

SETTLEMENT OF PATHAN MIGRANTS IN THE WALLED CITY LAHORE



Rabia Nadir

(47000 Words)

Thesis submitted to the Lahore School of Economics
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MPhil. Environmental Science and Policy Studies
2013

Supervised by Dr. Munir Ghazanfar

ABSTRACT

While urbanization is fundamentally a process of deep social transformation, urban environment research in Pakistan falls short in addressing issues of social change. This ethnographic study of migrant Pathans in the Walled City of Lahore endeavors to gain insights into the process of social change in an historical socio-spatial setting with regard to issues of migration and urbanization. The tightly circumscribed focus of this study -- namely a selection of Pathan migrants in a peculiar locale of the wider Lahore city -- makes possible a close and intimate survey of a significant social group, allowing the research to act as a window into greater, more general questions of urbanization and migration in a city such as Lahore. Migrants may be regarded as a locus of social and material processes of varied scales as they unfold in the urban environment -- uniquely having roots in the old and the new, in the universe of values and customs of their native community as well as the rapidly changing cosmopolitan setting. The migrants' struggle in the city may be seen as characterized by an active resistance to the larger social norms of the city in favor of traditional tribal and religious norms. The findings of the study help contextualise the behavior of the migrants, shed light on their mistrust of and distance from the state and demonstrate the importance of social capital in the urban setting. The study also explores highlights the limitations of development initiatives such as the Sustainable Development of Walled City project, and the persistence of metabolic rift and core-periphery dynamics of urban migration in the contemporary globalized environment.

Keywords: Pathan Migration, Urban Environment, Social Change, Metabolic Rift, Globalisation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: LOCALITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE	1
Introduction	1
Research Objectives	9
CHAPTER 2. PAST LITERATURE	12
Discussion.....	30
CHAPTER 3.METHODOLOGY	33
Theoretical Approach.....	35
Methods and process.....	36
CHAPTER 4: THE HOST SPACE OVER TIME	41
Pre-modern	44
Colonial modern.....	47
National modern	50
Global Modern, the neo-liberal Walled City Lahore	54
Discussion.....	63
CHAPTER 5: PATHANS OF WALLED CITY LAHORE	66
Pathan Migration	67
Waves of Migration.....	70
Mohmands	80
Swat Pathans.....	82
Khyber Pathans	84
Bajaur Pathans	86
Khyber Pukhtunkhwa.....	88
Discussion.....	88
CHAPTER 6: THE INVISIBLE GLUE:	92
Language	93
The Role of Ancestral Village	98
Death and Burials	105
Religion	106
Recreational Gatherings	107
Discussion.....	108

CHAPTER 7: LIFE INSIDE THE WALLS AND DREAMS OF THE OUTSIDE.....	111
<i>Gali Kuchas</i> of the Walled City.....	111
Walls within Walls.....	119
Learning from the Street.....	121
Street Food.....	122
Aspirations	124
Discussion.....	126
CHAPTER 8: MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE.....	128
The Research.....	128
‘Unfreedom’ and Depletion	129
Resistance of the Pathans; How They Cope.....	132
The Discourse Gap	138
Discussion.....	141
REFERENCES.....	144
APPENDIX 1.....	158
APPENDIX 2.....	160
APPENDIX 3.....	163
APPENDIX 4.....	164
APPENDIX 5.....	165
APPENDIX 6.....	166
APPENDIX 7.....	168

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Location of Lahore and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa	170
Figure 2: Map of Khyber Pukhtunkhawa and FATA	171
Figure 3: Map of Metropolitan Lahore showing location of the Walled City	172
Figure 4: Location of Pathan residence inside the Walled City.....	173
Figure 5: Pathan Tallwallah from Mohmand Agency; Present and 1957 portraits	174
Figure 6: Two Chowkidars from Bajaur	174
Figure 7: Swati Tea Stall.....	175
Figure 8: Tandoorwallahs from Khyber Puktunkhawa.....	175
Figure 9: Shoe Vendors from Bajaur	176
Figure 10: Shaarri Junk Shops	177
Figure 11: Vendor of Mobile Phone Batteries	178
Figure 12: Vendor of Computer Accessories from Bajaur	178
Figure 13: Chinese speaking office employee for importer from Khyber Agency	179
Figure 14: A Shaarri domestic scene	179
Figure 15: A Shaarri boy (right) from Mori Gate	180
Figure 16: A Shaarri family entertaining guests	180
Figure 17: A Mohmand Taalwallah with his children	181
Figure 18: A Shaarri female scavenger in Pakistan Market	181
Figure 19: Shaarri chilgoza shelling females outside Mori gate.....	182
Figure 20: A Mohmand housewife	182
Figure 21: Shaarri woman showing blisters from shelling chilgozas.....	183
Figure 22: Shaarri women in the bazaar.	183
Figure 23: Residence of single men inside Sheranwala gate	184
Figure 24: Evacuee Trust property, residence shared by Shaarris and locals.....	184
Figure 25: Two Mohmand houses	185
Figure 26: A <i>Taalwallahs</i> house	185
Figure 27: Interior of Shaarri home	186
Figure 28: Interior of a Mohmand home.....	186
Figure 29: Interior of a Shaarri home.	187
Figure 30: Room of a Shaarri daughter-in-law with her dowry furniture.....	187
Figure 31: House of third generation Walled City Mohmand taalwallah's.....	188
Figure 32: Wall décor with 'model home' pictures in a Mohmand home	188
Figure 33: Shops catering to Pathan female clothing inside Dehli gate.	189
Figure 34: Motorised delivery inside bazaars of Walled City	189
Figure 35: 'Food Street' on Fort road	190
Figure 36: Public Private Partnership, cosmetic firm paying for school signage.....	190

CHAPTER 1: LOCALITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Pehra badal gayaa ay. Aay itaan, aay sarkaan ohoo nein, par banday badal gai nein kyon kay pehra badal gayaa ay.

The times have changed. The bricks and the streets are the same, but the people have changed because the times have changed – *Old Pathan settler from Lal Khoi*

Introduction

This is an ethnographic study of Pathan migrants in the Walled City of Lahore to help unravel the process of migration and social change in the contemporary urban environment. Urbanization is a major driver of environmental change in Pakistan (Qadeer 2006), with urban population growing from 17.4% in 1948 to 32.5% in 1998¹. Urbanization involves the migration of both social populations and material goods² and is driven and accelerated by the processes of neo-liberal globalization³. As affirmed by the findings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the current and projected environmental changes brought about by human agency are deemed potentially more extreme than at any other time in the history of civilization (UNFCCC 1992).

¹ Census figures, many including Ali (2002), estimate it to be significantly higher if the definition of urban is reconsidered. The definition of an urban in the first three censuses 1951, 1961 was a minimum of 5,000 inhabitants or municipal status or/ and urban characteristics even if population was less. 1972, was more or less same. It was changed in 1981 census by replacing the size-specified definition with an administrative criterion. The definition of 'urban' used in the 1998 census is also based on this criterion. In India urban population by 3.4 percentage points between 2001 and 2011 as against an increase of 2.1 percentage points between 1991 and 2001. Even if the trends are just comparable and rates of growth are increasing urban population in Pakistan should be around 37% in 2013.

Qadeer (2000), introduced the term 'ruralopolis' to describe vast swathes of development that cannot be considered rural anymore but are also not the 'urban' models associated with development. According to Gazdar 2003, the percentage of population 35% living in cities is higher than any other south Asian county.

² Giljum, S. & Eisenmenger, N. (2004) discusses North–South trade and the distribution of environmental goods and burdens and provides a picture of the nature of this exchange in material and economic terms.

³ The liberalization of trade, privatization of large state enterprises has increased the mobility of capital investment. Rural urban migration had remained a steady flow which has picked up pace in recent years.

Walled City Lahore as a vibrant, multi-functional urban precinct with a distinct spatial boundary and historical built fabric can be seen as a microcosm of present urbanization processes including migration.

Internal migration is the largest migratory process in Pakistan (Addleton 1992, Arif 2009) and hence a major potential driver of social transformation. This transformation is visible in the intensification of industrialized agriculture, loss of rural livelihoods, erosion of traditional social structures and growth of slums in the large and smaller towns of Pakistan. Internal migration is associated with colossal environmental degradation and the loss of historical moorings in social relations (Hassan 2009, Qadeer 2006, Mumtaz 2010). Burgeoning bureaucracies and environmental research and technologies for mitigating the environmental crises of piling waste, epidemics and energy shortages reflect the scale of this shift and its attendant problems.⁴

Migration studies as a discipline has focused on international migration which is a mere 3% of world migration compared to the enormous demographic changes wrought by internal migration. There is also a need to link migration to development-induced environmental changes. As Skeldon (2010) notes: ‘Today the incidence of development on population movement is still a topical issue and more than ever should be investigated from technological and environmental perspectives.’

