The Case of Twin Cities

When we see an organic city such as Rawalpindi develop, we find that it developed around a military garrison in a radial pattern and the city spread out into the neighboring rural areas thereby turning them into a part of itself. In the past, the growth of Rawalpindi could be seen in this model; however, once the city had an un-identical twin, the city's growth was affected. Two sides of the city were restricted by the grid of Islamabad forming a right angled edge to the city and the rest of the city
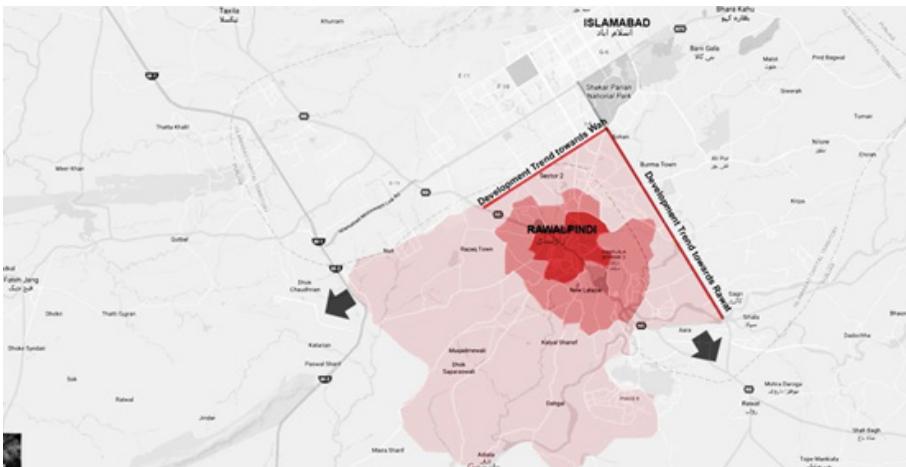

Figure 2

Development Pattern of Rawalpindi restricted by Islamabad.

started developing in the other direction, where it was not restricted, that is, towards Wah in the South-West and Rawat in the South-East.

The formation of Islamabad acted as an event in the expansion of Rawalpindi, that is, it restricted its growth on one edge and provoked it to grow further in the opposite direction. However, this was not the vision when the masterplan of Islamabad was developed by Doxiadis. The idea was to include the city of Rawalpindi in the 2 kilometer by 2 kilometer grid planning sectors of Islamabad and follow the same model in its future expansion. This did not happen because of lack of financial and development resources in Rawalpindi (Sajida Iqbal, 2006).

However, focusing on the event provocation through activators in the case of Rawalpindi, one finds examples both at macro and micro levels; one of the examples of a micro-event based activity is the Book Bazaar that used to be held on the footpaths of *Saddar* every Sunday, transforming the entire space into a user-centric paradigm. Thereby, carrying forward the essence of a bazaar and converting a transient space, that is, a footpath into a marketplace by introducing a temporal function in the space.

Figure 3

Book Bazaar in Saddar, Rawalpindi.

Another major event that has taken place in *Saddar* in the past two years is the Metro Bus Project. With *Saddar* being the first station of the project, the Bus Service now brings in more diverse users to the space. In 2015, when the Metro Bus Project had yet to be initiated, a commercial site next to it, redundant due to land acquisition issues, also worked as a time based space. In working hours it would work as a car park and in after hours as a makeshift car washing space in *Saddar*. It also had numerous

Figure 4 A

A panoramic view of the empty site before the Metro Bus Project.

COMMERCE   CORPORATE BUSINESS   RESIDENTIAL
GREENERY   RECREATION
HEALTH   TEMPORAL LIVING
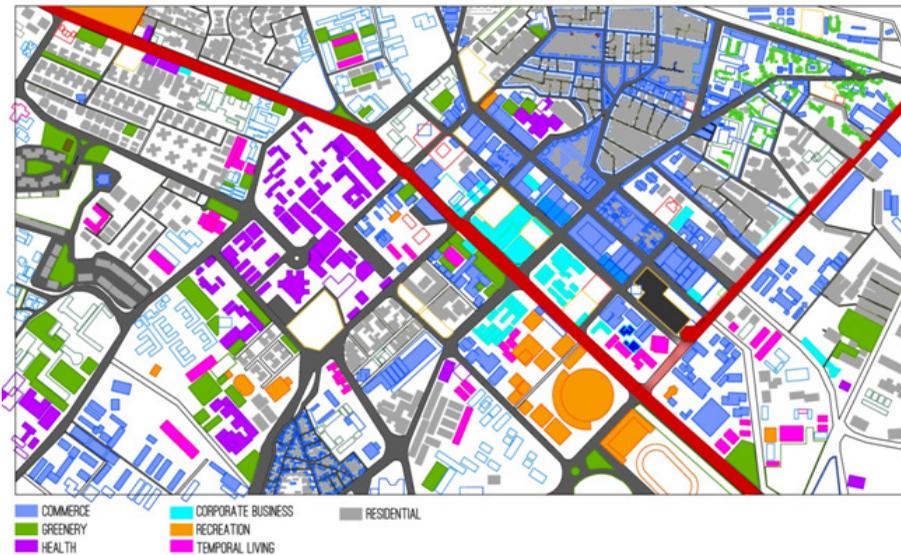
van stands around it for people to move around in *Saddar*. This time-based function, however, changed after the initiation of the Metro Bus. Now, due to infrastructural changes, the site has remained as a parking lot and part of it stopped functioning as a van stand.

The provocation of events through incidental changes has been the basis of the expansion of the twin cities. The case of Islamabad, however, is a little different since it is a planned city and the development pattern is less fragmented. The development started from the sectors G-6 and F-6 as the city's first urban center; the G-6 *Markaz* or Aabpara market and F-6 *Markaz*. Later, this trend started to move towards sectors F-7, F-8 down to F-10 *Markaz*.

After observing and studying the developmental plans of Islamabad,
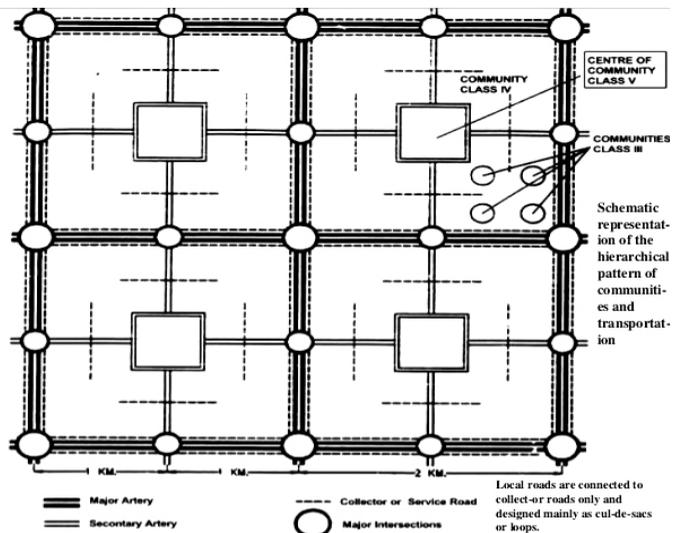
we notice that each sector was developed to be "self-contained and self-supported with respect to everyday life" (Doxiadis, 1964). This concept of self-support was reinforced by developing civic centers in the middle of each sector, carefully dividing the sector into four parts.

However, as time progressed there was a change in the way these civic centers developed. The old sectors G-6 to G-9 and F-6 to F-8 retained the physical identity of the civic centers but lost the programmatic identity;

not all of them have the basic amenities that were proposed in the initial layout. Some centers are better provided in terms of food while others in terms of other facilities. The social divide caused by the grid planning is

a major factor in the non-uniformity of the grid; for example, the sectors G-10, G-11, I-9, I-10 and I-11 being relatively new and less affluent have more organic or free-form planning compared to the older sectors. Conclusively, the newly developed sectors provide a better image of the city and are less standardized than the older sectors which allows more authenticity in terms of readability of space (Pallasma, 1994).

In 2008, an enforced event that took place was the redevelopment of the quaint village, on the boundary of Islamabad with the Margallas, called Saidpur Village, into a "Model Village" by the Capital Development Authority (CDA) disturbing the shift of the urban activity center from F-8 to F-10. The development of the urban centers was now bifurcated at the threshold of F-9 Park; that is,the sectors F-6, F-7, F-8 being affluent areas of the city now became the immediate context for an elite pocket that was created inside the Saidpur Village.
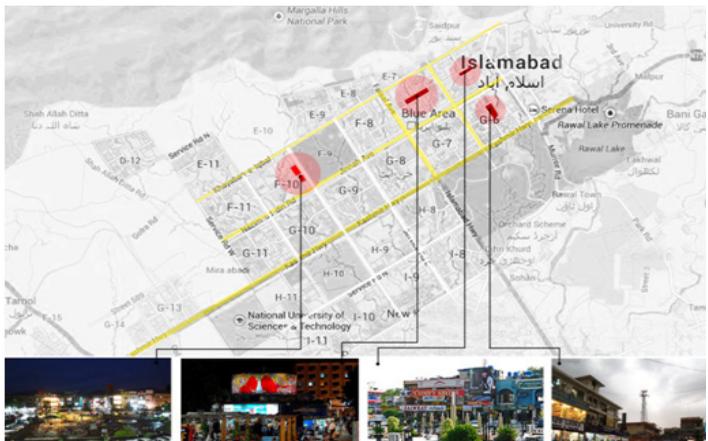

Figure 8

Differences in the formation of sectors from the original plan.
• Areas closer to Rawalpindi exhibit more discrepancy in the grid formation.
• The shape of the Markaz varies due to landform and proximity to context.
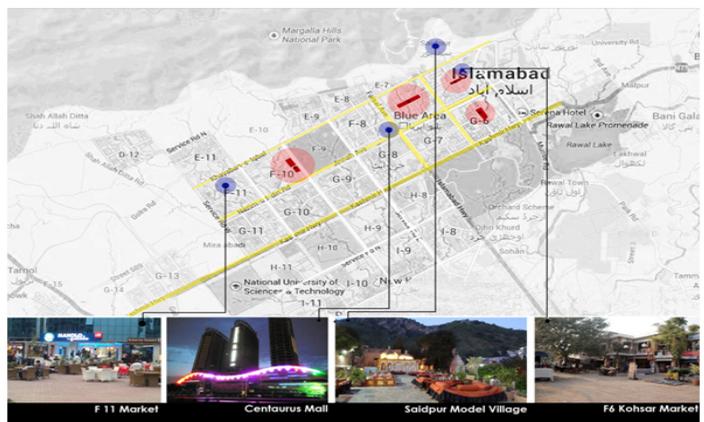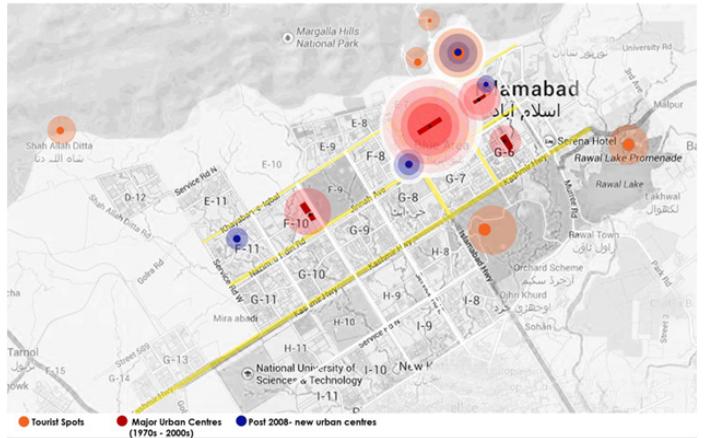• A few sectors do not even constitute a Markaz

Figure 9A

Chronological Urban Development Pattern of commercial areas in Islamabad.

Figure 9B

The recent redirection due to fragmentation reinforced F-7 as a city center.

The restoration of the village was more of a facelift and the real essence of the village had been lost by turning the old courtyard houses into storage areas/parking areas. The intervention of the proposed eateries and restaurants which were not affordable for the villagers of the area in turn caused them to leave their homes to earn a living.

Figure 9C

Overlapping of these activation points highlights the critical position of Saidpur Village.
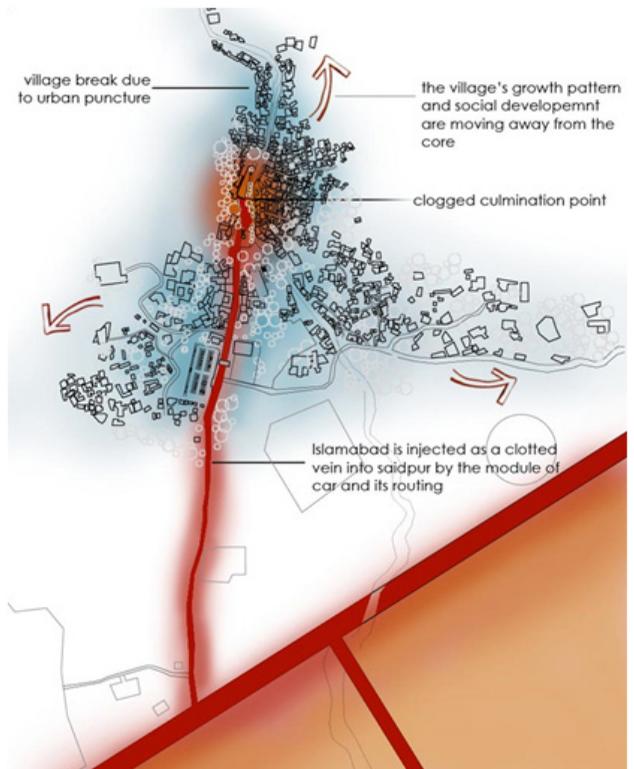
Islamabad forcefully injected its territory into the village and hit its very core. The village got divided from its center and started to grow outwards in three different directions simultaneously. The social function of the village was disrupted in this spatial confusion. Resultantly, the development of Saidpur Village reinforced the idea of F-7 *Markaz* as the city center again. The event, although imposed, in this case, caused a ripple in the urban fabric of the city itself. Adaptability here was one of the key factors in making such interventions viable.

Conclusion

Observing the documented events in the paper, one may conclude that the layering of the city and interaction of these layers, in terms of social and spatial understanding, causes events to shape the image of the city. More so, this image of the city is widely dependent on the public realm, since that is the primary place for human interaction and for events to happen. The question, here, arises are there any factors that make a built-space into a successful public realm?

Yes, the discernibility, permeability and accessibility of a space deem it to be successful in terms of a public realm. However, this permeability needs to be anchored to a number of other factors such as;

- Programmatic hierarchy

- Contextual precedence

- Defining and designing the edge of the public realm

- Nature and impact of the space

In order to devise successful design strategies, it is of prime importance to consider the public activity, the context and the properties that the context lacks. The idea is not to just erect buildings but to be sensitive to the surroundings in order for the space to be memorable for the user and impact-worthy. These memories and experiences will be registered when the space comes as a singular entity in the context. Also, an intervention is deemed to last longer when it responds to the people using it and when the functions attached to it are responsive to the context.

Terminologies and Abbreviations

Saddar: a downtown-like space that acts as a commercial hub for the city

Markaz: a civic center containing basic necessities near a residential area.

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Appendix

In your opinion is the metro bus service going to reduce the traffic (vans and public transport) in *Saddar*?
(yes, no)

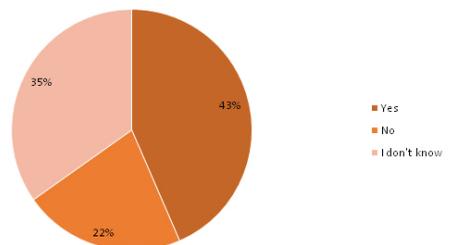Do you believe *Saddar* has ample amount of public space to cater to its users?
(yes, no)

How often do you visit *Saddar*?
(regular, once or twice a year)
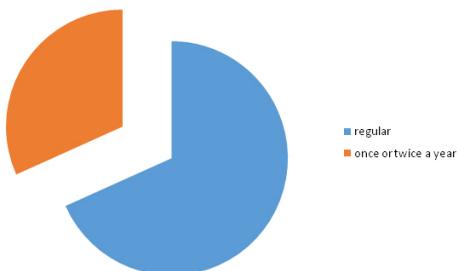
Do you believe that social interaction can improve liking for a space?
(Yes 43%, No 22%, I don't know 35%)

Brewing the City: Performances and Practices of The Tea Collaborative

Zehra Aziz, Sabahat Nawaz and Hurmat ul Ain

Introduction

The Tea Collaborative came together in 2013 with like-minded people who were interested in tea and the politics of performance. They started to work on their first series, Tea Sessions in alternate art spaces for two years. Since 2015 they have been exploring the city of Islamabad through their Tea Party Series. It is a tea happening in different public spaces of the city, as a theatre of wilful play, exchange and interaction where tea is the invitation for participation.

From methods of preparation, to ways of drinking by flavoring, sweetening, whitening, tea is a social and nationalistic concern and a most overused pastime. No matter what name is used for tea, *chai*, *qahwa*, brew, it refers to the colonial and cultural baggage of the region but without its post-colonial angst. The tea performance creates a visual anomaly in the fabric of everyday public space. It builds a dialogue between the unsuspecting audience and the performers. A model is set-up, performed and documented. It becomes a narrative (of the artist and the site, for the artist and the audience). They document the relationship between themselves, the site (this includes all accidental audience), as a way to build a whole narrative.

The City: A Backdrop

Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan, was planned to represent the aspirations of the nation, an image of urban modernity and independent of colonial precedents. Doxiadis, the commissioned urban planner designed the city on a system through which an efficient network of services based on the needs of the people was built in to the plan. The city was not meant to represent power like it did for the Mughals in Fatehpur Sikri, or political ideals shaped by modernity in Chandigarh, India. A new precedent in urban planning was set. Although a lot of the initial planning has been changed over the years and the city-dwellers have been shadowed by the rapid development of high-rises,

commercial plazas and highway networks, there remain places that leave room for people to people interaction and a means to explore urbanity on a human scale.