A study of migration and social change in the life of migrants has national and international relevance. Here this phenomenon was studied through the lens of Pathan migrants who come to live in the Walled City of Lahore. The Pathans are a very small community and only a

⁴ The *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* defines ‘climate change’ as ‘...a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alter the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods’ (UNFCCC 1992:3).

limited number – 25 in all – was sampled in the study. Yet the study was incredibly illuminating: it confirmed trends observed in certain larger studies on migration, such as historical drivers of migration, but also challenged notions regarding the improvement in quality of life due to the rural-to-urban movement. As an architect it was educational to explore the relation between the unique built environment of the Walled City and its inhabitants using the tools of social research.

Pathans arrive by what is described in migration studies as the push from the rural rather than the pull of the city, or to rephrase Marx, *because I have no money, I will migrate*⁵. The home environment of the Pathan migrant, the periphery, has experienced progressive loss of subsistence and cultural vitality. Developing conditions back home are pivotal to their adjustment and change in the Walled City environment. *Urbanization of everyone*⁶ (Abu-Lughod 1961) has been underway in the provenance of the Pathans with the introduction of green revolution technologies, large infrastructure development, and industrial extraction of natural resources⁷. The force *pulling* those who have been *pushed from* their natal environment is a Janus-faced ‘development’ model based on capitalist industrial production. Kingsley (1951) had expressed concern about the focus on population increase rather than rural urban migration in Pakistan, a country where agriculture was the primary mode of production.

⁵ Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts. “If I have no money for travel, I have no *need*, i.e. no real and self-realizing need, to travel.”

⁶ Janet Abu Lughod describes the urban lifestyles, dependence on cash from remittances, service sector jobs and use of consumer goods in the rural areas a growing condition on a global scale. In the present age of advanced communication net works and globalization this process is a more totalizing effect.

⁷ Green technologies, dams and roads and development of marble mining, medicinal plant export etc.

The Pathan migrants *eat here but live there*⁸. They consider the provenance their first home and the city as a temporary residence to help support life back home. The locals refer to the small but visible Pathan population as those who work hard, take up dangerous jobs and are miserly and oblivious to comfort. Along with a popular refrain about their strong links to ancestral villages, Pathan solidarity is often mentioned by the other groups in the Walled City.

*'Ay sub kuj bacha kay lay janday nain. Barey gandey hondain nai, tusi ainaa
dey bistar waikho'*

'They save everything and take it home to their villages. They live so filthily, you should see their bedding,' a local shopkeeper described the loyalty of Pathans to their home communities and their lack of concern with social impressions.

The Pathans adjust to life in the Walled city with a combination of resistance and surrender; the latter trend dominates as they adjust and adopt local mores and urban lifestyles. The essentialist nature of categories such as *local mores, urban and rural lifestyles, tribal culture* is acknowledged and the research attempts to see them as dynamic processes rather than rigid habit and innate behavior.

The research extends the available study of migrants in general and Pathan migrant settlement in particular with regard to the role of locale, ethnic networks, chain migration, female migrant experience and Afghan migration (Tilly1983, Park1928, Watkins 2003, Werbner1990, Ballard 2001, Gazdar 2003).

The paucity of qualitative social research on localities and migrant settlement occludes understanding of the major demographic shift to urbanized living and its environmental

⁸ Watkins used the Pushto phrase *Save here, eat there* ,(Watkins 2003) to describe the behavior of Pathan migrants from Dir laboring in the Gulf.

consequences underway in Pakistan and other developing countries. As Sassen (2010) states, ‘Studying the city is not simply studying the urban. It is about studying major social processes of an era.’

The study also attempts to offer a plausible explanation and rejection of popular perceptions regarding the Pathan migrants in Walled City Lahore.⁹

The Walled City Lahore has witnessed accelerated erosion of its historical socio-spatial morphology that accommodated high social diversity in the not very distant history (Qadeer 1983). The last three generations of Pathan migrants have experienced the transformation of the Walled City from a place with a highly diverse social life to a commercial and small scale manufacturing hub with deteriorating physical infrastructure and amenities for resident population. The loss of religious, ethnic and class diversity is recent and well-documented (Qadeer 1983, M.Ashraf 1989) – compared to the larger city of Lahore, however, it still houses the highest population density and diversity of land use.

Why the Walled City Lahore

Standing on many millennia of history, Walled City Lahore is a heterogeneous urban locale, deeply assimilated in the wider city through multiple links and movement of goods and people for highly varied purposes. It is an environment rich in historical evidence and density of contemporary processes within a compact area of 2.5 sq. kilometers; hence a suitable site for a limited study of social change.

⁹ Recent journalistic accounts have been peddling a picture of the Walled City Pathans which is neither informative (it ignores the fact of two major groups conflated into the single category Pathan) nor unbiased. There are two major communities the Pushto speaking Pathans and the Shaarri speaking Pashyai from Afghanistan and they have very distinct history of migration and culture. There was also no unusual incidence of aggressive behavior or criminality reported about both the communities, a view implied in the media but not supported by locals. Shaarri who murdered a local councilor was mentioned time and again. However, no culture of criminality was observed or mentioned by locals.

Three regional whole sale markets¹⁰, small-scale manufacturing units and craft shops, and pockets of high density residential population are located inside and around Walled City in addition to main inter-city and intra-city transportation nodes. This mix of residence, commerce, and manufacture are held together by a web of ancient street pattern. The streets are conduits of the hectic contemporary activity and the defining link to its ancient origins.

It is anomalously distinct from the city without the walls both in its physical environment and the social world it supports. Layers of history linger tangibly in its architecture, forcing adjustment, accommodating habit and restraining intervention. The majority of residents are lower middle and working class (AKCSP 2009), the result of decades of continuous out migration by the elites combined with a cataclysmic exodus of the largely wealthy non-Muslim population in 1947¹¹.

Walled City allows us to vividly experience the transition and the impact of recent developments on the built environment and the social life it supports.

The fact that a relatively higher sense of community and security is experienced inside the Walled City is widely shared in academic and popular discourse (Bajwa 2007, Qadeer 1983, Qureshi 1988, Weiss 1999). Loss of sense of community and physical insecurity are two most vexing concerns in contemporary urban environments. The role of social equality and tradition in the creation of community in the Walled City environment was an important theme explored in the research.

¹⁰ Cloth, shoes and imported toys, household wares and decorative items. Commercial activity as percentage of Land use:49% (2007); 25% (1987)

¹¹ In 1947 the non-Muslim Hindu and Sikhs of WCL almost 40% the population was forced to migrate to India Talbot(2004). According to the official website of the SDWCLP the Population in Walled City over time:145,000 (2008); 160,900 (1998); 189,976 (1981);206,200 (1971).

The Walled City Lahore as host environment is in the throes of social and physical change; it is experiencing the rapid loss of local middle class leadership, and handicraft and small-scale manufacturing and retailing that had shaped its historical urban milieu (Ali Khan et al 2012, AKCSP 2008, and Bajwa 2007).

The commercial function in the city is expanding. This trend is accompanied by new technologies of communication, motorization of streets, and mammoth-scale construction using industrial materials and building systems. This change, however, is circumscribed by the web of meandering pedestrian streets with a weave of small open spaces and buildings harking back to pre-industrial origins of the city. The Walled City built space is representative of accretions of *life size*¹²; its densely packed, miniscule, mixed-use buildings and pedestrian movement creates multiple opportunities for unmediated close encounters. Even the increasing new insertions of large glass and concrete buildings are still constrained by the lay of streets and stand elbowing frail, old structures or humble new encroachments.

Glick & Çağlar (2008) argue for the study of the impacts of globalization on locality, i.e. the restructuring by global forces of the flow of people, identities, subjectivities, and cultural production, ‘to understand the contexts of settlement, migration scholars must examine the situating of each locality of settlement within rapid flows of capital and changing hierarchies of power.’ This study attempts the same and tries to discover the links between larger structural changes both in the natal and host environment of Pathan migrants through the examination of their spatially embedded life in the Walled City.

Concepts such as ‘sustainability,’ ‘development,’ ‘heritage conservation,’ and ‘diversity’ are regarded as unquestioned signifiers of the greater good in urban planning discourse, but

¹² A term used by writer Paul Virilio (1997) to describe the change in life experience in society when physical limits of body and ecology are transgressed by new technologies and their consumer gadgets, accelerated communication and mechanized habitats .

many critical scholars have stressed the need to investigate them for what they actually represent (Fainstein and Campbell 2011, Bannerjee 2003, Hillier and Rooksby 2005). These are examined through a focus on the heritage conservation project underway in the Walled City.

Also, during the last 60 years, the Walled City Lahore has witnessed successive urban development initiatives by the state sector informed by the most fashionable ideas in urban planning of the time¹³ Qadeer (1996). The history of urban planning initiatives in the Walled City provides a historical context to juxtapose with the biography of the Pathan migrant to study the impact of formal planning in a social environment.

Why Pathans

Pathan migration to Walled City Lahore is a microcosm of urban migration underway in Pakistan, which consists largely of rural populations moving cities for employment. The appellation 'Pathan' is in the generic sense used by the locals to identify Pushto, Shaarri and even Chitrali speaking people in the Walled City Lahore. These disparate and distinct ethnicities share many visible attributes that the locals associate with Pathan culture. The idea of a community group uses Barth's definition of a community as being a category that identifies itself as one and is identified by the other as a category distinguishable from others (Barth 1969).

Pathans have been a part of the Walled City Lahore from at least the 11th century¹⁴ and presently form an estimated 2% to 3% of the population¹⁵. Many old Walled City families

¹³ Sites and Services in the 1970's, heritage conservation in 1980's and Sustainable Development in the new millennium.

¹⁴ Akhund Darweza's book *Tazkirat al Abrar wa al-Ashrar* mentions Pathans in the service of the army of the Ghaznavids, hence they would have come to Lahore as part of the conquering army of Mahmud Ghaznawi.

continue to identify with their Pathan lineage even though most of them do not speak Pushto any more¹⁶. The Pathans are a community with a distinct ethnic character and provenance. The *dis-location* of migrants provides a perspective that privileges *linkage* and *processes* which many including Ananya Roy (2009) find useful for the study of urbanization. The slow incorporation of tribal areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa into globalized economy has historical roots in the colonial period (Nichols, 2009), but the present pace of change and culture of migration is decisively transformative and more visible.

Research Objectives

To study the lived life of Pathan migrants in the Walled City Lahore in order:

- To understand the process of cultural change and assimilation of migrants in the new environment and its attendant socio-economic gains and losses.
- To identify the drivers of migration.
- To study the role of a spatially defined historical setting with dominantly pedestrian movement, functional diversity, high density, and low income population as a model for urban living with low energy use, low consumption, and high social cohesion and tolerance for migrants.
- To analyse the linkages of local, national, and global change in the Walled City.

Organization of Dissertation

Each subsequent chapter of the dissertation is devoted to a specific aspect of the research and concludes with a brief discussion of the salient content.

¹⁵ Findings of Socio-economic survey 2009 undertaken by the Agha Khan Cultural Services Pakistan for the Sustainable Development of Walled City project do not give any figures but this number was an estimate gathered from interviews with locals and Pathans.

¹⁶ An old Pathan family of Mochi gate introduce themselves as Mohammedzai Pathans and proudly associates with *Pukhtunwali* code as their guiding values, however they have no visible affiliation with the new Pushto speaking migrants and are completely absorbed in the local ethos.

Chapter 2 is a review of relevant literature which is not limited to migration studies both for reasons of limited work in this area done in Pakistan and the need to engage with multiple dimensions of the study.

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology; it attempts to justify the use of the ethnographic technique for the study as well as the guidance from the framework suggested by Time Space geographer Allen Pred as a guide to access locality as a historically contingent process.

Chapter 4 provides a historical context of the built environment of Walled City Lahore, tracing the history from the earliest times to the present and concludes with a picture of the contemporary built and social environment.

Chapter 5 is a description of the Pathan migration, sub-ethnicities and their livelihoods.

Chapter 6 discusses the nature of social defenses of the poor migrant Pathans, the invisible glue of community and its determinants.

Chapter 7 focuses on the lived life of Pathans as they occupy space, use facilities, socialize and dream about the future.

Chapter 8 is a summation of the research finding presented as three thematic essays titled; ‘Unfreedom and Depletion’; ‘Resistance of Pathan Migrants’ and ‘The Discourse Gap’.

These answer the larger questions of the nature of social change underway in the urban environment. The daily lives of the Pathans in the limited setting of the Walled City elucidate the role of pedestrian streets and equality in poverty in creating the quality of social interaction among the Pathans and other walled city residents. It also highlights the restraint on personal consumption because of traditional norms both in local and natal environments. The Pathans of Walled city are not a homogenous community but comprise different sub-ethnic groups identified by their place of origin. The study claims that these groups exhibit significant cohesion locally and stronger links with their natal villages. They

derive additional strength from the physically close knit Walled City environment and to resist assimilation which is associated with loss of dignity and material insecurity.

The study also delineates structural and material changes that affect the lives of the migrants and others and the limits of individual agency in the emerging environment in times of neo-liberal globalization. The field observations, interviews and literature showed a rising trend towards extra-local control of policy as evident in the agenda of globalized trade and heritage management standards. Overall there is an alarming deterioration in the physical and social environment of everyday life for the residents of Walled City, Pathans may have more resilience to grapple with this reality but suffer equally in the new environment.

CHAPTER 2. PAST LITERATURE

Walled City Lahore is an important historical settlement but there is no social research available on migrants and their settlement in the Walled City Lahore. This absence is consistent with a general paucity of urban sociology and history not only in Pakistan but in India and Middle East (Azdar and Reiker 2010, De Neeve and Donner 2006, Yacobi and Shechter 2005).

Urban development initiatives in the last four decades have generated a large body of maps, descriptive accounts and socio-economic data about this precinct of larger metropolitan Lahore. Most of these were the result of three projects for the improvement of the Walled City financed by the World Bank. These include, the First and Second Punjab Urban Development Project (PUDP) from 1975-1993 and the Sustainable Development of Walled City Lahore Project (SDWCLP) initiated in 2006.

LDA (1980) gives a detailed socio-economic profile of the Walled City, SDWCLP (2009) is a comprehensive description of the spatial form and its historical development based on the findings of the 2nd PUDP. This publication has detailed plans of important precincts and heritage properties inside the Walled City. AKCSP (2008 and 2010) are reports compiled by the Agha Khan Cultural Services Pakistan as partners to the Punjab Government, these provide an update of the 1980 socio-economic data on the Walled City. The studies undertaken for the SDWCLP 2006 project use GIS mapping and completes the built environment and infrastructure record to the present times.

The conservation and rehabilitation work under the above mentioned projects has been the subject of comment and evaluation (Bajwa 2007, Mumtaz 1980, 2006, Ezdi 2009, Vandal

1988, Kron nd). These writers are critical of the planning processes and skeptical about the ability of proposals to sufficiently address the needs of the resident, largely poor population and the lack of project capacity to deal with the complex administrative and economic ecologies responsible for rapid destruction of heritage buildings and culture of Walled City Lahore.

Khalid Bajwa (2007), Ali Khan, et al (2008), Ezdi (2009) represent recent research on built environment, traditional manufacture and land use in Walled City respectively. This work is discussed later in the chapter.

Literature on Lahore City in general also brings important insights about the Walled City. Glover (2011), provides glimpses of colonial period Walled City, Talbot(2006) localized account of partition ,1947 and its aftermath, Chishty (1996) traditional, hagiographic record of the life and architecture associated with various saints etc. from Walled City , Latif (1981) account of colonial period architecture and history, Tufail (1962) encyclopedic account of people, places and culture of Walled City, Qureshi (1984), pictorial record and general description. Weiss (1999) ethnography of home based female work, Simorgh (2008) a recent social survey of working class and lower middle class women, Saeed (1999), study of women from Hira Mandi¹⁷ neighborhood of Walled City. Literary texts, autobiographical accounts, Neville(1997) and Ashraf (1989), memoir Brown (2008), fiction Yashpal (2011) also offer rich insights into the material and lived culture of the Walled City.

Significant writing linking social change, urbanization and built environment in Pakistan during the last three decades can be attributed to Arif Hassan and M.A Qadeer and Kamil

¹⁷ One time thriving red light area of Lahore which has been virtually taken over by the shoe manufacturing workshops. See Saeed (1999) and Brown (2008) for an account of this neighborhood.

Khan Mumtaz. Whereas, the first two write from development and society perspective Kamil Khan's work focuses on architectural history, city form and society

Qadeer (1974, 1983, 1996, 2006, 2008, 2009) are sociological writing on urbanization, social change in Pakistan and Lahore City over the last six decades.

Lahore, Urban Development in the Third World (Qadeer 1983), is a history of urban development of Lahore city in particular and third world cities in general. This case study is rich in documentation and theoretically engaged with dominant urban debates of the late 1970's. Qadeer's concern is the 'puzzle' of failure of urban development in third world cities. He tries to answer why despite the application of every fashionable planning technique¹⁸ Pakistani cities never developed and remain mired in gross physical and social problems. He ascribes the urban condition to internal dynamics and an externally driven 'dependency developmentalism'¹⁹. Three decades of post colonial development of Lahore had expanded the infrastructure base and spurred economic growth but the benefits were limited to the elites. There was acute stratification of the economic structure into an upper and lower circuit. The upper circuit, dominated by the corporate sector was also model for state sponsored development; the lower circuit was the domain of indigenous bazaar sector. The state was the principal player in urban development but hostage to class interests and externally induced dependency of foreign aid and advice.

¹⁸ According to Qadeer (Qadeer, 1983 : 3) in the late sixties it was urban renewal and problems were attributed to decaying urban cores, seventies was dominated by the sites and services for squatter settlements etc. This book does not include the more recent fashionable occupation with heritage conservation.

¹⁹ Andre Gunder Frank posited a theory of dependence - a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of the advanced economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion. The central argument of this theory is that the world economic system is highly unequal in its distribution of power and resources and places most nations in a dependent position in relation to the dominant power.