> "According to Doxiadis, real cities could only be created, from scratch and through development, in the future. But once brought into being, these cities would be the ultimate representations of modernity, simply because they existed at all." (Markus Daechsel 2015)

> "Islamabad was to find its first visible expression not in any assemblage of buildings of state, any capitol complex, but in exemplary living spaces for 'ordinary' Pakistanis. The polis for Pakistan came into existence as an abstracted, stylized and mass-produced version of the Muslim village." (Markus Daechsel 2015)

Public spaces such as parks, markets, schools and mosques were all artificially designed for the city of Islamabad by a system of dividing every sector into residential and 'markaz' bifurcation. Public spaces are the living rooms, gardens and corridors of urban areas. They serve to extend small living spaces and provide areas for social interaction and economic activities, which improve the development and desirability of a community. Despite their importance, public spaces are often poorly integrated or neglected in planning and urban development. For example cities developed with their local inhabitants involved are more walk-able in scale and allow for more people to people contact. Such is the case with the centuries old streets and homes of the Walled City of Lahore. It allows for more direct contact for the local residents and a variety of ways in which they make use of public space. Cities in Europe came into being similarly where a square was perfected through observation and adjustment to make it an attractive point of interaction for the people. However, Islamabad has followed a master plan of development and is still controlled by it.

"Islamabad would collide with the existing city of Rawalpindi and would not be able to grow any further in this direction – the numbers denoting distance from zero point on the east to west axis, in contrast, could expand indefinitely, epitomizing Doxiadis trademark idea of a city with unlimited mono-directional growth potential, or dynapolis. This grid-like structure of the city is very formalistic in its approach and people are limited to demarcated parks and commercial areas for leisurely activities. (Markus Daechsel, 2015)

Public spaces being limited and demarcated from the onset, limit possibilities of social exchange or flexibility in function and use. Major landmarks like the Parliament, Faisal Mosque and Pakistan Monument having peripheries of potential gatherings for the public for events and leisurely activities, are evolving with the political climate of the country. The D-chowk junction close to the avenue, now notorious for public rallies and protests, has led to the closure of the Constitution Avenue leading to the Parliament, a place previously visited frequently by people for sight-seeing in the city. The Metro Station, another one of the sites of the tea party, had been under construction at the time and was going to bring a major shift in movement and change in the urban landscape. Moreover, it connected the city to neighboring Rawalpindi and made it more accessible to a large diverse group of people with opportunities for interaction.

Figure 2

The Shaheed e Millat Metro Station, Photo by Authors, April 26th 2015.

The act of inhabiting or taking control of a public space has been undertaken by artists and practiced worldwide. Such is the case with Rebar, a collective of artists, activists, and designers who paid a curbside parking meter in downtown San Francisco and built a temporary park within the white lines of the parking space – complete with lawn, a large shady tree, and a park bench. For the legal duration of their lease, they programed the public right of way, no longer a space dedicated to the movement and storage of private automobiles. For two hours this seven by twenty-two foot of street became a place for rest, relaxation and socializing in an area of downtown San Francisco previously underserved by public open space. At first passersby reacted with a mix of indifference and curiosity. Eventually several people ventured into the 'park'.

The Tea Intervention

As the core members of The Tea Collaborative either lived in or moved to Islamabad for work, it became a common point of departure of every narrative built for the Tea Performances. The series corresponded with happenings in the cityscape. Whether it was the launch of the metro-station, the new airport or an event in the lake view park, the tea party was instilled at points in or close to them.

The selection of sites for the tea performances is an act of classification of urban landmarks. The public encounters art amidst itself at places of gathering, entertainment and communal sharing. The performance aims to reclaim public space for the people as a safe and approachable space. They alter the perception of the user of public spaces by inculcating a sense of ownership, accessibility and shared responsibility. The tea events have been performed at the Metro Station under construction site, Rawal Lake, the D-Chowk, the New Airport site and the Motorway. Stepping into these public sites as participants of the tea party, the artists and audience create a zone of potential projections of political, social or cultural agendas.

Performance Art: A Medium

Performance art is a liaison between performing art forms and the visual arts. It uses time, physical presence of space and people as primary ingredients in creating content. It is fluid in form and is being constantly redefined. Large monuments, public park sculptures and murals are being constantly post-modernized by blurring the boundaries of form and function. Art in public spaces is not just a sight to behold; it is an encounter and a participative moment like the example of Cloud Gate sculpture, also known as the Chicago Bean. The famous bean sculpture by Anish Kapoor is not just an object; it is a place of encounter. It is also a mirror, a literal reflection of the city with its people. It is a performance of experiences, everyday lives, activities of the Chicagoans. Due to its scale and context, it lies between the definitions of Sculpture, Architecture, Performance and Relational Aesthetics.

> "The role of artworks is no longer to form imaginary and utopian realities, but to actually be a way of living and models of actions within the existing real, whatever the scale chosen by the artist."
> (Nicholas Bourriaud, 1998)

The art of today is not just a surface treatment in color and texture or an attempt at interior adornment. It is a discourse around lived experiences, collective encounters, mundane everyday banality and resistance against definitions. It has a life outside of a canvas or a plinth. It exists as a force and a consciousness against the established structures of identity, power, mediocrity and economic dependency. It draws attention to its maker (the artists) and its receiver (the audience). Contemporary art further addresses the expectations of the artist and his/her work. Bourriaud saw artists as facilitators and agents for change and actions. In his sense,

> "Artistic activity is a game, whose forms, patterns and functions develop and evolve according to periods and social contexts; it is not an immutable essence."(Nicholas Bourriaud, 1998)

Beggars, street hawkers, wind screen cleaners, newspaper sellers, and artists all rely on structures of urbanization, city-dwellers' routines and behaviors to contrive encounters, capture audiences and customers and generate funds and artistic material. For the Tea Collaborative, the city is a site, a breathing organism, and a happening. The Collaborative takes action and makes gestures that are contemplative and quiet against the backdrop of the city's chaos. The city never ceases its movement even against the face of political unrest, sectarian violence, bridge or underpass construction and fire or container blockades. The Collaborative is interested in spaces as places and mark these sites for a politicized happening of sitting down for a tea party. The gesture nullifies its own action; it highlights its non-action, its futility against its odds. Yet it remains a moment of communal harmony, an agreement, a photograph captured as a record, a non-verbal contract for pacification. The female collaborators dress in white costumes. The costumes are cut in patterns that are reminiscent of identities, gender, and nationalistic from the colonial past to the contemporary present and perhaps an integrated future. The dress code seems neutralized and explicitly androgenized. Yet it bears details of identification that lend recognition of class, acquired mannerism, ideological systems and cultural baggage. The references in costumes, props and tea-ware are subtle but distinct. They refer to the representation of the *other*, the marginalized, the thinkers and the invisible spokespersons. These nuances read as juxtapositions in their political climate and seem out of place though strangely mimicking the pace of the bureaucratic behavior of the city.

The Practice: Narrating Space, One Tea at a Time

Having spoken of live gestures and photographic records, it has become rather difficult to create a boundary around what is real and what is a representation of it, especially living in the post-modern world of today when media in all its forms plays a multifaceted role. This contrast of reality/representation appears in episode-3 of the tea happening, D-Chowk (Fig. 3), which saturates conversations about reality and representation. Episode-3 was an extension of the experience that took place right after pro-Qadri protesters were given a nights' time by the Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar to clear D-Chowk, where the protesters had staged a sit-in outside the Parliament to protest against Qadri's death penalty (Fig. 3). The protest was against the execution of Mumtaz Qadri, the former police bodyguard who killed Salman Taseer, the Governor of Punjab Province, in 2011. The protest that started with around 10,000 protesters demanding Shariah Law in the country and wanting to declare Mumtaz Qadri a martyr, diminished to 2000 over a period of a few days. The government had to take control of the situation after some protesters resorted to violence and became destructive by vandalising public property.

Figure 3

Protest at D-Chowk
Dawn News online,
March 27th 2016.

Tea at D-Chowk calls for sensitive concepts of spatial ownership and public spaces against a politically charged backdrop. D-Chowk is already claimed as an official site for public protest, politics, law and order, public and private. After the protesters had left or were leaving the site, and while you could see D-Chowk being washed and cleared out, the tea happening becomes a fabrication of the entire protest, be it a controversial one. The gesture is a protest in itself.

Referring to gestures and making urban landscapes real, artist Olafur Eliasson has conducted several such interventions –

"To me, the success of a public space lies precisely in the degree
to which the space allows the user to reflect on why it has value
or lacks value – an evaluation that is prompted by friction."
(Olafur Eliasson 2009, 132)

In Stockholm, 2000, he created a green river by using harmless water-
soluble dye, uranine, in the river. In just a few hours the dye spread
in the river turning it all intensely fluorescent green in daylight. His
intervention was unannounced and not official. He says certain
concerned people made phone calls to the police but were told, "the
color came from a heating-plant spill and was not dangerous at all".
Had this been conducted in a secure setting such as an art gallery space,
it would have been perceived as art, hence the vagueness that is crucial
to the intervention became more of value. When people made phone
calls to the police to confirm whether it was safe, makes this piece more
than a visual, it becomes a temporary reality.

Tea is a social lubricant for a collectivist society. Iconic Tea Parties
in art and literature such as the Mad Hatters tea party from Alice in
Wonderland by Lewis Carrol or Cha by Shafiq ur Rehman lend a vivid
plot for the contemporary social imagination, which manifests itself in
the image of Pak Teahouse and the likes.

Figure 3

Episode.3,
D-Chowk,The Tea
Collaborative 2016

In 2015, the second series of the tea happenings took place for largely accidental audiences at different public sites in Islamabad, creating temporal moments of exchange, introspection and reciprocity. These sessions propose to collectively examine the ideas present in *Of Other Spaces* by Foucault. His concept of Heterotopia, a real place that exists outside of known space, is where the tea happenings have found home.

> "The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment." (Michel Foucault, 1984)

The tea happening becomes heterotopic in nature as it brings with it a layout and certain structure to normal spaces, creating a moment of social, cultural and political otherness. The act of drinking tea is a politicization of actions and places.

> "Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. To get in one must have certain permission and make certain gestures."(Michel Foucault, 1984)

The tea performances create a visual anomaly in the fabric of everyday public space. It builds a dialogue between the unsuspecting audience and the performers. The mundane activity of drinking tea is elevated to the status of a sacramental ritual and a metaphor for the political and the social. Answering questions similar to what Blaine Merkerasks in his essay:

> "Taking Place:What exactly had taken place in these playful acts of transgression in the broader context and construction of urban landscape and the so-called public realm?"

Conclusion

The tea happening establishes an experiential situation between the (accidental) audience and the site by trying to first create an anomaly in the site and later dissolving in it. The user/audience experience initially takes place in the immediate physical surroundings, only later

to be investigated in a wider socio-political context. The built frame or composition captures the meeting between sensing and sensed. It develops curiosity whether the frame created is an independent image or its context brings meaning to its interpretation. Does it become a manifestation of the outside, objective world, or the contextual interpretation of a historical/subjective consciousness?

The purpose of the episodes is not the production of a mere visual but a substantial conversation on the basis of creative experimentation. Working on a referential system that takes information from past events or history to derive the layout for the tea happening in a specific site, develops a temporal space that make up reality (in that moment).

The tea party is an on-going investigation of public spaces, identity conflicts and exploration of performance art as an investigatory tool.

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The Walled Garden: Shalimar

Razia Latif

Heritage sites evolve with time as the city changes. We increasingly find that the heritage sites in Lahore are treated as dying and decaying remnants of the past and are left to degenerate. Sometimes the process is accelerated by vandalism and excessive tourism. Evolution is a natural process; it leads to solutions and progress. Our heritage sites need to play a vital role in the evolutionary process of our cities. We need to evolve our cities in ways that enhance our heritage and culture.

The Shalimar Gardens are one of the oldest garden complexes in Lahore. The garden complex has a unique form, with three terraced steps; the terraced form is derived from the earlier Shalimar Gardens in Kashmir. The Shalimar Gardens, Lahore were initially built on the outskirts of the city but today, the gardens are surrounded by dense urban population. A large fortification wall was built around the gardens. This wall has protected the gardens for centuries, not just from invaders and conquerors but also from encroachers. Most of the entrances today to the Shalimar are closed; only the entrance on the east side from the Grand Trunk road is used. The wall of the gardens from the outside is seen as a hurdle by people living near the gardens and in some areas we find that garbage is swept in heaps next to the wall. The relative calm of the gardens is completely contrasted by the noise (both visual and auditory) outside it. In this paper, we are suggesting ways in which the exterior of the Shalimar may be protected by pushing the urban encroachments away from the wall and introducing new programs next to the wall that are related to the heritage of the Shalimar Gardens. This will enable us to protect the gardens and raise awareness of their significance among people.

Shalimar Gardens Lahore is a historical garden complex now lying in the midst of dense urban fabric. Today the Shalimar Gardens itself is not in its original condition. In terms of form, additions have taken place during different time periods which have changed the form of the current Shalimar Gardens. The Sikhs and the British both added to the gardens. Restorations have resulted in modifications even in the architectural forms of the original gardens. We found photographs from

the late 1800s where the form of the pavilions in the central terrace of the Shalimar is very different from what it is today. The original water systems do not work today and water is pumped in through very different sources. The Shahi Nahar built to bring water from the Ravi to the Shalimar Gardens no longer exists. Traditionally, the public entered from the entrance to the lower terrace while royalty entered from the upper terrace. During post-independent Pakistan, different entrances have been used including the top entrance from the south, built during the British period, giving an axial view towards the gardens and the central terrace; currently the entrance from the Naqar Khana, east of the gardens, is used. This entrance is approached directly from the parking area and any walk around the garden wall is avoided.

The layout of the Shalimar Gardens is very unusual. It is a stepped garden with three terraces. This stepping is artificial as the site itself is not sloped, although today there is a gentle slope outside the garden walls; this slope does not match the lowest step of the gardens. Today, the outside of the Shalimar Gardens does not emphasize the presence of architecture of historical value. The entrance to the site and the walk around it does not initiate

Figure 1

Picture from the 1890s showing the central terrace. The form of the pavilions is very different from the form today.

Figure 2

Picture from 1884 with a closer view of the pavilions in the central terrace. This form is very different from the form of the pavilions today.

Figure 3

East entrance of the Shalimar Gardens in 1884. The central terrace watch tower is partly destroyed.
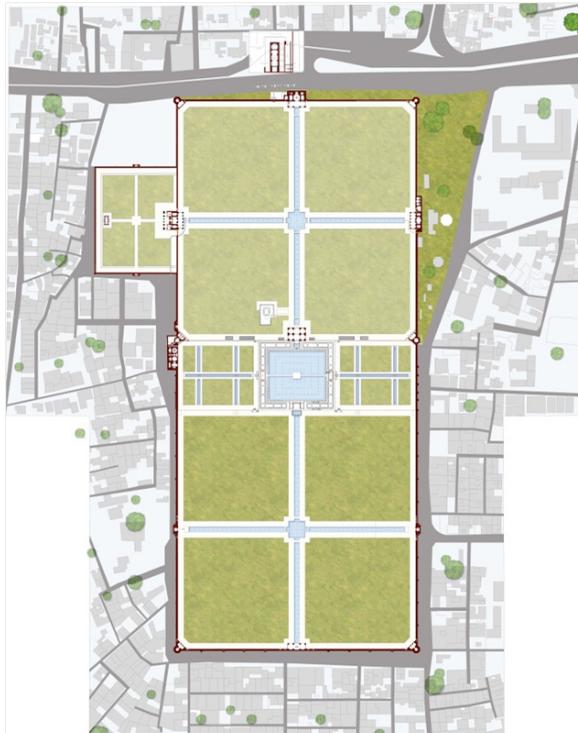

Figure 4

Current view of the Shalimar Gardens' central terrace at the time of sunset

an experience worthy of the Shalimar Gardens. On the periphery of the Shalimar Gardens, garbage is placed in heaps right next to the wall. Shops and residential units are situated next to the walls. A number of mosques and schools are also found on the site. Other than residential and commercial units on the periphery of the Shalimar Garden, we find shrines, graveyards, historical remains, water reservoirs, schools and a madrasa.

Recently, the government announced that the new metro line (Orange Line) will be constructed close to the exterior wall of the Shalimar Gardens. This decision alarmed the civil society of Lahore, resulting in protests. The civil society used the argument that the UNESCO Charter for Heritage Sites states that no building can be constructed within 200 feet of a historical site, to get a decision from the Lahore High Court to halt the construction of the Orange Line (In December 2017 the Supreme Court ruled to allow the Punjab Government to continue building the Orange Line on the previously proposed plan next to the Shalimar Gardens). Many encroachments have existed on the periphery of the Shalimar Gardens and the Metro Orange Line was only adding to what was already there on the site. In this paper, we are proposing that all existing buildings should be moved away from the Shalimar Gardens and the Metro Orange Line taken underground. We find that if we relocate the buildings in the 200 feet range and leave the area vacant, this area will again be encroached. In order to protect the Shalimar Gardens from later encroachments, we want to redesign the spaces around the gardens. The existence of these buildings will stop any illegal encroachments from occurring in the vacant area. Therefore, this proposal does not only suggest that the existing buildings should be removed, it also suggests that new buildings should be introduced within the 200 feet distance to the historical site, if the functions of the new buildings celebrate the essence of the site and contribute positively towards the protection of the site. This proposal suggests new programs that help to protect the outer wall of the Shalimar Gardens so that further encroachments may be stopped. These buildings will act as a buffer between the residential and the commercial urban growth of the city and the Shalimar Gardens. This is a fictional proposal of what can be done and should be done. It does take into consideration the realities of the site but does not take into consideration the cost or the funding.