One of the twelve thematic propositions he lays down as the conceptual framework for the study, Proposition 2; states, ‘the main analytical task in studying third world cities is to uncover links in the chain of dependency observable in transaction of power and resources that take place in the market and in the political arena...’ hence he observes,

‘In Lahore, even decisions about water rates have come to be made in Islamabad and Washington. United Nations missions are needed to inform the city that it lacks an efficient bus service or that sewage should not be dumped untreated.’(Qadeer, 1983:258)

Qadeer valorized the indigenous for it is ‘*based on the proper labor intensive factor mix and in keeping with the local social organization*’ and self-reliance and indigenous experiment is proposed as desirable development strategy for third world cities. Suggesting some feasible lines of urban development he concludes by saying,

‘As long as the national commitment remains unfulfilled, Lahore will remain an unrealized city.’ Qadeer (1983)

The speculative leap frog development around the city appropriating virgin land is identified but not as a systemic environmental problem. Qadeer accepts technological modernity as the inevitable trajectory while noting the social inequities produced by the metro poles of advanced capitalism. In a later texts addressing social change in Pakistan (Qadeer 1996, 2006, 2009), he finds the rapidly urbanizing Pakistan besieged by accentuated incongruity between material modernity and behavioral norms. Globalization is recognized as a force of change arriving primarily through the agency and circulation of migrant labor, international aid, opening of markets and the spillover of Afghan wars. The increased social dysfunction in society is seen as lag or growing pains of a society making a transition to modernity.

‘The material elements of Pakistani culture have changed rapidly and extensively, whereas the non-material aspects have lagged behind, changing slowly and sporadically. Modern technology and consumer goods have been readily adopted by all sections of the society. From tea to television or Kentucky Fried Chicken to kidney transplants, modern products have spread readily. Yet mores of family planning, punctuality, or efficiency have not caught on. The non material culture continues to be tied to traditions while material culture is galloping ahead in line with global trends. (Qadeer 2006:261)

Qadeer (2006) observes the presence of solidarities of Islamic brotherhood as providers of social welfare and cohesion and the growth of religious conservatism in the face of government retrenchment and privatisation.

Arif Hassan mentions some of the same changes in the urban centers and the shifting dynamics of power in urban Pakistan and globally. The ‘neo-liberal’ agenda of the *undemocratic institutions* global institutions i.e. United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organization is held responsible as the determining influence on social development and emerging culture of urban Pakistan.

‘Liberalisation has also meant the popularization of fast food chain stores and the popularization of various consumer items....new post modern buildings of the corporate sector, with posh interiors stand in contrast to the sedate government buildings of previous decades..’

He describes this situation as the presence of ‘a first world economy and sociology with a Third World wage and political structure’. His writings while engaging with a range of real world examples from Pakistani urban and rural settlements do not articulate any critical

perspective on the larger ‘developmental’ paradigm of technological modernization and urbanization.

Arif (2011) on migration in Pakistan highlights the sizeable emigration experienced by Pakistan as compared to the out migration. It provides a profile of four small towns as a sampling of national trends of rural to urban migration. He observes the sea change in the social life of urban Pakistanis as females acquire education and enter the workforce and rural migrants are no longer bound by feudal relations of rural areas. Freedom from feudal oppression is given as one of the drivers and favorable outcome of migration. The emergence of nuclear families, liberal values, emancipation of women and promotion of NGO activity are cited social developments of migration. David Harvey (2011), singles out the NGO’s as “trojan horses for global neoliberalism” among other aspects of modern day neo-liberal change but Arif Hassan has a mixed perspective on the issue. He is critical of the professionalization of social work but not with their role as facilitators of the emerging development paradigm.

Migration is viewed as a positive development if the corruption of travel agents engaged in emigration; costs of emigration and violation of human rights in the countries of emigration are controlled. Lack of interest in agricultural work among the educated, continued mechanization of agriculture, export of food commodities, and investment of global capital in urban property are documented but not theorized.

Kamil Khan is of the view that urban environmental crisis in Pakistan evident in the mounting accumulation of waste, pollution of vital resources, economic disparity and violence requires a radical rethink. He blames the chaotic growth of cities on the technocrat planner’s vision rather than the lack of planning as lamented by popular media and development authorities. He makes an emphatic case against the ecological sustainability of

cities and labels cities as the biggest consumers of resources etc. This position makes a complete break with the prevalent planning paradigm and like all radicals he offers a utopian vision. His utopia is a rejection of ‘modernity’, which he equates with secular, western, industrial development and his prescription is a return to ‘tradition’.

Earlier Kamil Khan had sought reasons for the visible decay in the Walled City Lahore;

‘is the decay the result of incompatibility with the physical environment, or of the inability of preindustrial economy to survive in a post industrial world?

The city consumes a host of postindustrial goods and services-from transistor radios to World Bank projects-but it must pay for them with preindustrial commodities. In exchange it is caught in a predicament comparable to a man who gets the iron lungs he needs to survive but has to pedal to keep it going.’

(Kamil Khan 1980)

A dissertation titled ‘Developing conditions in Androon Shehr Lahore’ by Khalid Bajwa has extensive documentation of the evolution of the physical fabric of the city and the administrative and formal planning perspectives that have shaped it in the more recent history. Illustrative maps showing morphology and infrastructure development, photographs and planning documents of various urban master plans etc. accompany the text.

Khalid Bajwa shares Arif Hassan’s emphasis on more informed planning and concern for ‘local development issues at a ‘grassroots level’ and advocates understanding the peculiar spatial morphology and the social environment.

Ali Khan et al. (2010), study is an ethnography of a variety of traditional manufacturers of contemporary Walled City Lahore. The study takes one of M.A. Qadeer’s thematic proposition presented in his case study of Lahore (Qadeer 1983) cited above as a structural

character of post colonial cities to study the transformations of selected eight traditional occupations existing in Walled City Lahore.

Proposition 8 states,

‘Traditions accommodate and assimilate new cultural elements and evolve ways of dealing with unprecedented solutions. Yet they become obstructive if the change is socially too disruptive. In a specific situation, modernity and tradition continually interpenetrate each other. This process of mutual adaptation is the key to an understanding of the outcomes of the dialectical interaction.’(Qadeer 1983:28).

The case studies include a shoe maker, potter, board-game maker, Brass-ware seller, miniature painter, goldsmith and tabla maker. He explains the survival of these traditional practices through three conditions, *exclusivity* of ‘niche market’, *antiquation* or re-orientalisation and lastly *adaptation or modernization* of components etc.

Ezdi (2009) develops a micro-study of land use in a precinct of the Walled City located on the circular road. Ezdi’s study provides a rare qualitative documentation of the dynamics of land use, introducing the actors and the formal and informal processes shaping the city. Ezdi is critical about the official initiatives for ‘development’ which ignore the economic and social role of locally embedded poorer communities and their needs. She postulates, ‘ *a shift in paradigm, to a people centered development vision..*’ a position broadly similar to that of Arif Hassan which attributes the disparity between the powerful and marginalized of the city is a major factor hampering improvement of urban environment.

Kamran Azdar Ali (Ali 2012, 2010, 2009), are among the few writings on urban dwellers especially the working class. His interest lies in exposing and understanding the nature of

their agency, coping strategies and resilience to particularize and complicate the narrative of urban reality away from grand historical themes. Ali and Reiker (2009) press the need for urban scholarship in view of the massive changes in physical and social environment of cities in the time of economic liberalization.

Gazdar and Mallah (2011), examines the dynamics of local collective action of an ethnically diverse locality and wider urban and state politics through the transformation of Kausar Niazi Colony, a peripheral informal settlement in Karachi . The collective struggle of the informal settlement inhabitants for regularisation is seen as rational self interest rather than any larger social movement. It is however, deemed significant by the authors as an exercise in more pluralistic political action and basis for participation in democratic electoral process.

Studies on migrants and location, such as Connor (1989) on the residential choice of self-settled Afghan refugees in Peshawar, elucidate the role of ethnic and sub-ethnic bonds, time of migration, political affiliation as determinant of choice of settlement. The study corroborates some of the findings of seminal research on migrant settlement such as Abu-Lughod (1961). It is however totally deficient in relating choice to locality characteristics and focuses on the migrant only. Selier (1988) on migrants in poor settlements of Karachi is also significant in framing the issue of rural urban migration in a wider theoretical perspective.

Research from other countries, Ghannam 2010, 2002, Bayat (1997), studies of Cairo city, Karaman (2010), Istanbul, , Roy (2003) Calcutta, Nair (2005) Bangalore and De Neuve and Geert eds. (2006) on Indian cities provide deeper insights into contemporary urban dynamics as these cities share many aspects of post-colony and environments with Pakistani cities. Their writings are notable for engaging with local ramifications of structural changes brought about by neo-liberal globalization and hegemonic political control of the international financial institutions such as IMF, World Bank and WTO.

Farah Ghannam (2002) describes the new modernity which is dependent, individualistic and market oriented versus the Nasserite nationalistic and socially driven modernity of early decade of independence from colonialism. Asef Bayat (1997) mentions how despite the structural changes in the state and its diminished role as social provider lives on in the imagination of the Cairene poor.

The physical changes in the city, the new spatial idiom being produced under the conditions of market liberalization is critiqued by the above mentioned writers. Nair (2005) Bangalore is remade in the nineties purportedly in the image of ‘Singapore’. Karaman (2012) writes about Istanbul witnessing massive urban renewal of old neighborhoods introducing new instruments of marketisation of urban space in the form of mortgage loans. The article demonstrates that urban renewal is not simply about dispossession and displacement. In the Turkish case, urban renewal does not necessarily seek to displace poor residents (even though it often ends up doing so), rather to incorporate them into a nascent mortgage origination market.

Haque (2006), Haque and Nayab (2007) presents a neo-liberal policy perspective on ‘cities as engines of growth’ in the Pakistani context. There is clear enunciation of the desirable urban traits inspired by the *anti mercantilist* thinking of H. De Soto.

‘Focusing on markets and consumers instead of production and mercantilism will allow many synergies of development to be exploited. Complex linkages between various activities of domestic commerce will reinforce growth. For example, large, branch-networked retail needs to be supported by extensive development of distribution and warehouse networks, office space and transport networks. All this in turn could enable tourism and hotel development. All this reinforces Pakistan’s integration into the global

marketplace. A greater global integration will strengthen modernization and retard the spread of fundamentalism.’(Haque 2006:11)

Literature on the social outcomes and living pattern of migration in Pakistan is limited. Most social and anthropological studies on migrants are limited to transnational migrants (Arif 1997, Ballard 2001, 1987, Werbner 1990, Watkins 2009). Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) has been a major hub of migration research and economists dominate the research (G.M. Arif (2004, Khan and Shehnaz 2000, Arif and Hamid 2009).

One recent sociological research by Mehmood, Ahmed and Zulfiqar (2009) deals with the social adjustment of Pathan migrants and their assimilation with Punjabis in Lahore. This study is based on quantitative survey of 100 respondents. The study does not historicize the complex working of environment (physical and social) and Pathan migrants. It is deficient in addressing locale and change but presents some statistical trends and claims a positive result for adjustment of Pathan migrants in Lahore. Significant findings are, high level of illiteracy, employment, 73%, 40% were laborers while 60% had small businesses, average income Rs. 15000 per month with 30% having income between Rs.7000-10000 only, the highest income group had earnings in the range of Rs.21000-35000, 98% of the migrants spoke Punjabi and only 2% did not know Punjabi, 29% spoke Punjabi even in their homes.

Gazdar (2003), Memon (2005) give a comprehensive view of migration issues in Pakistan. Gazdar (2005) presents a synoptic historical background of the state, economy, society and political trends, lists national and provincial organizations involved with migrants and state policy issues and identifies future research areas in migration studies in Pakistan. Memon provides a detailed analysis based on census and national surveys of the trends in internal migration. According to this study it is that ownership of agricultural land significantly reduces

the probability of migration. Agriculture land is seen both as potential source of earning but also as a source of social bonding geographically.

While the approach is econometric he emphasizes the need for more structural approach relating to wider processes, kinship networks, issues of power and the interaction between spatial mobility and the structuring of labour markets.

Nichols (2009) a historical survey of last 200 years of Pathan migration it discusses Pathans in 18th century Rohilkhand and Gulf migration in Dubai in the 21st century. It traces the larger framework of European colonial policies and contemporary globalization as they underpin the movement of Pathans from North-western sub-continent to places as far as Australia in the 19th century.

Weinreich (2009) examines the settlement of Pashto speakers in the northern areas of Pakistan based on life histories of Pashto speakers. It provides insight into the life of ordinary traders, cobblers, tea boys, farmers and potters who have migrated to areas of Gilgit, Pakistan. His interest is primarily the change in use of language in the course of adjustment and settlement in the Northern areas.

Sokefeld (2012), discusses the dynamics of identity groups and the formation of stereotypes as a need for minimizing variation within the group and creating difference from the others outside the group. He emphasizes the historical context Pathan identity formation in Gilgit. Pathan there is the personification of external dominance and control creating negative stereotyping. The distance created by the lack of mutual respect and socialization is paradoxically used by the Pathan trader to run unencumbered business dealings. The success of Pathan traders reinforces prejudices of the *Gilgitwale*.

Afghan migration in the eighties has been a more productive area of migration research (Arey 2005, Novak 2007, Kuschminder, Dora 2009). Arey (2005), a UNHCR sponsored study of Afghan migrant in Karachi and provides reported data on population and uses and uses the same to create a profile of Afghan migrant participation in labor force and their income. It displaces the received view of Afghan settlements, their role in local ethnic strife, crime and drugs and discusses ethnic and kinship based social networks, role of religion, duration of stay and link with Afghanistan.

As mentioned transnational migration has fared better and there is a small but significant work on Pakistani diaspora, their settlement, remittances and social change in home environment.

Roger Ballard (1987) an historical overview is an informative survey of transnational migratory trends in Pakistani. It highlights the impact of migration on sending and receiving social environments. The rural migrants form the largest component of emigration from Pakistan to the Gulf countries, the prime destination of most migrant labor. Ballard discusses the social inequities of the Pakistani society and the control of the elites in framing state policies which view 'remittances' as vital foreign exchange source and do not promulgate policies for local development that would undermine their privileged position in a highly polarized class society. Overall the remittances are seen as source of dangerous dependency trends with short term benefits that may spell long term disaster.

Watkins (2008) is a study of the changes in the nature of Pathan migration based on field work in a village in Dir KP. It is a study of three generations of migrant men beginning with the colonial period, early decades of post-colonial local migration and the 1970's and latest 90's Gulf migration through their life histories. He distinguishes three phases in local migration. The first phase is an attempt to escape crushing poverty, followed by a phase

where migration became a springboard for more lucrative opportunities in the Gulf. The latest migratory trend is seen as a habituated way of life with its own ‘culture of migration’ in the provenance communities.

Ballard (2001), study of three South Asian communities and their settlement in England: Punjabis from Jullundher, Bangladeshi from Sylhet and Azad Kashmiris from Mirpur focuses on the impact of kinship in the choice of work and settlement of families. He uncovers the significant historical continuity of networks based on common kinship. Explaining their success both as an outcome of strong networks as well as their social position he says “*precisely because those involved or engage in entrepreneurship from below, their very alterity is crucial dimension of their capacity for agency*”.

Werbner (1990) investigates the relationship between community and urban space through the study of Pakistani migrants in Manchester. It helps explain how culture and ideology inform meanings in housing and urban locations and determine their exchange value for different migrant Pakistanis. It is observed that unlike locals migrants attach no value to the symbolic class representation of houses and neighborhoods in Manchester as their home in the provenance is deemed representative of their social status. This theme of the nature of migrant attachment to the natal home is evident in a study by Watkins.

Watkins (2003), unpacks the Pathan phrase “save there, eat here” to understand the way the Pathan male migrant saved money by living in extremely hard condition in the UAE and sent to his families in the village to consume and spent generously. Pathan culture was elementary to the manner in which money was saved and later spent at home. Spending in UAE on personal consumption was despised and suffering to support family in the village venerated.

Migration as a field has tended to be highly specialized (Castles 2010) and theoretically dominated by a neo-classical economic perspective both internationally and in Pakistan. This has created gaps in understanding the overall dynamics of migratory processes and how they relate to the process of social change.

Migration literature since Ernest Ravenstein (1885) presented his laws of migration has grappled with issues ranging from the difference of what Ravenstein called *the counties of absorption* and *counties of dispersion*.

Portes (2008) encapsulated migration theories since the time of Ravenstein into four approaches:

- (1) the neoclassical approach, based on an individualistic calculus of benefits and costs among would be migrants (Borjas 2001, Tomas 1973).
- (2) the 'new economics' approach which added the role of families in the optimizing behavior of migrants (Stark 1991, Massey 1990).
- (3) The world systems perspective grounded on the concepts of structural penetration of peripheral areas by the core economies leading to displacements (Portes and Walton 1988, Sassen 1988, Alba 1978).
- (4) The social networks approach invoked to explain the resilience of migration and its continuation over time (Tilly 1990, Castles 2004, Anderson 1974).

Shrestha (1988), has narrowed these further to conventional perspectives and the neo-Marxist/dependency perspectives.

The conventional perspective (Lewis 1954, Harris and Todaro, 1970) and the new economics of labor migration theory (NELM) has been influential in economic discourse and

international institutions migration policy. This perspective builds on one of the salient laws of Ravenstein, wage differences between sending and receiving countries are seen as drivers of migration and lack of differentials as deterrents to the same. In Pakistan during the 1960's era of 'developmentalism' many scholars prescribed to Myrdal's (1957) theory of migration eg. Hashmi, Jones(ed.) (1966) later research is dominated by the neo-classical theories of Harris and Todaro eg. Arif (2004) , or the Human Capital Theory as in Khan and Shehnaz (2000) overall they all view migration as rational economic behavior of individuals and families.

The difference between the conventional econometric approach and the Marxist approach lies in their understanding of the working of migrant choice and the nature of social and economic relationship.

As Harvey (1982), observed that there are many options available to the dominant classes for social reproduction however the subordinated have only three choices i) adaptive choice: to stay and make the most of the existing conditions which are abysmal ii) revolutionary choice: stay and revolt, which is often only an extreme choice to lose everything in the process iii) migratory choice: which too is increasingly hard and painful.

While Marx did not postulate a theory of migration his work provides a historically rooted and systematically developed conceptualization of displacement of labor to cities with the birth of industrial capitalism. Marx linked the social, displaced and alienated labor and the material, commodities and their production and exchange in a unified framework of nineteenth century capitalism.