We are suggesting a new entrance from the west gate, upper terrace of the Shalimar Gardens. This area is on the axis to the Shrine of Madho

Lal Hussain and the yearly festival of Mela Chiraghan takes place on the site. There are remains of a well and a water tank from the Mughal and the British time period; both of these were used to provide water to the Gardens. These have been left abandoned. We intend to use them as part of the entrance experience. On the north of the garden exterior are the proposed metro line and the Grand Trunk Road. We also find Mughal remains of a water reservoir here. Much of this has been destroyed but we intend to preserve what has been left and reimagine what was there by proposing a museum. The central terrace of the Shalimar Gardens is the most celebrated area within the gardens. The reflection of the water, the sound of the water and the pavilions surrounding this section show the combination of natural and manmade elements. In order to respond to this, outside the wall of the gardens, we have used the play of light and shadows. Outside the west wall of the Shalimar Gardens next to the central terrace of the gardens, we are suggesting a building that responds to the rising of the sun. The building will act like a sculpture casting shadows on the wall outside Shalimar and on the wall of the Shalimar Gardens. People may stand on the various platforms of this structure and observe the gardens from the outside. On the west side of the gardens, completely opposite to the east side, another building of similar nature is introduced. This building will intercept the west light. On the north side of the garden, we are proposing a mosque. During the study of the site, we found that six different small mosques belonging to the various sects of Islam are situated on the periphery of the Shalimar Gardens. In this suggested intervention, these mosques will have to be demolished. The larger proposed mosque will act as a large communal spiritual space for the whole community.


Figure 5

Plan of the Shalimar Gardens with existing context.

The Shalimar Gardens also have an intervention from the Sikh period; the Naqar Khana built as an extension to the Shalimar Gardens, situated on the east side of the gardens. The Naqar Khana is currently being used as the entrance to the Shalimar Gardens. We want to strengthen this association with the Sikhs to the Shalimar Gardens by inviting them to the Naqar Khana where they are temporarily hosted. Lahore's current Sikh population is very small but many Sikhs travel to Lahore through the Wagha border at the time of holy events. We intend to provide temporary shelter and a place to hold events and ceremonies within the Naqar Khana and the adjoining area outside the Shalimar Gardens.

The current positioning of the Grand Trunk (GT) Road is extremely close to the south wall of the Shalimar Gardens. Due to the recent expansion of the GT Road, the historical remains of the Mughal water reservoir have been cut off from the gardens and have been badly damaged. Rerouting the GT Road is the first most important step we are suggesting in this proposal. Here, we propose a museum of the Shalimar Gardens and developing a buffer between the GT Road and the Shalimar Gardens

Figure 6

Top: Proposal showing the possible rerouting of the Grand Trunk Road. Bottom: Museum intervention proposed on the site.
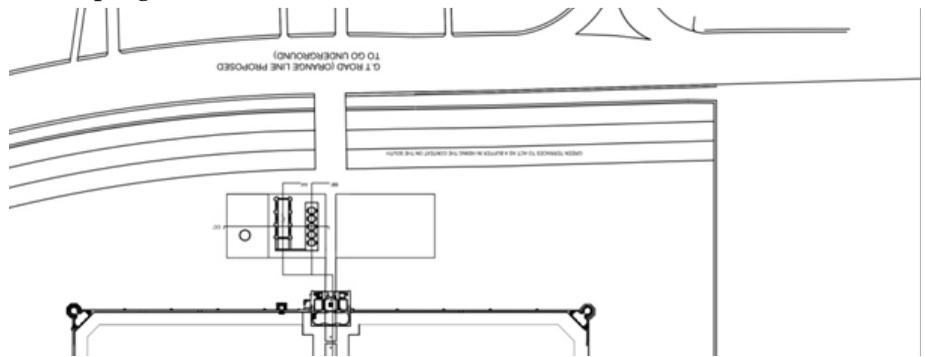
through careful landscaping. The museum will contain information regarding the history of the gardens, its form and function. Models and drawings will become an important part of this exhibit. The remains of the Mughal reservoir will be preserved and enveloped by the proposed museum. A clear connection with the Shalimar

Gardens and direct access to the gardens and to the museum would be possible with the rerouting of the GT Road.

As previously mentioned, the current entrance to the Shalimar Gardens is on the east side. It is disorienting for a new visitor to the Shalimar to enter through the Naqar Khana as one assumes that this is part of the geometry of the Shalimar Gardens. The west entrance to the Shalimar Gardens is currently surrounded by a walled nursery. The road to the entrance is coming from the Shrine of Madho Lal Hussain; the shrine is located around 500 meters away from the Shalimar Gardens. The shrine predates the gardens. Currently, Mela Chiraghan is held in the shrine and adjoining areas. Till 1958 Mela Chiraghan was held within the grounds of the Shalimar Gardens ("Mela Chiraghan", 2011), Ayub Khan ordered the relocation of the festival from the grounds of the Shalimar to the adjoining areas of the shrine. Our proposal for this site includes a clear

establishment of an access from the Shrine of Madho Lal Hussain and the Shalimar Gardens entrance, enhancing the experience of the entrance to the Shalimar Gardens while incorporating the historical remains on the site, offering places for public gathering and establishing different thresholds before reaching the entrance gate to the Shalimar while also connecting this area to the north, west and south interventions. It is proposed to enhance the festivities of the Mela Chiraghan by providing spaces around the Shalimar Gardens for

Mela Chiraghan. The current axis to this entrance is not symmetrical as the octagonal well on the side is off center to the entrance. We have worked very carefully to create a symmetrical axis by creating a bigger octagon around the well and rotating the octagon of the well inside this larger octagon. This larger octagon is now on the symmetrical axis of the entrance. The resulting spaces around this void space of the large octagon will become rooms.

Near the Naqar Khana on the east side, we have the Shahi Hamams. These Hamams are accessible from within the gardens and were used by royalty during the Mughal time period. The placement of the Hamans is off center to the symmetry of the Shalimar Gardens, along one watchtower in the central terrace of the gardens. On this side, east light falls on the external wall of the gardens. As the sun rises the play of light changes throughout the day. The central terrace of the Shalimar gardens is the most important element in the gardens. We see a play of light, shadow, reflection and sound in this section. The elements of nature have a direct relationship with the architectural elements. The architecture enhances and exaggerates the aspects of nature. In Mughal gardens, we see that nature is manipulated by bringing nature into an orderly world where geometry and symmetry are as important as nature. In our proposal, outside the wall we intend to celebrate this aspect of Mughal architecture by proposing a series of walls outside the gardens that reflect and intercept light onto the exterior wall of the gardens. The light is reflected and intercepted by these walls before it falls on the wall of the Shalimar gardens. Depending on the time of the day and the season, the light will slowly move from the floor of the exterior to the exterior walls. The same idea is reflected on the west side with walls intercepting the west light.

On the north side of the Shalimar Gardens, we propose a mosque. We know that several mosques have been built on the periphery of the Shalimar Gardens. Many of these mosques are too small and tend to only signify the sect or person who patronizes the mosque. Here we are proposing a mosque (the design of the mosque is not included in this proposal) that will be of use by all of the population around the Shalimar Gardens. Along with the mosque, there will be lecture and seminar spaces where people may also learn and discuss Islam.

The Shalimar Gardens are an important historical site. Our proposals suggest ways in which the gardens may be protected and reintroduced to visitors. The gardens have been modified and added to during different time periods. Regarding all the additions and the modifications, this site is still one of the most beautiful existing Mughal gardens. The interventions proposed in this paper do not attempt at modifying the garden complex itself but intend to bring activities that rejuvenate the sites next to the periphery of the wall. By doing this we also generate newer experiences and activities for the users of the gardens and the locality. The

experience of the users of the gardens is enhanced as their experience of the gardens is better orchestrated and better connections between the outside and the inside of the gardens are created. Many of the new programs introduced would also be useful for the people living near the Shalimar Gardens. The community may be engaged to enhance and protect the Shalimar Gardens.

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The Sufi Shrine – Dargah Lal Shahbaz Qalandar

Ira Kazi and Farhan Anwar

Introduction

> Lal Shahbaz Qalandar represents so much in Pakistani Sufi culture. It's not just a shrine, it's an institution (regardless of how clichéd and overused that line has become).[1]

The land of Sindh has always been a land of Sufism, mysticism and spiritualism. The social aspect of Sindh and the very cultural norm, values, morals and even architecture[2] embodies and reflect the spiritual aspect. Saints such as Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar are the thespians – enriching the culture. Such personalities have had everlasting impact on the culture and sociological aspects in Sindh.

The thinking of people, in particular the local/regional people associated with the towns having Sufi influence for example, Sehwan, Hala and Uch, is engineered in such a way, that they live by it and die by it. Sufi saints have left an everlasting impression and impact on their respective areas, so that the life cycle of people revolves around the aura of the Sufi saint. The dichotomy of the regional culture with the Sufi influence has given birth to a notion - which in literal sense is unexplainable (the feeling of trance cannot be explained, until experienced). The devotees finding space in such shrines are not just visitors coming for a spiritual experience of the shrine but their whole lives, their cultural, social, economic and religious aspects, all find a pivot and fulcrum within their interface with the Sufi and his teachings. Communities are formed around this faith – communities that transcend ethnic, cultural, social and even religious boundaries as one may

Figure 1

Shrine of the Lal Shahbaz Qalandar (outside)

Figure 2

Shrine of the Lal Shahbaz Qalandar (Inside)
Photo Credit: Wafa Ali

find non-Muslims often frequenting such shrines. Whether the devotee belongs to the Sunni or Shia sect of Islam, in the sphere of the Sufi shrine, they become one.

It would appear that it is this very essence of this cross cultural, multi-ethnic bonding that such places create that is under attack now. The recent terrorist attack on the shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar and many more before that represent the unease and discomfort that fundamentalist terrorist groups face from the Sufi understanding of Islam.

By taking the shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar and the city of Sehwan Sharif as a case study, this paper would aim to deconstruct the nature of this 'community' that gets created around the central devotion to a particular Sufi saint - how lives of the people forming this community are affected and more importantly, how the community finds its very strong 'bonding' that cuts across such aspects as culture, religious divisions, political affiliations that normally within our society are serving as the fault lines of divisions, conflicts and confrontation. Are there lessons to be learnt for the larger society that may then help in building strong, integrated walls of resistance against the ominous threat of religious terrorism?

Background – Sindh, A Haven For Sufism

Regions such as Central Asia, the land of Euphrates, that is, the present day Iraq and the indo-Pak, has significant Sufi substance, where centuries old Sufi shrines still exist and a large number of people`s lives revolve around their existence–nonexistence. For devotees and followers a Sufi is not dead, for them their existence is very much there. However, for orthodox Sunni sect, a person once dead is always dead and there is no such thing as spirituality. Among all the regions as mentioned, Pakistan is blessed – as Sufi devotees and followers say that from among thousands of Sufi saints all over the world, there are only a handful of Qalandars, of which one is in the province of Sindh in Pakistan, making the surroundings exclusive and a notion of pride for devotees, followers and disciples. It is said that in the world, there are three and half Qalandars and some say two and half Qalandars (a Qalandari lineage of Sufism), where Dada Hayat Qalandar (him being Qalandar is disputed), the Founder of the Qalandar order, believed to be one of the three-and-half Qalandar masters who visited South Asia, the other two being Lal Shahbaz Qalandar of Sehwan (Sindh) and Bu

Ali Shah Qalandar of Panipat (Harayana) and Bibi Rabi'a of Basra is half Qalandar being denied full membership in the Qalandar order because of her gender.[3]

Having such novelty, rarity and intermittence of the spiritual aspect that only three and half persons are declared as Qalandar(s), one of whom happens to be in the city of Sehwan of province of Sindh in Pakistan, makes it justifiable that people of Sehwan and Sindh - as collective enjoy a sense of vanity and pride culturally and otherwise - being at the service of the shrine.

The city of Sehwan appears to be a Central (slightly North Western) part of Sindh. The aspect of the city differs from other parts of Sindh – owing to its hilly nature, having one of the largest lakes in Pakistan and having the shrine – *dargah* of Sufi saint Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar[4]. The tomb or shrine of this Sufi saint is said to have been built by former governor Malik Ikhtiyar-u-din, in about 1356 AD – bearing high walls and having beautiful encaustic tiles and numerous inscriptions in the Arabic script.

Great number of visitors (locally known as pilgrims) from various religious backgrounds, particularly Muslims and Hindus, flock to this spot - not only from Pakistan but from neighboring countries as well[5], resulting in high revenue generation.

Figure 3

Location of the shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. Source: Consultant Group

The first kind of visitors are the devotees from all the shrines of the Orient particularly from Indo-Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Russia, Turkistan and Burma[6]. The most important of all the visitors are the businessmen who come for trade from Quetta, Kandahar, Kabul and Peshawar[7].

The established local merchants benefiting from the *dargah* offer for sale local handicrafts, earthenware, local books, *kashi* (mosaic) articles and other locally novel things. Sales and economic turnover is largely healthy all year round but it escalates drastically annually at the *Urs* (anniversary) of Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, where there is a demand for brisk trade, including *dubkis* (drums) and carpets from Bubak, the *kasha* utensils of Sehwan, articles from Khudabad, the *lungis* (type of sarong) of Thatta, the *khaises* (light blanket) of Nasarpur and the famous Hala potteries, including the horse and camel market – contributing its share to the economic realm –benefiting from the visitors.

The city of Sehwan often known as the sacred city because of the presence of Qalandar, also has a very interesting and intriguing feature apart from the geographical location, that is the social substance of the city – which is very complex as it includes various dimensions of cultures, religions, traditions, politics and feudalism – and those very aspects cut across the gender class and identity[8].

The Saint Lal Shahbaz Qalandar and the Followers

Otherwise known as Mohammad Osman Marwandi, born in Marwand, he was titled "Lal" meaning "red", due to his habit of wearing red attire and, likewise he was also titled "shahbaz" meaning "falcon", because of his "red eyes" resembling those of a falcon's, hence, famously known as Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. It is also believed that he used to wear a heavy stone tied around his neck with a piece of cloth, so while walking – because of the swing of that heavy stone, he also walked in a manner – appearing to be a whirling dancer – resembling those of the dervishes in Turkey. In doing so, the followers started to copy Lal Shahbaz Qalandar`s every aspect – having the utmost love for him, wanting to devote everything in his name. Consequently, the way of walking and moving of Lal Saeen was the origin of what is known as *Dhamaal* today.

Every Thursday night, men and women engage themselves in devotional dancing – famously known as *dhamaal* - where devotees express their devotion, their love, their inner feelings of soul to the saint in a state of trance. During the *dhamaal*, in a state of trance[9], a devotee forgets about

the surroundings, and moves in a manner, which at the zenith of it, is not even under the control of the devotee.

His devotees are known as Faqirs and Malangs, that is, people who lose connection with the material world and are connected to God through such powerful Sufi saints through the medium of love. The Malangs and Faqirs live very much at the shrines and even the open urban spaces in such cities. Everything, from lodging to eating, travelling, pilgrims, bazaar, local cafes, drugs and the locals, is connected and interlinked, bequeathing the influence of the Qalandar.

Since, the city of Sehwan geographically is very close to the River Indus, it has a history of trade due to its proximity. People (devotees) come from different parts of world and Pakistan, where the city itself is home to 50,000 – 80,000 people (locals), but during the *Urs,* the city accommodates half a million people – according to conservative estimates.

Most of the local residences are rented out to devotees, which in turn prove to be economic triggers in the society. Locals generate handsome revenue not only from offering devotees their dwellings but through the sale/trade of things associated with the Dargah, being the flowers, *chadar,* drugs (to indulge themselves in trance during *dhamaal*). *Chader* is a locally embroidered piece of cloth in different colors with Quranic verses and calligraphy – often with gold and silver on it. It is often placed over the grave of Sufi saints, or often the followers just touch the grave with their *chader* and take that *chader* with themselves - believing it be sacred with a sense of superiority and pride. The follower would not feel shy, infact he/she would display the *chader* with confidence and a sense of supreme egotism. Such is the influence of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar on the city and the region. The regular purchase of *chaders* from the local market by the visitors creates a social bond between them; often shopkeepers offer hefty discounts to regular devotees.

The city on *dhamaal* days and on the eve of the *Urs*, which is an annual event, transforms drastically and the scale of the festival is very large – spreading out not only to the limits of the *dargah* but to the limits of the city itself. People indulge themselves in carnivals and festivals, playing games (young boys), eating and socializing in parallel to the religious

and traditional activities. The
food stalls earn a handsome
amount of revenue and the use
of drugs also makes trade[10]. As is
said by Declan Walsh, keeping the
volume and influx of people and
rise in merchandise, that is, the
transformation of just a city to a
magical city, that the *Urs* is "the
country`s biggest party"[11].

Being termed in such a way, it clearly depicts and reflects that Sehwan is
a Sufi saint town where everything is closely connected and interlinked,
which has a larger impact on the city in all aspects, be it social, economic,
traditional, or religious. It is seconded by Pnina Werbner that such festivals
and pilgrimages create an egalitarian culture at the shrines, where people
from different geographic locations and ethnic backgrounds come to
attend such festivals and visit shrines, which as a result creates a nation
building environment, welcoming different sects and religions. It in
general works in the similar manner as university towns in the West do,
for example Canterbury in UK, where the University of Kent is situated,
is a small town in the south of England where 15000-20000 students
study, giving the city an economic and social boom. In summer time or
during holidays, the city centre is very quiet and activities are at a low,
similar to Boston in the USA, which is home to famous universities of
the world.

Moving Beyond the Shrine

According to scholar Katherine Ewing, such shrines also have great
importance in the political context. Local politics in such areas do revolve
around the feudal system. Prominent families and personalities belonging
to feudal as well as spiritual background guide their devotees[12] (*mureeds*)
to run and maintain the political landscape being host to devotees from
all over the country and world, offering them their spaces to live.

Having such diverse harmonic religious essence – Sufism is in direct
clash in ideology with the orthodox Sunni and other sects of Islam,
whereby according to the Sunni sect, the *dargah* culture is totally absurd
because in Sufism, a disciple connects to God through that particular
Sufi saint, that is, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar or any other, as the case may,

through reciting (*dhiker*) and continues remembrance of God, whereas the orthodox Sunni, believing in text - Hadith and Sunnah, often label Sufism as blasphemy (*shirk*) and consider that once a human being is dead he/she is like any other deceased and cannot perform miracles, hence the same is considered as dead man's redemption.

The rise in militancy in the name of Islam bears a strict orthodox ideological perspective which gives them a reason to destroy anything and everything which they consider to be shirk, for example militants destroyed one of the oldest Buddha sculptures in Afghanistan and carried suicide bombings on Sufi shrines across the province of Sindh[13] and otherwise in the country too - essentially to defeat the Sufi ideology and impose their perspective.

Despite, all this ever continuing bombings and attacks, the Sufi followers continue to grow – further strengthening their ideology because Sufism preaches peace and cuts across the ethnic and religious divide, encouraging people - followers and disciples - to defeat the orthodox sect with the message of love and peace, as the main essence of Sufism is "sheer tolerance".

Anything actual and authentic which happens to be in the midst of the shrine – as mentioned above, depicts a clear understating of why such communities have stronger networks compared to others. Illustrating on an empirical example of this Sufi Shrine, it appears that the city in connection with social capital have a long history. The local bazaar merchants, the drug seller and the visitors from all backgrounds create a bonding and bridging social capital, plagued with contradictions, that is, with Islamic fundamentalism.

Sufi Shrine and Social Capital

This phenomenon of Sufi shrines building a social capital, the benefits of which and the interfaces of which go beyond the confines of the shrine is not unique of course to the shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. Linus Strothmann in his paper, 'Giving Comfort, Dispelling Fear: Social Welfare at the Shrine of Data Ganj Bukhsh in Lahore, Pakistan', states that a large part of donations made by visitors at the shrine is spent on various forms of social welfare directly or indirectly. All the income of the shrine goes to the Department of Religious Affairs and Auqaf first. The shrine's administration has its own budget, making up only about

twenty percent of the income it generates. From this amount, about 10% is used on social welfare. Additionally, the department runs a hospital close to the shrine which has a budget approximately half of the shrine's income. If the two institutions were considered one, approximately 60% of the income is spent on social welfare.

Then it is not just services that are provided but the money generated goes also into skills and livelihood development. It is stated that the administration's social welfare includes an industrial school for young women where they learn stitching and a fund given to young women for their marriage expenses. By far the largest social welfare institution is the Data Darbar Hospital, around a hundred meters to the west of the respective shrine. Started as a one room dispensary inside the shrine in 1960, today the hospital has all the facilities of a government hospital. Treatment is free and the quality of treatment is comparable to some of the private clinics in the city.

When we consider the social capital being created other than actors based outside, the shrine premises become part of this community bonding process. Linus notes that a local Non-Government Organization run by a former government social worker, picks up run-away children at the shrine and takes them back to their families.

Linus then lists some aspects of this community bonding and social capital phenomenon that find a strong resonance to our focus on Lal Shahbaz Qalandar's shrine and its impact on city based community bonding. Linus states that the shrine of Data Ganj Bukhsh offers social welfare services not only through its administration but also by offering a platform for a variety of actors, ranging from private to civil society and

Figure 6

Social welfare actors including visible and invisible civil society at the shrine of Data Darbar. Source: Giving Comfort, Dispelling Fear: Social Welfare At The Shrine Of Data GanjBukhsh In Lahore, Pakistan, Linus Strothmann, November 2012

state actors to offer their respective services or help. There are several reasons why the shrine is used in this way, most of which apply to sacred places in South Asia in general:

• Sacred places are well-known in their surroundings and often beyond. People go there for relief because they see saints as 'Friends of God' at whose graves prayers will be heard. Thus, many of the groups in need of help are already present (prostitutes, drug victims, street children and others).

• Attracting people from various social strata, who otherwise inhabit segregated areas of the city, sacred places are a rare platform for interaction between rich and poor. No one is stigmatized for making use of the facilities and services at the shrine, as seen with the above examples of both rich and poor utilizing the facilities.

There is also an understanding that even the physical development of a city is impacted by the type of communities that are created around spaces and functions critically intrinsic to a shrine space. Ghafer Shahzad, in his paper, "Shrines Shaping a City – Lahore: A Case Study" laments the fact that this aspect of the Sufi shrine space has not been sufficiently acknowledged and documented. He focuses on the *Khanqahs* (a place for spiritual retreat) as the catalysts for this urban expansion and writes that the *Khanqahs* may be divided in two categories based on their location. Firstly, *Khanqahs* that were established just outside the city gates and secondly that were located at a distance from the city, mostly on the roadsides linking the neighborhoods with the city. These *Khanqahs* were cultural hubs for the local residents. Various commercial and residential activities took place which finally controlled and oriented the expansion of the cities in forthcoming centuries.

Shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar – Building Communities

Sindh generally being a feudal and conservative society, yet, every year, millions of people pay homage to this Sufi shrine, both males and larger number of females as well, who are generally forced to remain in houses and observe *Pardah* (veil). As millions of people come, they meet and greet each other - some for the first time and some already acquainted – giving the reflection of a social institution, where people meet, trade, do business and often get engaged for lifetime in wedlock too. The urban space truly works as social capital – by bonding and bridging.

The high profile dignitaries often pay homage to this Sufi saint, where people who locally run the show – including the flower sellers, the *chader* sellers and the local caretaker staff take advantage of being closely associated with them and are often successful in getting benefits for themselves and their families in terms of government jobs or any other beneficial reference.

The revenue generation from the trade of drugs is also one of the economic contributors in this Sufi city of Sehwan. This includes the disciples who often take drugs to get into a trance like situation, the non-serious visitors who explore the culture and take drugs too and eventually get associated with drug dealers for life – often for the reasons of sharing a common interest, that is, the easy and cheap availability of drugs and a social space to meet people and observe the *dhamaal*, offering visitors enough of a comfortable ambiance to stay longer or to visit again.

This framework of bonding and bridging the social capital is the main essence of this city. The socio-economic and geopolitical conditions that have led to the development of bonding social capital have been undermined academically.

The city of Sehwan is layered in spaces, on which the social aspect of the city revolves; first being the centre of the Shrine and the open courtyard a common meeting and greeting place for first time visitors. The second, being the adjacent local bazaar and lodgings of disciples and the third being the actual limits of the city. Interestingly, all the layers are interlinked, whereby at first people meet, then they share a common interest by visiting a bazaar or have drugs and eventually enjoy the local dwellings as rest houses. Hence, the entire process depicts a picture of a social institution – forming a powerful social capital and proving a true essence of naturally evolved urban space.

A mix of factors including the ever increasing homage of visitors despite the terrorist attacks, increasing revenue generation (wealth), de-stabilization, the collapse of the social system – otherwise (not in Sehwan), has led to the extension of Sehwan as a social capital urban space. It may be argued and claimed that such cities can have good prospects in the creation of knowledge of social economy because of having characteristics such as solidity, high density, practical mix and a rich cultural-historical heritage - further bonding and bridging the social capital and defining the layers of urban space.

Documenting the Social Capital

People visiting the shrine had varying profiles. There were those who regularly paid tribute to the shrine en-route their way to a destination (from example, from Karachi to Dadu and further towards Punjab), secondly, there were those who visited specifically for *dhamaal* every other week. Finally, there were those that went annually on the eve of *Urs* and stayed for long. A fairly large percentage of respondents – 20% said they visited the shrine once every week. An overwhelming 75% respondents said that they made new friends during their visits to the shrine.

All the visiting motivations have their various impacts accordingly, where a fifteen minute regular visitor would know the local administration and the flower shop as he or she would buy regularly. The fortnightly visitors, who go for *dhamaal* usually, go to witness the trance like situation – among these are visitors who associate themselves with drugs during *dhamaal*. Finally, on the eve of *Urs*, it is a spiritual journey for the devotees but it is a business week for local and otherwise traders. Cooks from several parts of the province go and cook food in large amounts for devotees and earn a substantial living. Likewise, a similar situation is for all the earners – who want to earn (keeping in mind that they are helping the devotee, they sometimes offer things for free to people they know and otherwise also).
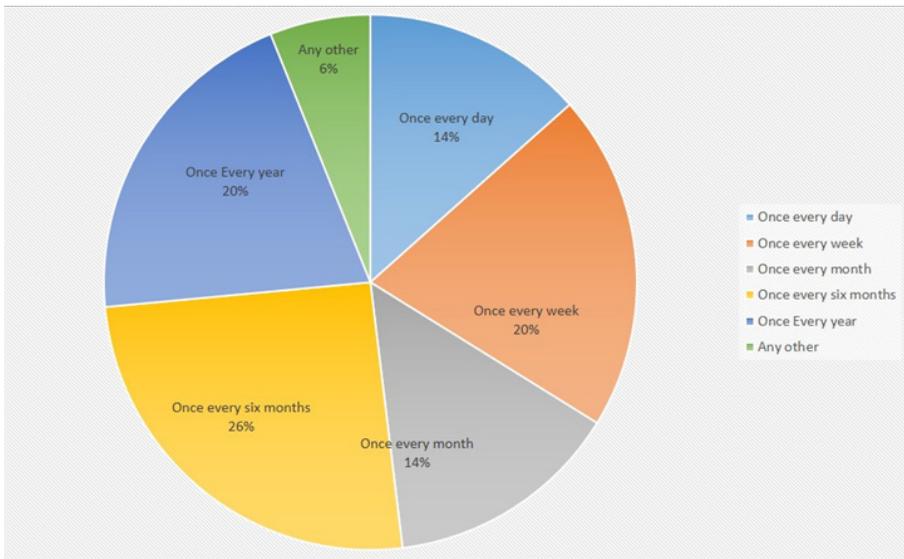
Chart 1

Percentage of how often people visit the shrine.

Based on the survey (quantitative - close ended questionnaire being the survey instrument) conducted from the devotees (70) and visitors of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, it has been found that the people visiting there belong to all walks of life, to different ethnicities, sects of Islam and even people belonging to religions other than Islam. Such visitors do not only come but nurture long lasting friendships that cut across financial, social and religious divides. It was found that 70% of the respondents said that they made friends with people that belonged to sects of Islam different from their own. More importantly, 65% of the respondents stated that they cultivated friendships with people belonging to various religions. 60% of the respondents stated that they made friends with people having a variety of ethnic/linguistic identity.

The effect of this cross fertilization of friendships among such diverse communities is evident. When asked if being associated as a devotee with the Sufi saint and shrine made them a more tolerant person towards sects, religions, and ethnic and religious identities other than their own – 75% replied in the affirmative.

The secondary and primary research conducted during the course of this research finds a synergy in clearly indicating that Sufi shrines as places of gathering, social and financial transactions and religious devotion serve as critical spaces for fostering relationships and social capital. This social capital represents inclusive communities cutting across religious, ethnic and linguistic boundaries and as such, this model needs to be studied in further detail to see how the lessons learned can be translated into a larger geographical and socio-cultural context to serve as catalysts for societal intolerance, violence and hatred and replace it with tolerance and bonding.

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14. Shikarpur, Lahoot, Sehwan

The Unzoo Alternative: Re-Installing Indigenous Wildlife into the Urban Fabric

Manal Abdullah

Introduction

The purpose of Architecture is to create a built environment that enriches the life of human beings who are meant to experience it. In an effort to cater to the population burst, the built begins to prioritize speed above all other priorities. This has led to an encroachment of sorts, where territoriality becomes a real issue between human and non-human animals.

> "In recent years cities show incremental growth in their infrastructure with alarming signs of environmental problems due to the negative impact of various urban activities. Degradation of natural resources, climate change and developmental pressure causes threats to a city's ecology. It is estimated that over 50% of the world's population now lives in cities and urban areas which created immense challenges for designers to plan environmental conscious cities which should reduce the impact of such developments." (World Fact Book 2016)

A large part of reducing that impact is to sensitize ourselves to the threats it causes to the existing environment, that is, not to encroach upon the territory belonging to wildlife. The source of the *zoo* concept needs to be understood and immediately rejected because of the way it intends to make a spectacle out of nature. Landscape Architecture, once responsible for creating elitist and luxurious *Arcadias*, now focuses on much sought-after human sanctuaries.

The city of Islamabad is aligned according to the iconic Margalla Hills, which are a part of the larger Himalayan Range cutting across the North of Pakistan and continuing into China and Nepal. Additional flora which was not a part of the initial ecological makeup has led to a very unique environment in this capital city, to the point that it has become one of the best known bird-watching cities in the world. Around 332 species of birds can be found here, 23% of which are currently on the World Wildlife Fund's (WWF) endangered list. Sustaining this habitat, then, should be the only obvious intelligent step to take. In Pakistan, a wide

range of species are going extinct due to issues such as erosion of soil, overuse of water, pollution and hunting. The extinction of any animal can lead to a collapse of the specie-pyramid of the Earth.

The objectives of this paper are to recognize the practical factors that affect the behavior of birds in Islamabad. Observation of the behavioral response to material and proximity to humans, are the two major factors being studied in this particular research. The analysis of the data received should help conclude how these factors affect bird behavior, if at all. It will explore what characteristics of design may lead to creating optimum conditions for certain species which may make them inhabit those spaces by choice. This paper aims to create quantitative data on the preference of broad categories of bird species for specific materials in their living spaces.

Background

Zoo Architecture and the Unzoo Alternative

Animals and wildlife have the ability to adapt to built structures, often using abandoned buildings for shelter, or living as pets, or in aquariums, zoos and safari parks, where at least part of the environment is always built. A zoo (short for zoological garden or zoological park) is a facility in which animals are housed within enclosures, displayed to the public and in which they may also breed. The term "zoological garden" refers to zoology, the study of animals. ("Zoo", *Encyclopædia Britannica,* 2008).

The idea of a zoo comes from primitive circuses with trained lions that jumped through hoops. Hunting safaris turned into what we may refer to as safari parks that still allowed hunting to take place. The combination of this exhibitionist tendency along with the hunter's fascination with an animal, led to the bizarre spaces that we may refer to as immersion/modern zoos.

Providing fake plants for the real animals on display, or caging more than three small leopards in a small, single holding pen has become common practice in modern zoos. Zoos seem completely preoccupied with charismatic mega-fauna, believing that without their traditional "big" animals, people will stop visiting. In Pakistan, due to the financial issues concerned with creating an artificial habitat, much of the spaces designed for wildlife are already based on landscape immersion styles.

Figure 1

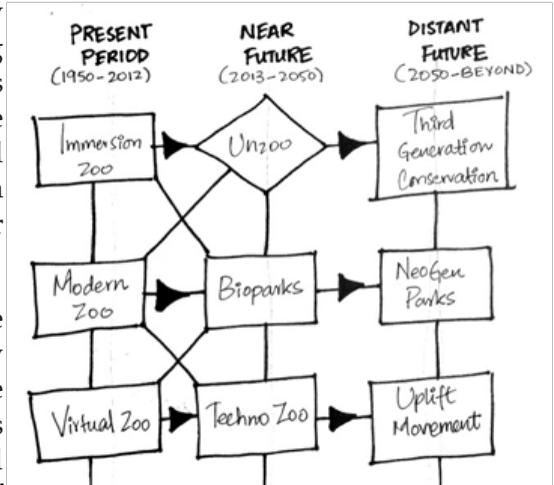Past and Future Evolution of Zoos. Coe and Hancocks, *Future of Zoos*, 2012

Immersion techniques allow an in-depth understanding of materials and the various sensory impacts they create on the users (humans as well as wildlife) by creating an environment as close to their natural habitats as possible.

Many researchers have proposed Virtual Reality Zoos as an alternative to educating the masses regarding nature and animals. The problem of encroaching upon habitats still persists, however. Since the expansion itself is inevitable, alternative ways to cater to wildlife must be taken into consideration. By taking a more business-like approach and embracing more mixed-use development, there are still ways to make the attractions themselves feasible and at the same time generate the extra funding needed to help their conservation efforts.

The 'Unzoo' Alternative, a term coined in 2012, aims to create an antithesis of the existing idea of a zoo. "Unzooing" the zoo would mean to tackle all the issues with the current exhibit design and to question whether or not any kind of exhibit is acceptable. It is vital to coexist with the previous type of exhibit whilst bringing a more sustainable option to the table. Increasingly, exhibit designs have started focusing on preservation, research and education and in designing spaces where the primary occupants' needs come first; the animal.

In the Unzoo experience, it is the human beings who invade territory belonging to animals. The approach differs in a way that there are no cages; instead, the barriers are designed to keep the humans out, providing them with a single consistent path going through the whole environment. The barriers are designed intelligently; so as to keep the visibility at maximum but creating innovative variations into designs of various kinds of moats and other suitable barriers. Animals are not expected to adjust their schedules according to visiting times, so the running of these zoos is expected to be staff intensive and more flexible than before. It is imperative to note that the next evolutionary step towards societal change is to look into design that is socially and environmentally
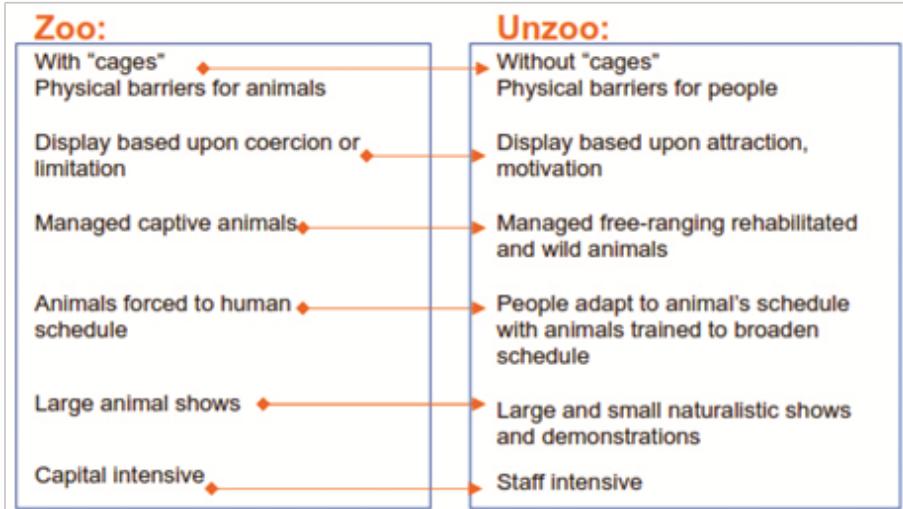
Zoo:	Unzoo:
With "cages" Physical barriers for animals	Without "cages" Physical barriers for people
Display based upon coercion or limitation	Display based upon attraction, motivation
Managed captive animals	Managed free-ranging rehabilitated and wild animals
Animals forced to human schedule	People adapt to animal's schedule with animals trained to broaden schedule
Large animal shows	Large and small naturalistic shows and demonstrations
Capital intensive	Staff intensive

responsive in the place where it exists, instead of trying to make monetary gains our highest priority. To separate animals according to their comfort is a vital part of learning for the next generation; if an animal cannot live in a certain climate, the solution of forcing it into that place is highly insensitive. Naturalistic demonstration of the animal in its habitat is a much better expression for augmenting the right kind of awareness juxtaposed with the concept of preservation.