Marx's concept of metabolic rift²⁰, has had renewed interest in environmental research. Jason Moore (2000) writes,

‘A general consensus has emerged over the past quarter century-the planet faces serious ecological problems (many would say crisis) and that will lead to serious social problems...some contending that the ecological crisis spring from imperfect markets, others stressing the need for market regulation, while others arguing that only an ecologically centered socialism will suffice. Obviously the dialectic of economy and ecology is central here and for this reason the ecological debate overlaps in many ways with the globalization debate. The world historical import of these debates will loom larger as the possibilities for spatial fix are foreclosed. The commoditization of everything invading heretofore unexploited and under exploited socio-cultural and ecological niches.’

Moore (2000), provides a world- historical perspective of environmental crisis linked to the Marx's idea of metabolic rift. He views the successive reorganization of world ecology, the *systemic cycles of agro-ecological transformation* as the outcome of capitalist production. He compares this to Foster and Magdoff (1998) claim that the history of capitalism can be seen as a “series of successive, historical breaks in nutrient recycling” but extends the time frame further back to the 16th century. Environmental crisis in earlier historical periods of urban

²⁰ According to Marx, 'Capitalist production disturbs the metabolic interaction between man and the earth i.e. it prevents the return to the soil of its constituent elements consumed by man in the form of food and clothing; hence it hinders the operation of the eternal [sic] natural conditions for the lasting fertility of soil...In modern agriculture, as in urban industry, the increase in the productivity and the mobility of labor is purchased at the cost of laying waste and debilitating labor-power in the art, not only of robbing the workers, but of robbing the soil; all progress is a progress towards ruining the more long lasting sources of that fertility... Capitalist production, therefore, only develops the techniques and the degree of combination of the social process of production by simultaneously undermining the original sources of all wealth the soil and the workers'. Quoted by Moore 2010 pg 127.

civilization is not deemed free of economic crisis related to the metabolic rift but their effects are deemed localizing rather than globalizing. 20th century with the loss of room for geographic expansion (the globalization of capitalism), green revolution and exponential production of waste created the most serious challenge to the health of the biosphere in human history.’

Foster (1998) and others (Burkett 1999, Schnaiberg and Gould 1994, Moore 2003) build on the classical historical materialist tradition and foreground social material relationship in their approach to environmental issues. Giljum, S. & Eisenmenger, N. (2004) discuss the material migration in the trade between the industrial north and south in terms of its ecological cost.

Classical liberalism of nineteenth century Bentham and Locke and Malthus has been an equally productive underpinning of ecological debates. The ideas of Malthus and his apocalyptic predictions for the environment in the face of unchecked population growth find resonance in Garret Harden (1968) ‘Tragedy of the Commons’ and migration literature (Cairns 2010) where absolute numbers of population and productivity are used to build theory outside of social environment. The classic push, pull theories Lee (1966) have had continued resonance especially with regard to the environmental and population pressures as push for migration. As pointed out by Haas (2008), many migrants move from areas of relatively low degradation and sparse population to centers with poor environmental conditions and high density.

Contemporary migration scholars (Blackwell 2012, Portes 2008, Castles 2008, 2010, Skeldon 2010, Van Hear 2010, De Haas 2010) highlight the need to place migration study in the larger theories of social transformation. According to Haas (2008), migration outcomes are contingent on various spatial and temporal factors and cannot be separated from structural constraints including the role of states and international institutions.

Portes highlights the importance of the proper time frame for the analysis of migration and its consequences. A short term perspective of processes can provide rich detail but miss out long term effects. Similarly a long term historical lens may miss out important migration related effects because they have been absorbed into the culture without any trace. He recommends model time frame encompassing two to three generations. Interdisciplinary approach and inclusion of cultural and historical dimensions is reiterated as vital for migration studies.

Gidwani, Sivaramakrishen (2003) and Osella,Osella (1999), Ferguson (1999) look for the local, regional modernities, engendered by transnational movement and internal migration. These writings are influenced by post-structural critics of development and post-colonial theory of migrant subjectivity and complicate the more standard narrative of migration by bringing a cultural and regional focus to issue of labour and migration.

Abu Lughod (1986) had earlier questioned the validity of static, fixed notions of rural migrant and showed the urban nature of villagers who grow cash crops for international markets listen to radios sent children to schools that follow a national curriculum. In short the gap the migrants cross from village to the city can be very narrow.

Discussion

Transnational migration has historically received more attention (Ballard 2001) whereas internal migration, rural to urban, small town to larger centers remains larger in sheer volume and has direct consequences for the environment. The biggest group of transnational migrants and internal migrants are from rural areas.(Addleton 1992, Arif 2009). Despite urbanization and penetration of markets and industrialization of agriculture rural continues to support lifestyles appreciably less resource intensive and waste generative than urban living.

Migration research in Pakistan has largely been the domain of economists. Within the relatively small output of social research on migration focus on larger issues of environment and social change is limited e.g. Hassan (2011) and Qadeer (2006).

There is an urban bias in writings on migration and urbanization. Migration to cities is viewed as improvement in the standard of living, emancipation for females and destructive of feudalism. There is lack of critical approach towards the environmental cost, loss of subsistence and the proliferation of a marginalized dependent population in the urban centers. Most economic studies measure quality of life in using statistical data of fixed markers such as schooling, shelter and female employment without taking into account the complexity of historical and cultural context.

The effects of global changes wrought by the power of neo-liberal globalization especially localized ecological and social change are largely unexamined. As many (Ayse 2007, Ali and Reiker 2010) point cities even when similar in scale have complex local history and geographies that respond differentially to the new global order.

Neo-Marxist perspective based on Worlds System Theory argues that penetration of capitalist economic relations into non-capitalist or pre-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that can easily make a decision to migrate as it the only viable choice. It is based on the concepts of ‘dependency theory’ of Andre Gunder Frank (1966) and Emmanuel Wallenstein (1974) ‘World Systems Theory’.²¹

²¹ Andre Gunder Frank hypothesized that global capitalism contributed to the ‘development of underdevelopment’. According to this view the inroad of advanced industrialized capitalism in rural economies destroys stable peasant societies and leads to migration He classified countries according to the degree of their dependence and distinguished ‘core’ capitalist nations from the ‘peripheral’ countries forced to accept unfavorable terms of trade mostly for their raw materials and manpower export. Wallenstein’s concept of core and periphery relations builds on the idea of unequal power relations on a state level.

Urbanization poses by far the greatest challenge to the environment but it is divorced from the developments in the countryside both in social and material terms. Environment literature is spectacularly vivid about the cities as sites of contemporary environmental degradation, the socio-ecological transformation due to migration and growth of cities is highlighted by few scholars only (Davis 2006, Shiva 1989, Moore 2000).

Socio-ecological framework of analysis based on the work of Marx and Engels and metabolic rift theory has recently found resonance in face of rapid ecological destruction and increasing tendency to link ecological health and economic processes (Moore 2000). Critical scholars of urban environment link the dominant economic condition of neo-liberal finance capitalism to greater social instability and ecological rifts. Culture, language and community are part of a physical and social ecology witnessing accelerated instability in wake of acute economic marginalization and ecological devastation and creation of a footloose and unstable population of poor migrants.

CHAPTER 3.METHODOLOGY

'To break the mold of traditional thinking,how?visiting place - Simone Abdul Malique

Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) write ‘to interrogate the workings of contemporary world-historical processes—to lay bare their uncertainties and invisibilities, to make sense of their ways and means, to comprehend their inclusions and exclusions, to court, counter, mediate their dystopic implications—has become increasingly urgent.’

The overarching concern of the dissertation was to develop a picture of the contemporary environment more specifically through a study of the urban social environment. The Walled City Lahore and Pathan migrants presented themselves as felicitous subject given the contained physical dimension of the previous and the links with the distant villages and class of the later.

Urban studies has a long tradition of influence of Jane Jacobs study of Boston neighborhood in her famed book, *'The Death and Life of Great American Cities'*. In this Jacobs (1961), described the city as a problem of organized complexity and suggested working from particular to general, to focus on the ‘unaverage’ clue rather than averages.

Jane Jacobs view of cities as dynamic and complex processes is echoed in the writings on cities (Alexander 1965) when he argues that a city is not a tree, making a case for its social complexity. Even urban theorists such as Hillier (2007) who investigate urban morphology computer modeling tools such as Space Syntax²² acknowledge the limitations of empirical mapping given the social complexity of urban environments.

²² Space Syntax is based on the use of computer techniques to analyse urban configuration using the Space Syntax software developed by Bill Hillier of Bartlett College.

Migration Studies is an intrinsically interdisciplinary field (Brettel C. and Hollified J. F., 2000). Recent migration research iterates the need for located, ethnic, gendered, multi-sited and multi-disciplinary study rooted in larger theories of social change and physical ecology. There is also a growing focus on cultural and social aspects of migrant populations and scholars call for ‘finding appropriate theories and methodologies to reflect the complexity, diversity and contextuality of migratory processes’ (Stephen Castles (2010)).