Islamabad, Zones and Encroachment Issues

The city of Islamabad is designed according to the alignment of the Margalla Hills. It is divided into different zones by the Capital Development Authority (CDA), where Zone-III is referred to as the Margalla Hills National Park.

Comprising of the Margalla Hills and the area surrounding Shakarparian, Banigala, Bara Kahu and the Rawal Lake, the area was designated as a National Park in 1980. As a designated part of Zone-III, the whole area was not to consist of any buildings other than those that will promote heritage, culture, education and conservation. The Margalla Zoo region and the Botanical Gardens near Bara Kahu were proposed as a part of the urban planning of the city at the time.

Unfortunately, due to the construction of Residential Sectors within Darra Jangla and the consistently spreading housing schemes of Bara Kahu under power of politics is something that has ruined the once
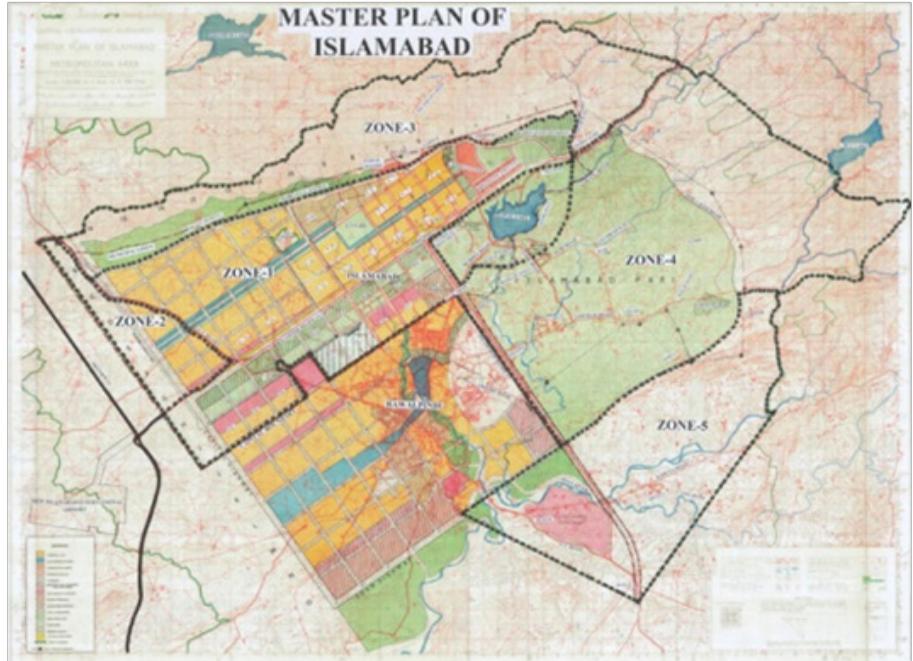
magnificent atmosphere of this large park. In 1989, the CDA laws were changed to allow residential and commercial buildings into the areas of Bara Kahu and farmhouses in the towns of Banigala and Chak Shehzad. Out of the initial 17,586 acres, only a small percentage is now left with no construction on it (Figure 4).

Forest fires and tree-cutting by surrounding villagers are also major threats to this park's biodiversity. However, the biggest problem remains the encroachment of individuals and organizations in the park even after construction was declared illegal. Around 131,000 people have settled in 25 major rural settlements here (Consensus 2013). This includes the area near Bara Kahu in particular. Rural settlements spread to areas of leisure due to the increase in job opportunities around recreational spaces such as Lake View Park. This in turn attracts more families from the village to settle into these areas.
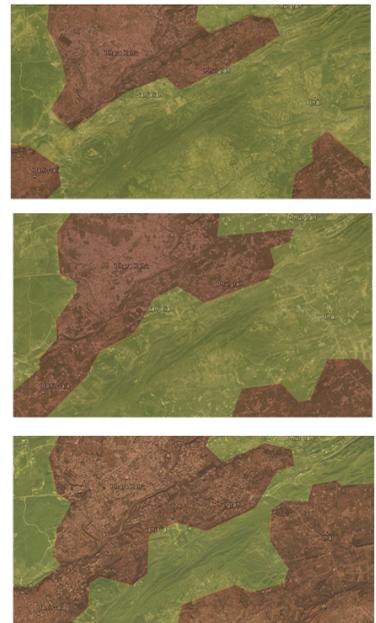
As figure 4 indicates, the green areas which were meant to be preserved as park areas are now being turned into housing schemes and farmhouses. This may be helpful for the financial development and tourism of the citybut it creates a dire situation for all the bird species that migrate to and from the Margalla Hills all year round from all over the world.

Flight Distance and the Bird Species

The fight/flight response is the natural response of any moving living specie to a presence/movement. The biology of the body acts as a defence mechanism and catalyzes the act of either running away or attacking. Flight Distance is indicative of the distance at which the animal remains comfortable in the presence of another being. Birds mostly have flight distances in feet and in the presence of keepers, the distance may even reduce to one foot or less, depending on the specie.

The Margalla Hills are a known international spot for bird watching. There are numerous online blogs run by bird enthusiasts and researchers, specifically documenting species that inhabit this area. Of a total 8,600 bird species, Pakistan's share is of 666 migratory and resident species. 54 species of butterflies, 37 of fish, nine of amphibians, 20 of reptiles, 380 of birds, 21 of small mammals and 15 species of large mammals that inhabit this area and mountain range annually were recorded.

Bird species are classified according to their diets, behavior and their preferred ways of dwelling. This information can indicate the height they prefer to dwell at, the kind of claws/beaks they have, the species with which they may share space/food and hence territory. The relationship of different bird species with one another depends largely on their preferred diet. Indeed, most seed and fruit-eating birds may dwell together quite peacefully. Those with a more carnivorous diet maintain competitive behavior with the smaller species, as well as those who have a diet similar to theirs.
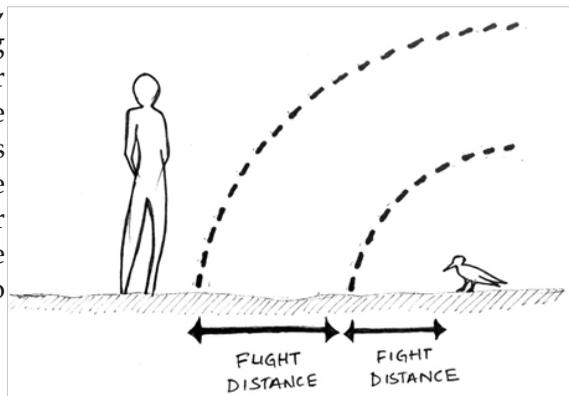

Figure 5

Diagrammatic representation of flight and fight reactions. Lawson, 2001

Available Solutions

Various examples show us very practical potential outcomes that may be integrated in architectural design, to resolve the problem of endangered bird species and the lack of wildlife in the urban fabric at the same time.

Implemented/Existing Examples (Existing Solutions)

The London Zoo Aviary by Cedric Price was meant to create an environment that allows birds to get used to the environment and feeding habits, so that the structure itself is taken to be temporary. Once the structure is removed, theoretically the birds will still come back and inhabit the same area. Though the design was not removed later as intended, the temporariness of the structure was very sustainable. The circulation of humans inside was noticeably well-managed and the form was iconic. Similarly, the Animal Wall by Gitta Gschwendtner in Cardiff Bay, UK, is a barrier of nearly one thousand bat-houses and bird-houses which acts as a buffer separating residential apartments from the adjacent river. It exemplifies the fact that designs built out of man-made materials can act as dwellings for animals. Building on this exact premise, we see various examples in Islamic Architecture. Spaces built as small *jharokas*, high up on large wall surfaces act as wind-resistant birdhouses that are protected from cats and dogs. Similarly, mosques are often inclusive of bird-baths in their design. These examples show how birds can adapt to specifically designed urban spaces.

Proposed Design Solutions

Many architects in contemporary times have looked into the problem of building designs that are less-impactful on the environment surrounding their sites. An example that stands out, Habitat for Urban Wildlife, by Ofer Bilik Architects was the winner of a design competition directed at reusing abandoned military towers. Their solution was to utilize the water system present inside the old structures and to create barriers that allowed humans to observe birds whilst allowing the birds to dwell in their own spaces personally. The design was inspiring in terms of how the human and bird dynamic may work together with comfort through simple design solutions such as perforated barriers. The water system shows that there are many ways to achieve good aesthetics to this pro-biodiversity site.

The Bird Scraper was based on a problem that presented itself in a specific context. The local species of fish were dependent on a certain

algae which had stopped growing because of the lack of bird feces. Birds needed to be brought back into this habitat where trees were lessening every day. The perforated form of the "bird scraper" was also meant to create a barrier-free habitat for birds at that height, thereby giving back to ecology and solving the feeding problems of the fish in the lake.

Setting Up Birdhouses

Initial research was done over the most commonly used material for architectural construction in Islamabad. Some of the materials most commonly used in Islamabad are concrete, brick and steel. The façade treatments used frequently are of tiles, brick, paint or plaster. To cater to all of these materials, five different birdhouse modules were designed to obtain data on bird response to materials.

The selected locations for observation were of different relevance. Existing nature habitats such as zoos, safari parks, bird parks and aviaries were of immense help in understanding how the density of flora and fauna affect the likeliness of a bird to come towards that space. Data about birds was obtained from Pakistan Himalayan Wildlife Foundation, World Wildlife Foundation and International Union for Conservation of Nature, as a reference for understanding and recognizing the species and analyzing their behavior.

The Five Locations and Various Factors being Observed

Figure 6

The Birdhouse Modules. Photography by Manal Abdullah

The modules were tested at five various locations of Islamabad at different times of the day; Trail 6 at the Margalla Hills, Lake View Park of Rawal Lake, F-9 Park, F-8 Ground in front of PIMS Hospital and a house in F-11/2. The five specific things being looked at were all characteristics that were theoretically meant to affect the birds' behaviors; aesthetic/form of the birdhouse, material of the birdhouse, proximity of the birdhouses to humans, the context in which the birdhouse was present, and the time of the day.

The Six Modules (Bird-Houses)

Since some existing examples show us that the form/aesthetic of the birdhouse does not affect bird behavior much, except as long as it is anatomically comfortable, the birdhouses were built as simple cubes/boxes. The chosen materials were narrowed down to five, based on research that showed the most common building materials being used in Islamabad; *Kikar* wood, High-Carbon Steel, Earthen Pot (Clay), Enamel Paint Finish and a wooden frame covered with Dried Plant Material.

Observations showed that major activity took place about the hours of sunrise and sunset due to the natural behavior of birds looking for food during those hours. The proximity and the context showed how long the birds were willing to interact with the modules, how close they were willing to come to the humans and how they perceived various territories.

Observation and Outcome

Proximity and the context proved to be the biggest characteristic which changed behavior amongst the animals. In areas of Zone-III, all observation shows that the birds were more comfortable in their own habitat and hence, the flight distance was quite large. As the birds felt it was their own territory, they were dominant and approached the modules with more confidence, and interacted with them for longer periods of time. The frequency or the number of birds was inversely proportionate to this value. The average recorded flight distance was less in the locations where more birds were interacting, which indicates comfort.

In residential areas, the flight distance decreased, however, the birds took the longest to respond. In all cases, it took the birds at least two days to approach the modules that were a part of the built human territory. However, in places such as Lake View Park, where the territory primarily belonged to the birds already, they responded sooner but after consciously exploring the modules and analyzing them. Much of the interaction at Lake View Park involved a complete hierarchy of responses from the animal kingdom, from the local mongoose to the small wild cats frolicking about in the adjacent woods.

One of the biggest issues faced over the behavioral research was the issue of territoriality that presented itself between different species of birds. Proximities were similar for species that had similar sizes and diets. The approximate distance for most of the seed/insect/berry eaters

was approximately 30 feet. With the bird species that have a partially carnivorous diet, there was a noticeable difference in their comfortable flight distances, which decreased to about 15 to 20 feet.

According to the zoo-keepers who dealt with these birds nearly every day, this was due to the confidence of the carnivorous birds as they had to deal with prey. However, since the carnivorous species kept in cages/aviaries were fed regularly, they never actually had any prey to be well-practiced. In fact, all bird species kept in confined spaces, a permanent territory and a regular schedule of diet were simply too comfortable with humans to deem them as a threat. As a result, they lacked response almost completely, unless the human had almost nearly stepped on them. In the case of chosen urban sites, however, the results were different. Most flight distances were different depending upon zones that the modules were set at.

	House in Sector F11	Centaurus Ground, F8	F9 Park	Lake View Park	Trail 6
Frequency of Birds Interacting*	70%	5%	45%	60%	55%
Flight Distance*	5'0"	50'0"	20'0"	10'0"	15'0"
Behavior of Birds	Eating, Interacting fully	None	Watching	Interacting fully, tasting birdfeed	Interacting partially

*approximate average of

Table 1

Summary of Data Obtained from Observation

Particularly at the location of the house, once the birds were used to the modules being present, they made it a part of their daily routine. The most likely reason for this outcome is that the modules stayed there the longest and hence allowed the birds to adapt to the module. This shows,

	Kikar wood	High-Carbon Steel	Earthen Pot (Clay)	Enamel Paint Finish	Dried Plant Material
Positive Response Percentage*	60%	25%	40%	5%	45%

as with the London Aviary that if an object stays within an area without being removed or moved around too much, birds and other animals deem it safe and habitable in spite of the material being used.

Within materials, there was a noticeable difference in the areas where birds were most comfortable. They showed clear preference for natural materials over the steel and enamel painted modules. However, once the birds were used to the modules being in the same area, they showed nearly equal preference for all.

Conclusively, this data is based on variables that have to do with the context of an existing, inhabited space. Further observation done in more locations will help corroborate theories growing from patterns here; for example, the question of whether the presence of humans actually matters once the bird has established its territory in a safe space. More feedback and research with the help of bird experts could help narrow down some obvious characteristics of bird behavior so as to separate them into genuine responses to material and form. This research gives enough ground to solidify the fact that proximity and flight distance are good indicators of an animals' comfort, and that the typology of barrier-design discussed within Coe's Unzoo Alternative are good examples for birds to adapt.

The implications of this research, however, provide concrete data to augment the dire need for Islamabad's Architecture to adapt the city's architectural design to accommodate the "urban wildlife". The speed of encroachment in the past nine years shows how rapidly the Margalla Park is being built on, which leads into an almost urgent need to create solutions that still allow various migrating bird species to come back to this city annually. If the observations in this research can confirm patterns of birds' responses to architectural material, it can give incredible insight into the ways that architectural design can adapt itself to accommodate birds. Habitual exploration of wildlife-sensitive design may lead to environmentally responsive solutions and call for an ethically responsible aesthetic change in the urban fabric.

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Urbanization and Art Education in Pakistan

Yasmeen Zahra Salman

"In urbanized Pakistan, the methods of teaching Art and Design at O and A Levels in school and tuition centers hinder the growth and sustenance of individuals as artists, designers and architects in art schools." The methods of teaching Art and Design at both the levels is less about learning and more about performing - result/grade oriented – both at school and tuitions. The methodology used at schools and tuition centers destroys the process of inquiry and discovery intrinsic to the subject, as well as the critical and analytical growth of the individuals. The attitude of parents, schools as well as teachers has given rise to the current situation. The tuition culture prevalent in Karachi with its shortcuts and quick-fix solutions plays a significant factor in hindering the discovery and growth of areas of strength and interest.

One of the major reasons for the situation is the lack of resources and apathy towards education in general and art education specifically. The schooling system as well as higher education lack standardization, resulting in varied systems operating within the country. The government schools are the ones which provide no remarkable art or design education and the other hybrid systems – matriculation, Cambridge International Examinations (CIE), International Baccalaureate (IB) and American High School – all provide art education according to the school's own philosophy. Most schools do not provide art and design education of any remarkable quality.

The attitude of the school administration towards the subject determines the standing of the art department in the school. In most schools, art is not offered as the number of students opting for it is low as compared to those opting for other subjects, at times with just two or three students opting for art. Keeping in mind that a large number of schools in Karachi are commercial entities, a small number of students for art results in the school not offering the subject for O or A Levels, as it is not feasible to hire a teacher and have a department for such a small number.

The quality of teachers hired for the subject is not of any concern to the schools due to the above reason and therefore, the quality of

art education is inconsistent and eclectic, depending on the school's location and philosophy. The high-end schools are situated in Defense Housing Authority (DHA), Clifton and Karachi Development Authority Cooperative Housing Society (KDA) catering to a relatively higher salaried minority. The pay scales are better, which ensures attracting trained and practicing artists and art educators in the field. Unfortunately, the performance of the art teachers and their remunerations are strictly determined by their students' grades in the CIE results. This attitude results in a lot of tuition culture and formula teaching even for a subject which requires individual critical and analytical skills.

The prevalent tuition culture has ensured a steady deterioration of individuality and uniqueness in the applicants to professional degree programs. Instead of devising a method which will encourage unique thoughts and originality, formula teaching at school level has made the students lack confidence, become dependent on existing answers and knowledge. This may result in an eventual deterioration in the society's culture and pool of concerned and responsible citizens, slowly and gradually tearing apart the unique fabric of society.

The negative attitude of parents towards arts and related subjects, discourages students from taking it for O Levels, as it is considered to have limited scope for further professional studies. Students are forced to take Sciences in order to get lucrative remuneration in professional life, regardless of the individual's own strength and preference. This is due to social pressures and expectations, and in most cases, due to parents' own pre-conceived ideas and lack of involvement in the student's daily routine. As a teacher, I have seen the most gifted and creative students give up art for better scoring subjects. It would be irresponsible to generalize but the majority of mothers lack education and literacy, and the decisions they take are not informed or responsible. The present influx of money into a certain segment of our society, through fair or foul means, has resulted in a nouveau riche culture and everything which results from such a situation. Education, knowledge and grades can be bought from desired places at any price.

As an artist and art educator at school and at the higher education level, I can understand the reasons for the present void in education due to urbanization and the methods which may be adopted to slowly overcome it. In the present paper, I will look at the solutions, through art and similar practices, in order to inculcate learning rather than impart education in our contemporary, urbanized society.

Introduction

I hear, I forget,
I see, I remember,
I do, I understand.
Confucius

How does one teach art as an experience which will refine aesthetics and inculcate critical and analytical thinking rather than be an acquired skill to regurgitate artwork?

The purpose of this research paper is to identify the reasons for the degeneration of K – 12 education in Pakistan's urban areas, and propose amendments and alternative methods of teaching and learning in order to do away with the present culture of tuitions and formula teaching. Tuitions are a drain on the student's energy and effort, and on parents' energy and finances. They also undermine the school, and school teachers' integrity and pedagogy.

The findings of this research will benefit administrators and educators of various school systems. It will help them identify their areas of strength and weakness, which may result in an informed approach in academic policy-making on their part. Faculty and curriculum development will be looked at in depth, in order to maximize effective application of recommended methodology. The study will look at the present trends in parenting and the effort and time required for instilling a balanced and effective upbringing with 21st century skills and life skills in children.

Art, due to its practical, hands-on character, requires the individual to be involved both physically and mentally, that is, application and engagement with aesthetics. Over a period of time, it inculcates analytical and critical thinking along with skill and dexterity. It is this particular quality which makes it the core subject for project-based learning, teaching life skills as well as 21st century skills. One engages with art production at school not only to become an artist but because it helps an individual in problem-solving through multiple intelligences. The use of maximum intelligences to solve a single task maximizes learning with better memory retention for lifelong learning.

In an educational system, one looks at the overall development of an individual rather than just the academic. A balanced school curriculum includes intellectual, creative and physical development along with

the development of critical and analytical skills and problem solving. It also requires both streamlined summative and formative assessment methods in place for a well-informed facilitation to take place. A well-rounded education should give every individual all of the above with excellence in areas of interest. In Pakistan, the present emphasis on academic excellence has led to a deficient education which is redundant and exclusive. It ignores experiential and peer learning and the acquiring of life skills. In real life situations, the learning of life skills and inter- and intrapersonal skills is extremely important, especially in urbanized, present-day Pakistan, where such education would give an edge to a person with these qualities.

Teaching the same subject at two different levels – secondary and higher education – has provided me with a more intimate insight into the shortcomings of the educational system. The expansion of Karachi in the last two decades has resulted in a consequent rise in the number of commercial primary and secondary schools in different areas. Although the higher education sector has not expanded in a similar manner as has the primary/secondary, the city at present has more professional degree awarding colleges and universities than in 1986-8. The quality of faculty – administrative and teaching – varies from school to school and area to area. Faculty development is also different in each school, resulting in a disparity in the quality of teaching in the classroom. The different schools offer different certifications which are varied and diverse, from the national Matriculation to the Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE)/ General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), American High School Certification and the Swiss International Baccalaureate. Only the schools offering Matriculation come under the Government bodies' regulation. The other schools are not regularized or standardized under any local or international regulating body. Since there is no regulatory body to oversee or check their performance, these schools charge high fees without any resultant improvement in teachers' quality or facility. Curriculums are based only on logical and verbal intelligences, laying emphasis on academic performance, based on summative assessment rather than overall development based on formative assessment, as most are glorified tuition centers, especially at O levels and A Levels. A large percentage of students from these schools go for private tuitions to cover the content not taught or completed in school. The teachers giving these private tuitions are, in most cases, the same teachers teaching in the school. This practice of the school teachers teaching the school students for a

private fee should ideally be kept in check by the school administration rather than by any government or semi-government body.

The unwarranted stress on just academics has given rise to an all-pervasive tuition culture in urban Pakistan, leading to the undermining of school educators and education. Both parents and students have less regard for their school and the teachers at school. This has, over a period of time, resulted in a degeneration of the school system giving rise to unethical practices such as formulaic teaching, cheating and leaking of exam papers by the teachers to gain the trust of students. Recently, the GCSE Biology paper was "leaked" a few hours before the exam in Karachi. The Cambridge Assessment International Education (CAIE) Board penalized all the candidates by downgrading them, and eventually, over the past couple of years, changing the pattern and assessment requirements for all the subjects offered in Pakistan. This resulted in an overall fall in grades acquired. These stringent measures taken by the CAIE has made the schools and teachers uncomfortable, making them reflect on their pedagogy and philosophy after a very long time.

Simultaneously, alternate school systems such as the Swiss International Baccalaureate with its inclusive, integrated method of teaching is making parents and educators reassess what they want out of an education system for their children. Since the method of teaching is different, the assessment criteria and rubrics are different as well. The stress is on an individual journey rather than a collective one, where the parents are required to be as involved as the teacher and the student. Another feature which is stressed upon in the IB system is the involvement in real life community service, as it is geared towards acquiring life skills, such as communication, collaboration, analytical thinking, creativity and problem-solving.

The Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC) is an independent, autonomous, and constitutionally established institution of primary funding, overseeing, regulating, and accrediting the higher education efforts in Pakistan. The regulations stress teacher quality and development. Ranking and accreditation are dependent on the quality and qualifications of the faculty in a university. "HEC has also approved an in-service programme to help serving teachers improve their content knowledge and skills of modern teaching practices. Under a USAID programme, 21 new Faculty of Education buildings have been constructed, all provincial colleges of education have been upgraded and 60 PhD and Masters Scholarships have been provided to prepare faculty

of these institutions. Detailed curricula, course guides and supplementary teaching materials were developed and shared with teacher educators. An important step has been taken to reform recruitment rules and hiring policies in most of the provinces granting and preferential hiring of ADE and B.Ed (Hons) graduates." (http://hec.gov.pk/english/news/news/Pages/HEC-Deliberates-Teacher-Education-Roadmap.aspx).

These measures have resulted in the universities' looking into the quality of teachers and the content and its relevance in relation to international standards.

To educate, literally means to give intellectual, moral and social instruction to (someone), typically at a school or university. It also means, to provide or pay for instruction for (one's child), especially at a school. Therefore, a balanced and well-rounded education should emphasize not only the academics (based on logical and linguistic intelligence) but include development of other intelligences as well (intrapersonal, interpersonal, naturalistic, bodily-kinesthetic, visual-spatial, musical-rhythmic and harmonic). It is the emphasis on academics and summative assessment which has led to a culture of tuitions and formulaic learning. This type of learning can be provided by private tuitions and does not require one to be enrolled in a school. In order to be able to provide an overall, sound development, requires the teachers to be empathetic and trained, raising the quality of teaching and learning to the next level. It also requires greater parent involvement providing more than the bare minimum of fee and transport. A more informed and intimate personal input should be given in order to enable the development and appreciation of life skills.

Some of the important life skills identified through the Delphi Method by World Health Organization (1997) are:

- Decision making
- Problem solving
- Creative thinking/lateral thinking
- Critical thinking/perspicacity
- Effective communication
- Interpersonal relationships
- Self-awareness/mindfulness

- Assertiveness
- Empathy
- Equanimity
- Coping with stress, trauma and loss
- Resilience

The skills required in the 21st century as defined by educators, school reformers, college professors, employers, and sociologists (https://www.envisionexperience.com/.../13-essential-21st-century-skills-for-todays-stude...) are:

Core Skills

- Collaboration and teamwork
- Creativity and imagination
- Critical thinking
- Problem solving

Second Tier

- Flexibility and adaptability
- Global and cultural awareness
- Information literacy
- Leadership

Third Tier

- Civic literacy and citizenship
- Oral and written communication skills
- Social responsibility and ethics
- Technology literacy
- Initiative

Primary and Secondary Education in Karachi

Hybrid Orientations

The schools in Karachi are quite distinctly divided into categories through the examination board/syllabus they follow, the medium of instruction (Urdu or English) and the location of the school premises. Karachi's old, established Parsi and Christian missionary schools are peculiar in that they are located in and around Saddar but in spite of the location are greatly regarded and sought after. The fee structure of most of these schools is still quite reasonable. The elitist schools are all mostly commercial concerns with extremely high fee structure, located in expensive and posh residential localities of Defense, Clifton and KDA. All these schools offer the CIE GCSE and IGCSE syllabus. There is no one system which they follow; instead each school has its own philosophy and hybrid methodology of teaching. The common aspect of all the schools is the lack of structured, discipline based art education in their curriculum. Most of the schools do not even offer art at middle and secondary level, Classes 6 – 11.

Since all the schools are performance-based with poorly designed curriculums for core academic subjects, the art curriculum is never developed as much as other subjects in even the most expensive schools. Commercial schools with multiple branches in different parts of the city have done away with art altogether in most of the branches. The teachers that teach art are, in most cases, not artists and do not have the know-how of teaching art, resulting in mediocre teaching of the subject. This results in a lack of engagement and interest in the subject. Parents also lack empathy and interest in the subject and do not encourage their children to develop an interest in art and related studies. Therefore, the schools do not want to invest in good, knowledgeable teachers and their development. The situation is further worsened by the fact that art material is very expensive and needs to be replenished frequently.

Arts and related areas of study, such as performance, music and dance, are not considered respectable in Pakistani society and Islamic schools do not offer it in their curriculum at all. Creating art is considered un-Islamic and frowned upon, and with the recent shift towards a stricter and less tolerant Islamic ideology in Pakistan, society has further discouraged any new development in the arts education sector. At the same time, there has been a considerable rise in the use of art and related media in the social media and filmmaking, advertising and textile/fashion industry.

Art schools awarding degrees and diplomas have grown in number over the last two decades in Pakistan, with one for performing arts as well in Karachi.

Similar to the situation in schools, there is no one prescribed curriculum followed by the art colleges, as most have their own charter to award degrees and are not affiliated with any university. The curriculums are hybrid and based on the ideology of founding members at the onset, evolving over the years due to experience and to fulfill HEC requirements. As the students are mostly unfamiliar with art practice, the foundation course remains loosely similar, concentrating on building basic skills and aesthetics. The students who have appeared for Art and Design for CIE exams are already quite well versed in the area, having an edge over the students who never had art and design education. A Foundation Program/Course consists of at least one theory and four studios depending on the philosophy of the college. Theory consists of Art History, Academic Writing and History of Culture, whereas the studio consists of Drawing, Technical Drawing, Basic Design and 3D Design/Materials and Processes. Usually a degree program gives equal weightage to all the courses, 3 credit hours, in a 90 credit hour program. The students then go into their chosen discipline/department and for the next 3 - 4 years study art, design or architecture.

In spite of the surge in interest in art and related areas in Pakistan, most parents discourage their children from taking it as an area of study, in school and university. It is this particular mindset which has resulted in the lack of development of art education at the school level, although all the teaching/learning in pre-schools has it as a core subject, as it is taught as an experience rather than as a discipline. It very effectively caters to different abilities and intelligences – Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences and Dewey's Theory of Pragmatism[1.] All the different pre-school systems, such as Montessori, Froebel, Reggio Emilia and Waldorf, have art as a core subject through which letters, numeracy and linguistics are facilitated. Differentiated learning in classrooms also has art at its core with proactive, student-centered teaching/learning with diagnostic, formative and summative assessments combined to monitor progress.

A select and exclusive number of schools offer art as an experience, as an aid to further enhance learning. Such learning instills confidence and greater appreciation and understanding of a subject eventually. Experiential learning takes a longer time to manifest; it is not favored by most educational institutes. The assessment criteria are drawn out

with documentation and close scrutiny by the teacher and with greater participation by parents. Therefore, the majority of the schools do not opt for it, although, retention of lessons and life skills acquired are much better instilled and longer-lasting than by conventional rote learning. Many schools have, over the past few years, adopted Project Based Learning (PBL) as a method of learning in different subjects such as history, geography, literature and Islamiyat/religious studies, without realizing the full potential or nature of PBL. Adopting an art-based or PBL approach will require a great deal of investment in time and resources by the schools to train teachers and upgrade existing facilities. A great deal of coordination, commitment and involvement is required of the teachers, who may be unfamiliar with the system. Getting used to a new way of thinking and processing entails a lot of reorientation. Since most of schools at present are commercial entities following the matriculation and CIE syllabus, they would rather play safe and keep to the existing methodology with the basic facilities required, as anything new would be considered a risk and unfeasible. The above-mentioned examination boards are also relatively open about the interpretation and implementation of the prescribed syllabus. A poorly designed curriculum with stress on academics and exam results has given rise to a pervasive tuition culture in each and every subject, even art. Art, therefore, becomes a skill-based subject with very limited exposure, mainly 2D wall art rather than Discipline Based Art Education (DBAE).

The new IB system schools which are opening in Pakistan, on the other hand, require certification by the headquarters in Singapore and Switzerland, before they can initiate a school and syllabus. Besides strict specifications in the facilitation of teaching/learning, the board requires a specific environment and facilities along with IB trained teachers and administrators. Fear of certificate cancellation and disqualification by the IB headquarters has helped the schools retain quality and improve gradually in facilities and facilitation. Teacher-training and certification is a prerequisite for joining as teachers or administrators, without which engagement and involvement is not possible. The stringent measures taken by the schools due to fear of cancellation have ensured consistent positive growth in IB certified schools. The IB system stresses on PBL and research and has art as a core subject integrating all the different subjects and disciplines. This has also made these schools switch the kindergarten methodology and philosophy from the Montessori system to Reggio Emilia where the atelierista or the art director integrates all the subjects through art studio learning. Stress is laid on teaching and learning 21st

century skills along with life skills. In recent years, IB students have been given preference over others by universities including the Ivy League due to their problem solving and critical and analytical abilities. The use of technology in art and other subjects is also in line with the requirement of the 21st century.

Art as an Experience

The notion of art as an experience as distinct from art as a skill became significant when I was teaching my own children at home using art to spark an interest in reading, writing and storytelling. They learnt at their own pace without any performance pressure and unhealthy competition, enjoying the process and learning without fear of outcome. Slowly acquiring the habit of reading, both became avid readers with a relatively developed critical and analytical sense. It also made them independent workers. Upon reflection, I learnt and understood history and literature better through art along with developing critical and analytical skills and aesthetics. I have all along in my academic life been an average student/ performer and so speak from a very common viewpoint.

My own experience, observation, reflection and studying Gardner, Dewey, Piaget and Vygotsky in child development psychology all came together in appreciating art as an experience. My study for my Master's degree was to look at ways through visual art, performance and literature to inculcate reading, critical and analytical thinking in pre-school and primary school children. While researching, I went through studies which have been done on art integration and it made me realize the potential of art as a core subject. Recently a large number of schools following the conventional Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) approach have now shifted to Science, Technology, Engineering, Art, and Math (STEAM) approach in Europe and America. Since no significant study has been done in this area in Pakistan, we look at the research and papers by western scholars. Therefore, most of the comparisons are west centric and taken from the American and British school system. As the CIE and IB are both western systems, the studies do have considerable relevance. One of the differences is that, in the west, the schools are public schools whereas the schools we look at in Pakistan are private schools; therefore the policy-making is not at the government level.

The areas which require to be revisited by the school administrators/ policy makers and curriculum developers are as follows:

1. Establishing school philosophy and allocation of resources

2. Curriculum development in accordance with the culture of Pakistan and 21st century skill requirements

3. Teacher training and retention – teacher as learner

4. School facilities and environment (custom-built spaces rather than using residential accommodation)

5. Parental involvement

One of the main and relevant solutions is the enhancement of teacher quality through teacher selection and training. The quality of teachers is a major factor in any teaching/learning facilitation. Teaching with empathy and concern is a key solution. Current methods and technology must be incorporated within the curriculum, in order to develop 21st century skills and life skills in students. This again requires faculty development and awareness and adoption of new methods of facilitating learning.

Impact of Art on Learning

> "Unlike other learning experiences that seek right or wrong answers, engagement in the arts allows for multiple outcomes …………Effective learning in the arts is both complex and multi-dimensional." (Fiske, E. B., 1999)

The impact of art on learning has lasting retention and better understanding of real life situations. It makes students think (research), decide (critical/ analytical thinking, apply (studio/problem solving), applying "mind, heart and bodies" (Fiske, 1999) to make the experience close to reality. Drawing diagrams for science and working in the lab will ensure greater understanding than only theory; solving mathematical problems in real life situations and reading and understanding graphs and statistics will resolve the concepts more effectively than only practicing on worksheets; visiting museums and heritage sites will give a better understanding and appreciation of history. The lessons have to be well-designed and well-integrated along with extremely effective facilitation in order to make an impact. A lesson which is not well-planned will never have the desired results. The quality of teaching and teachers is very relevant in

facilitation, as the teacher may enrich the lesson through her spark and enthusiasm or ruin it by negative energy and lack of imagination.