Ethnographic method provides first hand and nuanced insights into the social life of individuals and communities, it is considered a *paradigmatic way* of studying society (Burawoy 1991, Fitzgerald 2006). Walled City was addressed as a case study of a specific locale with its peculiar history and socio-spatial character. Hence the constant intertwining of the place and the social group in the study found echo in the methodological approach.

Castles (2010), recommended migration study that was comprehensive, holistic, capable of contextualizing specific migration experiences, suitable for analyzing relationship between various socio-spatial levels, able to incorporate both structure and agency, be historical and dynamic and overall that it should not restrict itself to migration but rather link analysis of migratory processes to broader social theory and through this to the analysis of societal change in general. He considered it important to link processes at local, global or in between level in analyzing social transformation processes.

Others too have stressed the need for a historically-contextualized, concrete account to explain phenomenon with reference to their contingent localized causes as well as their larger determinants in face of dystopic conditions created by neo-liberal globalization (Fitzgerald 2006).

The methodology hence combines the methods of case study and ethnographic research, as many scholars have pointed out these two methods need not be considered exclusive. This methodology was not decided at the outset of the research but is offered as the best description of the manner in which the research progressed.

Theoretical Approach

Pred's theory of 'Place as a historically contingent process' (Pred 1984) informs the theoretical approach of the research. Alan Pred's formulation integrated time-geography and theory of structuration, building on historical structural tradition of knowledge.²³ Place is understood as a process of reproduction of social and cultural forms, the formation of biographies and the transformation of material environment ceaselessly becoming one another at the same time.

Three empirical foci are suggested by Pred to investigate place as a historically contingent process.

1. Dominant institutional projects and their place specific impact on daily lives and the material environment as well as the power relations they engender and alter.
2. Formation of particular biographies, the links between individual life histories, macro-level social phenomena and social change.
3. Sense of place as the as part of the biography formation and becoming of place. Pred gives the example of books which convey sense of place very effectively in a single text.

These three foci do not structure this research but became the informing guide for probing structure and keeping sight of the dynamic nature of the becoming of people and place.

²³ Time-geography approach overturned the static view of geography as measureable and visible attributes of places and people. Structuration theorists are deeply influenced by the Marxist ideas of material and social structures eg. Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens and Bhaskar Roy.

This research studies the Pathan migrant as a way to access social change in the environment of the Walled City. It borrows the ethnographic methodology of anthropologists to research the migrant Pathans and urban locale and the manner in which it serves as a social setting remains the central focus.

Particularly useful was the understanding of biography formation where the migrant experience can be put in a more relational and dynamic context. The natal home and the Walled city shape the character and life of migrants which the study tried to access through the narrative of life history. Wiame (1979) as an oral historian found the life history approach particularly efficacious in her study of internal migration in Paris.

A comprehensive notion of sense of place also became a cogent question for articulating the experience of the total environment of the migrant home and the Walled City Lahore. Sense of place is a complex idea and has been variedly conceived and defined across disciplines and time. Cross 2000, developed a useful five kind typology of the way people relate to places, namely, biographical, ideological, commodified, narrative and spiritual, each relationship creates a particular kind of bond to place and is distinguished by a process through which the relationship was created. This analytic framework helped to elaborate the ideas of Alan Pred concerning the process of place making and biographies.

Methods and process

The field work for the study was conducted between December 2011 and September 2012. This consisted of initial exploratory semi-structured interviews with a series of Walled city residents, administrators, school and college teachers, doctors, shop keepers and variety of small businessmen and small manufacturers in the city. The initial intention was to study post partition migrants to investigate the process of social change and urbanization. Soon the

focus shifted from post-Partition migrants to Pathan migrants who were both a distinct sample given their linguistic and cultural distance from the larger urban population of Walled City Lahore and their association with certain well defined livelihoods. Park (1928) introduces the character of the ‘marginal man’ in the process of assimilation, a mind *where changes and fusions of culture are going on*. Pathan migrant in many ways presented in many ways this ‘marginal man’.

There is no information available on the Pathan community inside the Walled City. They were a group which was not represented at all in the survey conducted as part of the house survey by the Sustainable Development of Walled City Project conducted between 2008 and 2011²⁴. The geographical distance and rural original home was also an aspect which promised better contrast for understanding of the links of the Walled City with rural environment, the natal home of most migrant.

Two major ethnographic research techniques participant observation and key informant interviewing (Willis and Trondman 2000) were used in the study. The sample was identified using snow ball technique. Initial identification of high concentrations Pathans areas was based on information from AKCSP surveyors and other locals. Field visits and interviews were supplemented with review of multidisciplinary literature on the Pathans, Walled City Lahore, urbanization, migration and social change.

Semi-structured interviews of an average duration of one and half to two hours were conducted with twenty five men and women from all major sub-ethnicities of Walled City

²⁴ Based on interview with social researchers at the field office of the Agha Khan Cultural Services Pakistan. This organization was the partner providing consultant services for the World Bank Project of Sustainable Development of Walled City Lahore. There was a general perception among many persons from the media and government departments that the Pathans were not forthcoming with information. The experience of the fieldwork for this study does not accord with this impression. There was hesitation in allowing access to the womenfolk in some cases but it was not formidable or consistent across the community.

Pathans. An interview questionnaire (Appendix 1) was designed with key questions. These were grouped thematically to be used for reference and as prompts if necessary. Writing these down before hand helped to use them more spontaneously in the interview without the need to refer to the questionnaire explicitly. The class and gender composition reflected the composition of population and visibility of a particular gender and class.eg. men outnumber women among the settler Pathans as most are single working men. Very few Pathans have families in the city; the Shaarri speaking Afghans all have families.

Overall fifty interviews of over one hour duration were conducted with non-Pathan and Pathan migrants, of these interviews 25 were with Pathans. Most of the respondents among the Pathans were men. This reflected both the smaller number of families among the Pathans and more gendered segregation and invisibility of Pushto speaking women in the city. The Shaarri speaking Afghan women are more visible .

Participant observation was also used, visiting, spending time in homes and work places while the women carried on their daily chores or men worked in their tea stalls and waste depots etc.

Validity in qualitative research implies that the research findings accurately reflect the situation and they are supported by the evidence. Triangulation is a method used by qualitative researchers to confirm the validity of their studies by supplementing information and perspectives of multiple sources. Patton (2002) cautions that triangulation is not used to arrive at consistency across data sources or approaches; in fact, such inconsistencies may be likely similar to the 'unaverage's of Jacob(1961).In Patton's view, these inconsistencies should not be seen as weakening the evidence, but should be viewed as an opportunity to uncover deeper meaning in the data.

Existing quantitative surveys conducted for the three developmental projects undertaken over the last thirty years, Census data and available literature were used to contextualize and analyse the information gathered through the interviews.

Grounded theory dicta (Glaser, 1998) to do literature search in the substantive area as more data for constant comparison when the grounded theory is nearly completed during writing up was closer to the methodology followed in this study even though the grounded research method is not rigidly followed in the larger research. The literature review provided background and additional data and conceptual insights as the study progressed.

Visual documentation in the form of photographs was used to document, homes, use of public spaces, work environments as well as portraits of individuals.

The Walled City street and plot map was used to mark the location of homes and establish context of land for which land use maps developed for SDWCPL project were helpful. A map of high concentration clusters was developed but location of individual homes was not included to protect the privacy of the informants.

Wienreich (2010) study of the Pathan migration in Northern areas presents the efficacy of life history method and attention to change in use of language. The interview was modified to allow the migrant to build a narrative of their life.

Portes (2010) highlights the importance of the proper time frame for the analysis of migration and its consequences. A short term perspective of processes as its unfolding can provide rich detail but misses out its durability effects. Similarly a long term historical lens may miss out important migration related effects because they have been absorbed into the culture without any trace. He recommends a time frame encompassing two to three generations. This was the time frame used for the research.

Existing documentation, maps, demographic surveys, project reports and photographs were also acquired from the municipal agencies and the consultants engaged with the project.

Section 3: Limitations of Study:

- Lack of Pushto language skill did not pose a significant limitation as most respondents were familiar with Punjabi and Urdu. Female interviews with Pushto speaking Pathans were limited in number and language skills would have added depth to the dialogue.
- Multi-sited study of migrants is preferred but was not possible in the logistical constraints of the research.
- Non-availability of quantitative data on Pathan migrants except census data. Gidwani (2003) points to the limitations of census data in India and it applies to Pakistan (Memon 2005, W.M. Phillips Jr.1961, Davis Kingsley 1951), the census data does not provide an effective account of the short duration circular or seasonal migration. Even much earlier the colonial census was limited by the interest of the colonial powers in a certain category of information. Markus Deaschel (2004) discusses the construction of urban knowledge as a direct outcome of colonial ideological and administrative need. There is no database specifically designed to study internal migration in Pakistan, Memon (2005) identified three data sets with some information on internal migration. These are The Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (PIHS) 1998-99, the Labour Force Survey (LFS) 1997-98 and the Pakistan Census 1998.

CHAPTER 4: THE HOST SPACE OVER TIME

To dwell means to live in the traces that past living has left. Ivan Illich

Building, open space, garden, field and river edge are social realms, space is remade, re-imagined and re-presented under new social conditions just as space facilitates conditions and produces new social relations.