Since the impact of art is not visible immediately, as it takes a longer period of time to become visible, due to its complex nature, the assessment requires greater observation on the part of the teacher as summative assessment will not give an accurate idea of the learning and progress. This would require teachers to set realistic goals and make a grading rubric accordingly, which is more individualistic and charts the progress of an individual, keeping prior knowledge in mind. The assessment will not be collective and will be individual giving a true evaluation of the students' learning and growth. The competitive nature of exam and result is removed and an overall learning is seen and formatively assessed. This will require a great deal of documentation and personalized rubrics which will result in an increase in the teacher's work outside contact hours. It also requires a smaller number of students in class so that the teacher along with an assistant can get involved more intimately and observe closely – 10 to 12 students in one class is ideal. The schools will require more qualified teaching faculty which may result in a rise in the fee structure which the parents will have to bear eventually. However, if this rise balances the cut in expenditure on private tuitions, the resulting development of the students learning will be more holistic and balanced. It will also raise the existing reputation of schools, giving them validation and respectability which is mandatory to benefit from a school education – the pride and love for one's alma mater.

The pride individuals take in their school and country, depends on the attitude of the parents towards it. Undermining the teachers and speaking ill of them will result in the child creating a barrier between himself and the teacher, resisting learning, and therefore harming his own progress and learning. Instead, parents must work along with the teacher in providing an enriched and enhanced learning experience. This will also help rule out private tuitions, as the parent takes up at home where the teacher leaves off in school. This partnership will help the students through Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD2), Dewey's pragmatism and Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences. Most of the parents do not have any active involvement in the child's schooling and learning, other than paying fees and transporting to and from school. An occasional Parents Teachers Meeting (PTM), annual sports day and dramatics/theatre production is the only interaction which the parents have with their children's school. Any extracurricular

or community service is taken care of by the school with minimum or no participation on the part of the parents. The disinterested attitudes of the parents give the children a message of disregard and lack of importance to the activity.

Children whose parents are active on the extracurricular activities and community services have regard for the teachers and activities, learning and retaining the habits for a lifetime, in most cases. Forming voluntary groups from the parents' body who would like to give personal time and help to teachers in facilitating the learning of the students is a positive step towards teaching one's children. It has been recorded and observed that children will learn what you do rather than what you tell.

Parents are the first ideals that children form in their lives; therefore, exemplary behavior of the parents sets the right tone for them. The amount of time spent in school is much less than the time spent at home, so parents must make the most of this opportunity to teach and inculcate habits of reading, analyzing and query.

Parents should also make sure that any home assignment or project given is done by the child her/himself. By plagiarism and cheating being sanctioned and practiced by the parents, the child gets the message that it is acceptable to appropriate another's work. Aiding the process by researching or resolving the problem will guide them in a better way, teaching them the ethics and analysis to resolve an issue. Problem-solving will help them develop life skills for real life situations.

The quality and passion which the teacher invests in her/his lessons infuses appreciation and enthusiasm in the student, providing a little more than just plain lessons or instruction. In my opinion, a teacher should have an in-depth knowledge and appreciation of the subject, along with an understanding of the strength and weakness of the students. Empathy provides the teacher with insight which enables them to improvise the lessons without losing sight of the purpose of the lesson. For the same reason, a great artist is, at times, not able to infuse enthusiasm in a lesson as a relatively less known artist does. This does not indicate any lack of knowledge on the part of the great artist, but an ability to empathize and engage on the part of the lesser known one.

Keeping up with innovations and influences in contemporary education will help teachers facilitate in a more relevant and effective way. This does not mean to create formulas or shortcuts which compromise the quality

of teaching but to find more effective methods to teach. Schools are better equipped to develop their curriculum and lessons in a new way, if they have the time and budget to invest in faculty and facility development. A progressive approach in this area will gradually give better results in the improved performance of the students. The administrators and policy-makers must look at long-term rather than immediate effects. Tuition centers offer short-term solutions to students, offering completion of syllabus, formulas and set patterns to answer questions, guaranteeing an A in the subject they offer. As students are looking at university admissions, they give in to the promises made by these tutors, most of whom are already teaching them in schools. If a student needs additional help, the school should consider after-school tutorials in the school without charging extra fees. The history/performance of the student will be available in school and it would be easier to monitor the effectiveness of these extra lessons.

Art is a subject that makes most parents uneasy as they might not themselves have done it at any level in school or university. Since it is unfamiliar territory, the parents are not able to guide and need specialized help for it. Due to its practical and hands on nature, art needs the engagement of the individual themselves. In the same way that no one can eat or drink for another person, art needs to be done by each individual themselves. This is one area where the subject can go to the next level, if the art teacher is an art practitioner as well. The art lessons will then be more inclusive of all art forms and not consist of just 2D assignments on paper. An inclusive art program will help integrate all the subjects through art, and as already mentioned, since art is rarely taught at the school level, it will require a practicing artist with empathy to achieve desired results. At the moment, the schools offering Art and Design in Pakistan for CIE exams opt for the 2D papers only as 3D, photography and such others require investment in facilities and faculty. A practicing artist will cost much more than any other person teaching art. Knowledge of the various trends and innovations, aids and technology and its application in the other areas of study such as Geography, History, Math and Urdu would result in a more unified and effective integration.

Design and Technology is a non-graded component offered by some of the schools in Karachi which includes crafts, cooking, sewing and needlework once a week to all the students, irrespective of gender. Schools can tap into the development of the curriculum to effectively

integrate other subjects through it, besides the obvious choice of history, literature and language arts. Since the nature of this component, like art, is hands on, the learning will be deeper and effective. Formative assessment should be considered as it is another area where results take a longer time to become visible, as the process instills rather than shows immediate results.

Conclusion

After an in-depth study of the subject, most of the blame for the present predicament in primary and secondary education lies firstly, with the parents and secondly, with schools and teachers. The disregard for the school policies and undermining writ of teachers starts the cycle of tuition culture and shortcuts. Tuition culture has brought with it a set of both behavioral and social problems. It adds further expenditure, in time and money, for the parents. Physical and mental stress, unmonitored time away from home, objectionable or unsavory friendships and formulated rote-learning are a few of the aspects that students experience. All of this can be avoided completely if the parents put in more time and effort, bonding with the children at every level. Children require attention and guidance at every point in their life, at times well into adulthood.

Similarly, the schools have the responsibility of providing students with a conducive environment to study, with trained and updated teachers and healthy competition. Inspirational and informed teaching takes place with investment in time and effort; it is never accidental. A great deal of coordination and time needs to be invested while realizing one's strengths and weaknesses. The present nonchalant attitude of schools further aggravates the tuition situation and results in undermining the writ of the school. The schools can approach the issue by addressing it individually rather than collectively as it will help them concentrate on their own individual situation and strategy. Collective approach requires a lot of time and resources spent in just coordination and execution of meetings and events that may or may not be fruitful. At the moment, individual and particular solutions are going to give better results, especially in laying down the school's philosophy and approach.

The suggested solutions are based on personal observations and reflections and are not the only viable options. It is a spark to generate thoughts and ideas leading to realization and dialogue for parents,

educators and policy makers. The present generation of students is studying for another time which is theirs not ours, therefore, we need to revisit and re-evaluate our education goals and make them realistic and relevant. At this point in time, we should realize and effectively use art to provide solutions relevant and pertaining to our situation, which will be practiced over a longer period of time for lifelong application. In a culturally rich and diverse country like Pakistan, integration through arts in forming school curriculum is a solution which may be effective both in cost as well as effect.

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Endnotes

1. Progressive education is essentially a view of education that emphasizes the need to learn by doing. Dewey believed that human beings learn through a 'hands-on' approach. This places Dewey in the educational philosophy of pragmatism. Pragmatists believe that reality must be experienced. Source: http://study.com/academy/lesson/john-dewey-on-education-impact-theory.html

2. ZPD --- Zone of Proximal Development: the difference between what a learner can do without help and what he or she cannot do. It is a concept introduced, yet not fully developed, by Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934) during the last ten years of his life.

Bazaar as a Living Museum: An Open Educational Resource

Nida Manzoor

Introduction

Education, these days, focuses on the development of multiple learning environments which may meaningfully support learning processes and acquisition of competencies and skills with the help of available tools and technology. The focus appears to have been shifted from teaching to learning: in fact, the learner is the epicentre. It is the learner who may choose from amongst diverse tools and resources, available for mastering the much needed competencies and progressions to aid him/her succeed in life. The role of teachers, as mentors and facilitators, is to support and facilitate students for this purpose.

Education is not confined to the classroom: it extends beyond the spatial and temporal boundaries. Interaction is not limited to teachers and students but is virtually global. This new scenario brings back the old question, quoted by McLuhanand Leonard, "Why should I go back to school and interrupt my education?"

The belief that all genuine education comes from experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative. Experience and education cannot be directly equated with each other, for some experiences are mis-educative. Any experience is mis-educative that has the effect of arresting or distorting the growth of further experiences. An experience may be such as to engender callousness; it may produce lack of sensitivity and of responsiveness. A given experience may increase a person's autonomic skill in a particular direction and yet tend to land him in a groove or rut. An experience may be immediately enjoyable and yet promote the formation of a slack and careless attitude, that is, an experience may be lively, vivid and interesting, and yet, their disconnectedness may artificially generate dispersive and disintegrated centrifugal habits. The consequence of the formation of such habits is the inability to control future experiences. They are then taken either by way of enjoyment or of discontent and revolt, just as they come (Dewey 1938:13–14).

Martindale, T. and Dowdy, M (2010) highlight the importance of informal, lifelong and life wide learning. However, when learners have access to a practically limitless source of information, it may be challenging to create purposive meaning from that information. The challenge is not to provide access to information but to provide a framework for making sense of the information, as the constructivist learning models describe the value of learners making meaning of their own experiences (Wilson and Lowry, 2000). The social constructivist theory is based on the belief that individuals actively construct knowledge and understanding, and that constructing the understanding of one's world is an active, mind-engaging process. In other words, information must be mentally acted upon in order to have meanings for the learner (Piaget, 1979; Sigel and Cocking, 1977).

According to constructivism, learning involves building on the background knowledge the learner brings to the situation and restructuring initial knowledge. Since learners have different background knowledge, experience and interests, they make different connections in building their knowledge over time. Brooks and Brooks (1993) state that we use different tools to help us understand our experiences regarding our life and world. To do so is human nature. Each of us makes sense of our world by synthesizing new experiences into what we have previously come to understand.

According to Fischer, G and Scharff, E (1998), self-directed learning is a continuous engagement in acquiring, applying, and creating knowledge and skills in the context of an individual learner's unique problems.

This paper is structured in three main parts. The first part reviews the teaching resources, Open Educational Resources (OER), and the role of museums and bazaars in education. The second section describes the results and analyses of these two OERs. After the first two sections, the paper will focus on directed discussion to reach the conclusion. The study has been conducted by using qualitative methods; it hinges on the use of bazaars as an educational resource that could lend students real assistance for instilling in them sharpened and focused understanding of the concepts through a real time experience.

Teaching Resource

Downes, S. (2007), in his research, mentions thatthe Open Courseware concept is based on the philosophical view of knowledge as a collective social product and so it is also desirable to make it a social property.

Imaginethe world in which every single person is given free access to the sum of all human knowledge. That's what we're doing, saysTerry Foote, in Wikipedia.

Teaching resource holds a great importance, the awareness of range and relevance of learning and instructional materials and different teaching resources play a pivotal role in effective teaching, such as range, relevance of learning, institutional materials and different mediums. Moreover, ideas and examples enhance students' learning and provide a solid foundation. They open up multiple possible uses, such as scaffolding, act as input to stimulate reflection, allow flexibility and creativity in teaching and learning (Kwek, S. H. 2011).

According to Downes, S. (2007), one is tempted to think of 'resources' in terms of static physical objects or digital resources such as texts, images, graphics and multimedia. However, a wider view would include all the supports for an educational system. For example, a UNESCO (2002) report includes:

- Visiting lecturers and experts

- Twinning arrangements, providing for international exchanges of students and academic staff

- Imported courseware in a variety of media

- Externally developed sponsored programmes

- Inter-institutional programmes developed collaboratively – Publications

- Information resources of the Internet.

In 2002, during a UNESCO Forum on Open Courseware for Higher Education in Developing Countries, the concept of Open Educational Resources (OER) was introduced and further developed as follows:

According to Wiley (2008), Open Educational Resources are defined as 'technology-enabled, open provision of educational resources

for consultation, use and adaptation by a community of users for non-commercial purposes'. They are typically made freely available over the Internet. Their principle use is for teachers and educational institutions to support course development, however, they may also be used directly by students. Open Educational Resources include learning objects such as lecture material, references and readings, simulations, experiments and demonstrations, as well as syllabi, curricula and teachers' guides.
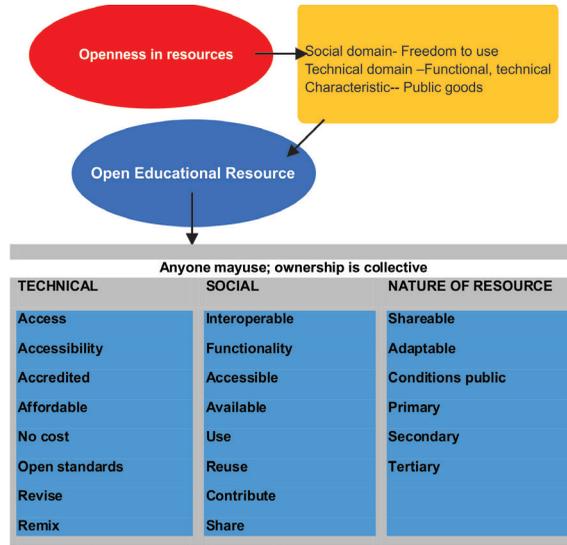
Butcher, N. (2015) says that the concept of Open Educational Resources describes any educational resources (including curriculum maps, course materials, textbooks, streaming videos, multimedia applications, podcasts and any other material that has been designed for use in teaching and learning) that are openly available for use by educators and students and are available free of cost. OER holds great potential to support educational adaptation. These resources are likely to remove all the obstacles to learning. The didactic value lies in the idea of using resources as an essential method of communication of curricula in the educational course to provide the students such learning opportunity as is lifelong and be incorporative both in education and training. Different OERs may be combined and additional contents added to develop altogether a new resource according to need: one OER may be multiplied and adapted in multiple contexts.

Museums

According to Hein, G. E. (2002, 02), "Museums are extraordinary places where visitors have an incredible range of experiences". Silav, M. (2011) says that museums are places that transfer social, economic and cultural heritage from the past to the present. Society, lifestyle, traditions and habits are memories of a city. Regarded as exhibiting the cultural

values of the past, museums carry the characteristic values of a culture. Besides being the identity of society, they are places where ideas, beliefs, behaviors and lifestyles have been found, and have been transmitted from the past to the future.

Mercin (2006: 34) defines the museum training as part of an individual's educational needs and emphasizes that it is a process that should be considered as on-going. He says (2002: 44), museums have a significant role in preserving cultural heritage - which establishes a connection between the past, present and future - and transmit it to the next generations. Museums have been gaining more importance and new functions. Museums are non-profit organizations that are related to archaeology, arts, science or humans, which collect all kinds of products found in human lives, preserve and exhibit them, and act as a bridge between the past and the future, allowing people to enjoy the educational, informational and research facilities, which support learning and creativity, and have the characteristics of universality and sustainability.

Museums and Education

Museums are living emblems of culture. Just as museums have taken on major educational roles in many countries through programs and exhibitions intended to benefit various segments of the population, they have also become active preservers of (often vanishing) cultures, not just passive collectors of cultural artefacts. Hooper-Greenhill points out: During the 19th century, education had been the prime function of the museum. The ideal museum was understood to be "the advanced school of self-instruction" and a place where teachers should "naturally go for assistance" (Hooper-Greenhill 1991:25). Groys (1995) acknowledges the role of museums in the modern world where, he says, there is no fixed metaphysical eternal order anymore, and suggests that, therefore, in the modern age, an artificial memory, a cultural archive, or a museum would have to be created in which historical memories are recorded in the form of books, pictures and other historical documents.

Tezcan Akmehmet, K. and Ödekan, A. (2006) emphasize the importance of the educational institution which reflects the cultural and scientific background of society and which researches, collects, preserves, exhibits and delivers those values; a space that supports the cultural interaction between communities and transfers concrete descriptions of history to future generations. Development in industrialization and urbanization and factors such as social-economic and cultural changes, have affected

the development of museums. This interaction has provided to give importance and to preserve the values that have been lost (Silier, 2010).

Silav, M. (2011) says that being a factor of various fields in society, museums that aim at the protection of monuments have formed actively contributing units. The purpose of the first years of museums was to collect, to exhibit and to report historical data. Along with the development of education and training, settlement of the phenomenon of aesthetic, interpreting the past and present with explanations and directing changes in society, are also added to those aims (Eldemand Gökhan, 1992). Values of tangible and intangible cultural heritage create an identity and cultural heritage of communities. In order to preserve cultural and natural heritage, firstly this heritage must be determined and certified. According to Collins (1995), Madran (2001), Madran, E. (2000), museums allow the formation of new communication networks that provide an accurate reading of urban heritage protection and urban existence, by preparing a breakdown of the city's cultural heritage. Museums also perform visual history writing.

Taş, A. M. and Yıldız, N. (2015) say that heritage created with the help of previous generations is transmitted to the next generations as informative collections. Opportunities for encouraging and exhibiting sustainable development must be taken into consideration. It should be benefitted from museums effectively, in both learning and teaching processes. Museums could be used as settings where students are active in both students-centered teaching and learning activities.

According to Gladwin et al. (1995), cited in Tıraş (2012: 59), "The wise use of all available existing resources can help improvise the concept of sustainability". Onur (2012:25) says that sustainability in a museum not only serves as the rationality of a museum's existence and needs of culture and conveniences of a society but also as the scope of addressing important cultural conditions. Cakırİlhan (2009: 343) says, "A museum training program is based on providing valuable information to students and at the same time developing them as effective researchers". Yılmaz and Şeker (2011:22) say that by unfolding various cultures and ancient civilizations, students gain an insight of human evolution which cultivates the skills of reasoning and prudence.

In studies conducted by Çalışkan and Çerkez (2012), and Yılmaz and Şeker (2011), the students used different metaphors for museums, such as time machines, maps and so on. It could be suggested that the

metaphors generated by the students after their museum visit played an effective role in understanding the concept of 'museum', since metaphors are used as a way of learning.

According to Rennie, L. and McClafferty, T. (1995), having students visit museums helps them develop effective, cognitive and psychomotor skills. This is an effective way for students to learn. Henthorne, T. L., Miller, M. M., and Hudson, T. W. (2001) say that globalization is vital to education now as education is the only source which may help prepare our students for future challenges generated by international citizenship. Lambert, W. E. and Wolfgang, A. (1973) say that typical ways of education have been rejected by contemporary challenges and now the responsibility of education has been doubled, to train its students for internationalization.

Bazaars and Education

Non-formal education has proven to be effective for critical pedagogy and innovative approaches, going beyond the two pillars of learning, 'learning to know' and 'learning to do', that used to be the main focus of formal education in the past, to also include the other two pillars - 'learning to be' and 'learning to live together' (Delors, 1996).

The concepts of bazaar have been tested in diverse learning environments in Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom. The results are reported in the Transferability Tool Kit which uses the term 'Market Place' in both ways, literally and metaphorically:

- As a concrete space where people naturally meet and interact;

- As a place used to facilitate communication, cooperation, intercultural awareness and a ground of mediation to resolve possible conflicts;

- As a concrete learning environment that sustains the integrity of all learners as they attain relevant educational success;

- As a place of ideas and as a place to apply creative thinking; and

- As a learning facilitator.

Bazaars offer cultural performances and presentations, including live music, storytelling, craft-making demonstrations, and the unique chance to talk directly with makers and community advocates. Saraie (2011) says that bazaars, in the early Islamic era, were designed in the Sassanid

method. Saoud (2002) says that a number of factors played decisive roles in shaping the form of an Iranian city. In general, those factors included natural laws, religious and cultural beliefs, as well as social and economic principles.

Pourjafar, M., Amini, M., Varzaneh, E. H., and Mahdavinejad, M. (2014) say that bazaars are vital in giving a sense of integrity to the concept of a traditional city. The traditional bazaars play two important roles in traditional cities: (1) they interconnect the different parts of the city's physical structure; and (2) the crucial role of bazaars in a city's social and cultural structure brings about unity among the citizens in the city.

Moosavi (2005) says that the bazaar has been a place for economic, social, political, cultural and civic activities of people. Rajabi and Sefahan (2009) say that bazaars are the backbone and economic heart of Iranian cities. The long-standing literature views bazaars as constituting a holistic way of life encompassing economic forms, political sensibilities, social relations, and various ideological persuasions, all of which fall under the rubric traditional. Masoudi Nejad (2007) says that a bazaar is considered as one of the most significant socio-spatial systems. In the Islamic world, the city was divided into three districts: Sharestan (middle city), Kohandege (outside city), and Rabaz (bazaar) (Soltanzadeh, 1983).

Iran's largest bazaar, located in central Tehran, has been central to the country's economic and political history since the late 19th century, most notably as a major force in the 1979 Revolution. Bazaaris participated in and supported protests and demonstrations in the spring of 1977, well before most social groups -- including the clergy -- had joined the revolutionary surge (Kevan Harris, 2010).

> "The bazaars' broad support of the Islamic Revolution in Iran was there, in numerous instances, bazaaris across the country mobilized funds and people to ensure that different groups could sustain their protests. In 1977, for instance, bazaaris stepped in to cover professor salaries at Aryamehr University so that protestors could endure a suspension of pay." (bourseandbazaar.com/articles)

It was primarily the Bazaar Movement, which was triggered and fuelled by traders, shop-keepers and affectees of the taken over small-scale commercial and industrial units, which was one of the major causes of Bhutto's overthrow (Express Tribune, March 5th, 2014).

A Study Tour of the Bazaar

A group of 24 students of grade 9 visited the Walled City of Lahore. The trip was arranged to give students awareness of the cultural heritage, a chance to socialize culturally and ignite curiosity.

Walled City of Lahore

Very less has been written about how a bazaar could be used as an OER. Bazaars and urbanization have been interrelated throughout history and no South Asian city can be imagined without its bazaars. Gulzar, S. says:

> "Subcontinent's street layout, boundary wall, gates, fortified palace along with the spatial distribution of Mosque, Bazaars and Residential quarters characteristically similar to the traditional Islamic cities in different parts of the world". (p. 73)

The Walled City also known as the 'Old City of Lahore' was fortified by a 7 meters high wall with 13 gates which led through different routes towards different cities. The city of Lahore has a long history and was

Figure 2

Survey map of the bazaars of the Walled City of Lahore. Source: The Walled City of Lahore, GIS Portal.

known with different names and characteristics in historical accounts. Lahore is a city rooted in history, tradition, art, culture and festivals. It is a city of monuments, lively bazaars and truly a shopper's paradise. Its urban structure cannot be traced without studying the changes in the physical, social and economic status of old bazaars. The first bazaar of the Walled City of Lahore is Lahori Mandi and it is still on the high pedestal of economy and business: it paved way to 52 bazaars; viz. Sarafa Bazaar, Copper and Brass Bazaar and others. These bazaars are the backbone of Pakistan's economy (Naz, N. *Historical and Spatial Portrait of Naulakha Bazaar, Lahore*).

Reflections

Reflection is an active, unrelenting and vigilant consideration toward self-constructed information and meaning through using one's experience, action, beliefs and attitude (Dewey, 1933; Schon, e1987). It is initiated through one's information, thoughts, consideration and assessment to look at and explore the concerned issues, opinions, feelings and behaviors (Boyd and Fales, 1983; Carver and Scheier, 1998). Reflection is a learning process which helps learners express and evaluate their approach and feelings, to develop cognitive skills and be instrumental to holistic learning (Boud, Keogh, and Walker, 1985; Chirema, 2007; Ladewski, Krajcik, and Palincsar, 2007; Sargeant, Mann, van der Vleuten, and Metsemakers, 2007; Ward and McCotter, 2004).

Teachers Reflections

S. Nawab, a senior teacher (Email interview, 13 August, 2017) says:

> "Museums have a large variety of commodities to satisfy our historical pallet whereas bazaars have a myriad of commodities to satisfy our wants and needs. These old bazaars, or whatever is left of them, are thankfully not affected by the changes in time. In fact, they have been able to maintain their history and sanctity and give us not only immense pleasure and delight as we walk through them but, similar to a museum, transfer us into the past… the past which otherwise would be forgotten, ignored and buried deep under the sands of time."

R. Muhammad and Sadia Riza, Science teachers (Email interview, 13 September, 2017) say:

"Bazaars are as the museum is, a place of diverse culture and innovation having many resources available for the students for all the subjects which gives exposure to the students about small to latest machines and prompts the curiosity of the learners. A bazaar, in fact, is an excellent place for practical application of learning resources."

S. A. Gaitee and Q. Altaf (teacher) (Email interview,written interview, 13 August, 2017) say that they strongly believe that a bazaar was and is not only a place to purchase and sell goods and commodities but a meeting place for people to get together, gossip and socialize. Historically and culturally, bazaars have always had a lot of significance and are usually frequented by tourists who wish to soak in the culture and ambience of the city and marvel at the sights, sounds, spices, aromas and commodities laid out attractively to tempt customers. While museums have significant cultural and historical significance, a bazaar is an open educational resource in the sense that students or tourists who visit these bazaars experience the culture and history of that city first-hand. Whereas in a museum, artifacts are displayed in glass cabinets. They believe bazaars will always retain their historical and cultural significance and are an excellent educational resource for the locals and tourists alike and provide a culturally and historically rich experience for people.

Prof. Dr Önder Küçükerma, Istanbul University (Email interview, 12 August, 2017) says:

"Bazaars may help to understand architecture or inner organizations, historical trade links and politic links: they transfer or keep the knowledge "in camera" acting as the oldest organizations of the country. For me, I always look at the problem: "Bazaar hardware" and "Bazaar software". Hardware is partly endless but software is really endless because bazaars have hidden software that is always updated."

Literature teacher, **Sabohi Bilgrami** (Written interview, 13 September, 2017) says:

"Bazaar is an open display of things, it depicts culture and heritage. Buying selling activity generates communication, quality and quantity of thing depicts descriptive version in language and enhances the marketing skills."

K. Gohar, History teacher and T. Umer, a psychologist (Interview, 17 August, 2017 and, 22 September, 2017) point out: A bazaar may be related to a museum in many ways as some old bazaars portray the image of a museum in magnified forms. We may find almost the same things in a

different form at antique shops where things from the past of human history are kept and are for sale. In such bazaars, we may find some old shops and buildings, interaction with senior citizens who have seen some major historical events in their lives. Such people may be a great resource about the past through their own lived experiences and discuss philosophy, politics, literature, religion and many other things and their impact on contemporary life. Last, but not the least, economics has a great role in shaping and reshaping of human lives throughout history, and bazaars are the continuation of those hubs.

A. Muhammad, senior teacher, English (Written interview, 10 September, 2017) says,

> "Bazaar is a place pulsing with life, swarming with the real people: old, young, sad, happy, smart, ugly, honest, crooked, women, girls, rich, poor, local and foreigners, educated and brute. It is life in all its forms. This is the real museum of art. It is the place of inspiration for a real artist."

R. Steve (Written interview, 10 August, 2017) says,

> "Both museums and bazaars are collections of items, both modern and new, and while architects design spaces to speak to an audience, a bazaar does the same but authentically and in context - which museums aim to recreate (for example, the Metropolitan Museum in New York has the Temple of Dendur on a platform surrounded by water which is supposed to represent the Nile). A bazaar will have traditional crafts and architecture in place so people can see these as they were originally experienced. This gives a better understanding of how the art/architecture was intended, rather than imagined (as is the case for museums). As a resource, therefore, a bazaar can be used in exactly the same way as a museum, with people walking around looking at things - they could be provided with information about what they are seeing in exactly the same way as they are in museums but the bazaar is a more energetic and exciting place compared to a museum and is better at passing on cultural heritage and history."
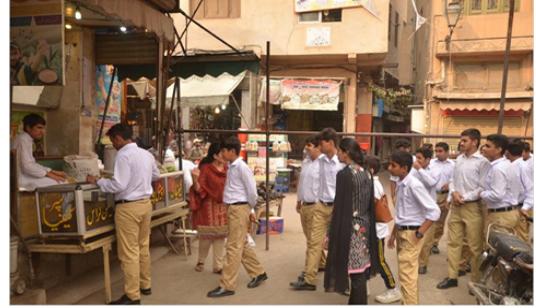
Students Reflections

Reflection provides students with opportunities to examine the knowledge they have ingested (Etkina et al., 2010). In the classroom, reflection is often a result of teacher-student interaction in which the teacher raises certain questions to stimulate students' reflective thinking (Davis, 2000; Ladewski et al., 2007).

Some students visited a bazaar for a study trip; they explored the area from Dehli Gate till Wazir Khan Mosque.

According to the students, the bazaar is another dimension of the world with hustle and bustle: old buildings, roads and pathways needing repairs. They were amazed to see a vast variety of shops and the materials displayed in shops from antique to latest. They related the bazaar to a museum in a way. A variety of languages are spoken. Beautiful items from the past and present in raw and refined forms are available. Going to the bazaar is not just about buying something. It is also about experiencing the star struck excitement by looking at and feeling the abundance of different items. A museum and a bazaar both have cultural and historical importance; museums are more historical than cultural but still hold importance. Bazaars are truly living museums where culture and heritage come to life: different languages, tombs, mosques that feature South Asia's first example of a purpose-built Central Asian *charsu* bazaar, or four-axis bazaar, beautiful cityscapes, and much more. As we compare these two: the bazaar and the museum, many similarities come to mind. A bazaar is a place that represents the culture of a country,

while a museum also depicts that but in a very different manner; a museum only exhibits things from the past, however, bazaars also accommodate things of the present and in such a way in which a foreign visitor may understand the present and the past of a country and its culture in a very simple and understandable manner.

After visiting the Delhi Gate bazaar, students drew the path from Delhi Gate till Wazir Khan Mosque and reflected on their journey.

Conclusion

For broad and holistic learning, there is a need to focus on the desire for great personal ownership, effective use of teaching resources and integration of activity across all features of life. Sustainability is related not only to preserving and transmitting cultural heritage but also by using this heritage for purposes of education and learning. As now, education is not limited only to a school setting but continues outside the school as well. It is necessary that various learning environments should be used within the context. There are vast amounts of such environments already available across the world from which meaningful educational benefits may be gathered.

Museums give students an opportunity to improve their knowledge by direct observation of the items being used in the past and compare them with the information they read in their books. They would also develop the aesthetic sense, appreciation, imaginative thinking, observation, logic, originality and appreciation by investigating and comparing the differences and similarities between the items in museums and today's items of different cultures and would learn how to think multi-dimensionally.

Acknowledging the beneficial use of museums in education, bazaars must also be considered as an important open educational resource, these living museums provide learning environments that may be established to improve various thinking skills of the students. If we want to aim at protecting our cultural heritage, bazaars are places used not only to preserve and exhibit materials from the past as also of the present but also to use these materials as educational tools.

The local bazaar is a place best described as brimming with constant social activity, from interactions based upon current finances to the social news of the day. Vygotsky's theories stress the fundamental role of social interaction in the development of cognition (Vygotsky, 1978), as he believed strongly that the community plays a central role in the process of "making meaning": social interaction improves students learning. Bazaar is a living place, made up by the commute of those that frequently visit it and those who make their daily earnings, not just for the trade of goods and services. Such a place provides a real time experience that teaches one from skills such as bargaining all the way to learning how to socialize with strangers. It is a social hub that offers many learning experiences, from commerce to negotiations, from social greetings and cues to understanding facial expressions and in real time

expands ones educated judgments. Bazaars provide an environment where people learn how to spend efficiently by differentiating between a need and a want. Furthermore, awareness increases as a person comes across products from a myriad of different brands and countries and this variety in every aspect makes it look like a museum. It shows that the bazaar plays a role as an institutor and integrator or, in other words, it may be described as the collector of economic, social, religious and main cultural values with much flexibility in terms of space and function. The social interaction between two or more individuals, learning through social interaction when people respond to one another, and action and reaction takes place very finely at such places.

Open sourcing of educational content in a cost effective and maintainable way, in an interactive communal space by engaging students, parents, instructors, creators and such, eliminates the education divide. With explosion in technological progression, cumulating and creating Open Source Curricula and development tools has become indispensable for open source methodologies. As Fox and Manduca (2005) say that the use of open resource material in our rich digital library, to orchestrate that fantastic learning activity and the use of technology, may make these open resources more approachable.

The potential of OER includes bringing transparency to educational processes, facilitating collaborations between educators and students at different institutions and establishing a new economic model for procuring and publishing learning materials. Ultimately, a key to its success will be to demonstrate that in the medium to long term; OER will help over-stretched educators to manage their work more effectively, rather than adding new work requirements to their job description of the online educational commons. Critically, we would do well to accept that this makes it critical to find practical ways to build business models that will ensure success until this new model is established (Butcher, N., 2015).

S. Wahab says that bazaars are seats of knowledge; they may be used as strong educational resources. Whichever level of study it is - school, college or university - regular or frequent trips to bazaars should be organized according to the topic under discussion to make it more useful.

According to the literature review, opinion of teachers and students, the bazaar as an OER may help students to establish new contacts, enhance peer feedback, use content in a flexible way as appropriate,

develop additional skills and experience, increase quality of learning materials, increase knowledge, increase awareness and understanding, in comparative and case studies, increase visibility of all learning resources, provide opportunities to share across departments, develop generic materials, increase participation, encourage good practices, genuine access and enhance learning opportunities, make their own resources using technology, improve inquisitive sense experience, sense of observation, and such others.

Recommendation

Educational policy makers, educational institutions and the funding organizations should make policies by which such open educational practices could be endorsed to obtain essential capabilities and skills, and to participate positively in society. These organizations should plan training sessions for teachers to make them aware of their role, appropriate approaches and required skills so the teachers may employ proper use of OERs, tools and services. Learners and students should organize and compile their research data and make their creative work accessible to others. Developers should actively seek to involve teachers and students in collaborative development, which could help greatly in making tools more usable in educational contexts. In fact, for the adoption of a tool, it will be important that the users develop a sense of ownership and take an interest in its further development.

Future Study

The future study of this research includes many numerous factors that affect learning, such as well-planned tours, trained teachers, gender and personal characteristics. The exploration of learning in such environments should also take these factors into consideration in a holistic way to make learning as well as reflection an enjoyable and more productive experience.

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THAAP JOURNAL 2018

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, Saba Samee and 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; "People and the City", based on the Papers of THAAP Conference – 2016; edited by Prof. Pervaiz Vandal.

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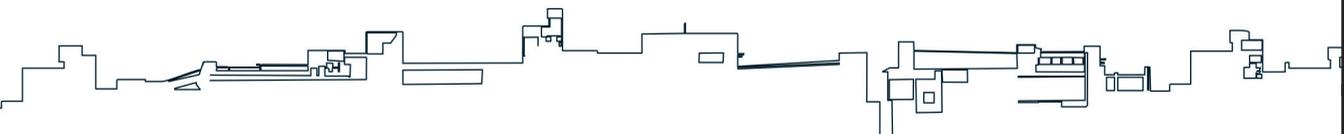
CITY: AN EVOLVING ORGANISM

The beginnings, growth and future of cities are part of the 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.

Do we have a role in understanding the city, and in furthering the dawn of the new city?

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