Walled City Lahore is an ancient settlement; it has supported constant habitation for nearly 2000 years (Rehman1997, SDWCLP2009). The present boundary of the Walled City and surviving oldest architecture belong to the Mughal times. The wall around the city has helped create a lake like ecology of distinct built fabric and social life. This combination of tangible social history continues to determine the present environment and the Pathan migrants share this legacy.

The limit of Walled City, once the massive protective wall is now defined by a wide cordon of roadway, circular garden and a continuous wall of houses punctured by ancient gates and tooth gaps in the wall of peripheral houses. Inside the wall is an ancient street network, an enduring palimpsest of the ancient settlement.

Walled City Lahore is both deeply regulated and flagrantly defiant of its historical structure; people, materials and energy course in, around and under the bounded precinct constantly building and dismantling the *Androon Shehr*²⁵.

With an area of 2.5 sq. km. it is home to 160,784 people with an average density of over 63,029 persons per sq.km.²⁶ It lies today on the northwest periphery of greater Lahore.

Administratively it is part of Ravi Town Lahore²⁷.

²⁵ Literally Inner City, the historical city inside the walls, despite the absence of the walls, the presence of a circular garden and wide traffic artery around it continue to reinforce its bounded image.

Three regional whole sale markets²⁸, small scale manufacturing units, craft shops and pockets of high density residential population are located inside and around Walled City Lahore. In addition it is surrounded by the main inter- city and intra city transportation nodes. It is anomalously distinct from the city without the walls both in its physical environment and the social world it supports. Majority of the residents are lower middle and working class²⁹, a condition born of decades of continuous out migration by the elites combined with a cataclysmic exodus of non-Muslim largely wealthy population in 1947³⁰.

The streets of the Walled City dominate narratives, activities, memories of its inhabitants and visitors. The literal phrase used to reminisce about the city is to recall the *gali, kuchas* of the city.

Hillier (1996) described many traditional settlements where the highly active areas about the quietest areas: the places of street life, public-ness, and strangers mixing with residents are a short distance from the more private areas used mostly by residents only Movement and rest, activity and place, journey and dwelling, difference and locality, public and private are never far from each other though they may be separated. The Walled City Lahore main bazaar arteries and secondary streets comply with a similar structural plan³¹. This hierarchical

²⁶ Census 1998 and `Baseline Socio-economic Household Survey by Agha Kan Cultural Services Pakistan. Draft Report May 2010.

²⁷ The system of city government with its towns and The Local Government Ordinance (LGO) of 2001, enacted by the Musharaf government to devolve powers from the central to local governments. The system presently stands in operational as elections due in 2009 have not been held. However, the structure remains in place and the bureaucracy is handling the duties of the local town nazims. In 2012 another legislation was passed by Punjab Assembly according to which WCL has been given a separate development authority with wide ranging powers. Practical implications of this in the city are yet to be visible.

²⁸ Cloth, shoes and imported toys, household wares and decorative items.

²⁹ AKCSP Socio-economic survey 2009, unpublished report of findings states.

³⁰ In 1947 the non-Muslim Hindu and Sikhs (WCL almost 40% the population according to Talbot 2004) was forced to migrate to India.

³¹ Hillier uses a rigorous spatial analysis to arrive at the quality of spatial integration in various urban settlements. The above statement is not arrived through the same process. The WCL streets were the subject of a study using the computer based Hillier's Space Syntax analysis for explorations of historical transformation pre-

arrangement is typified in the arrangement of main commercial spines, the historical *Guzars*, side lanes, *galis* and cul-de-sacs, *kuchas* and *katris*.

A broad tripartite chronological division dominates most Walled City Lahore narratives. (Qadeer 1980, SDWCLP 2009). The evolution of socio-spatial environment is recorded as a transition from pre-colonial, colonial to the post-colonial period. In recent years however, the post-colonial period is split into two as the contours of a radically different urbanism are being shaped by the present force of neo-liberal globalization (Arif 2011).

These four historical phases of Walled City Lahore are discussed as the pre-modern, colonial modern, national modern and the global modern. The last two terms are borrowed from the urban historian Janaki Nair (2011).

It is emphasized that none of these periods had monopoly over the spaces or practices that characterize these times. Colonial spaces exist in the present post-colonial city, as did the colonial categorical, extractive survey in the pre-modern Mughal administration of the city. The difference is the degree of hegemony of one trend over others and the lag in spatial change.

The first period pre-modern has the longest temporal span and its mark on the spatial form of the Walled City Lahore remains indelible. The second period is described colonial modern because incipient technology was introduced to the city and a significant cultural change was the direct outcome of the colonial condition.

The early national modern period is dominated by the impact of policies and initiatives of the nation state on the urban environment. The welfare state model that (Hassan, 2009) describes

Islamic original and later Islamic design Saeed(1993). This religious differentiation of Islamic city as a particular typology of space remains much contested as a category (Abu-Lughod). But the study does provide insights into the structure of the streets even if the basic premise of the study is unconvincing.

as *the uneasy reconciliation between capitalism and its opponent*, was adopted by the post-colonial state of Pakistan but influence from abroad in developmental planning was part of urban initiatives. The state of Pakistan has been a central locale in the post 1980's global political developments and of the new global economic and social environment. Its imprint is increasingly manifest in the physical and social Walled City Lahore.

Pre-modern

The genesis of the city of Lahore is attributed to its location, an elevated site on a bend of the river³², safe from flooding and fordable, Fig.3 (Map of contemporary Lahore showing location of Walled City Lahore). There is no written record of the pre-Muslim era city but the vast sampling of urban centers that share location and historical circumstances and hence allow more informed conjecture about its built environment.

The extant built form of the Walled City Lahore dates from the Mughal period³³ and the brief but significant Sikh rule, some earlier structures survive³⁴ but in a modified form. Mughal period is the time of major development and expansion of the city (Ezdi 2009). The limits of the walled precinct, grand palaces, bazaars and monumental religious architecture continue to determine the scale and morphology of the contemporary city.³⁵

Two characteristics of the built city, its organic street pattern, the city wall with its thirteen gates remain eloquent testimony to the forces that shaped the ancient city. The streets show

³² Presently the river flows 1.5 km from the walled city but in Mughal time it flowed closer to the northern wall of the city.

³³ Mughal rule lasted from 1526-1857

³⁴ Niwin Masjid, Hazrat Guzroni's tomb in Masjid Wazir Khan etc. date from Sultanate period.

³⁵ Chuna Mandi is dominated by the presence of the Government college built with additions and reuse of Sikh period and Mughal period haveli of Khushal Singh and Asif Jah, Dehli Gate is with the grand Friday mosque of Shah Jehan, Shahi Hammam is presently witnessing a conservation initiative in response to its Mughal character.

growth by accretion rather than a planned utopian vision executed in a single administrative initiative.³⁶The gates and the wall reveal both the links with the towns and villages in the different directions and their terminus in Lahore and its need for protection from the surroundings.

The most important feature of the pre-colonial city was the nature of its relationship with the surrounding rural environment. The surrounding agricultural land lived in a symbiotic relationship with the city; it provided the food and raw material and the city was the centre of commercial exchange, specialized manufacture and also a source of organic waste used as fertilizer. It was also the site for the suburban gardens of the city with an orientation towards the river that served as the perennial lifeline irrigating the garden terraces. Westcoat (1992). Map (Fig. 4) from 1922 shows the location of some of the gardens as they existed up to the 20th century. Old names of the city neighborhoods recall the intimate nature of the city, river connection, Thatti Malaahan (place of the boatmen) inside Taxali Gate, Mohallah Naugaran (precinct of the boat makers) inside Yakki Gate etc.

Clustering of communities by ethnicity or occupation is observed in many historical urban centers (York, Smith et al 2010)) and it is supported by the names of the neighborhoods and spatial pattern. Neighborhoods (mohallahs) and locations in Walled City Lahore are named after occupational groups Mohallah Chabuksawaran, clans, Mohallah Kakezaiayan, individuals Haveli Kabuli Mal indicate the occupancy patterns but these clan based boundaries were seldom homogenous or unchanging (Glover 1999).

³⁶ The historically documented Ghaznavid and Mughal interventions, including the building of walls and embankments seemed to have been built on earlier ruins and existing architecture. There has been no archeological exploration of the city except for one dig which revealed ancient layers pre-dating Ghaznavid period.

Everyday life within the gates from this period is difficult to cull from official chronicles which record the wealth, production and administrative minutiae, the empirical idiom of Mughal court history writing (Bayly 1996). The descriptions of European visitors³⁷ to the Mughal court provide a glimpse of the bustle of bazaars with merchants and traded goods from far and the architecture of the city.

No completely intact residential architecture survives from the pre-Sikh period except inside the citadel. However, many Sikh period palaces and grand homes retain Mughal fragments and more often the footprint and style of earlier period. This architecture of projecting wooden balconies, fine cut brick masonry, courtyards, attached three to five storied tall houses remained a lasting pattern for later developments and architectural styles. Fig. 5

The city experienced massive destruction at the end of Mughal rule in late 18th century but developed fast in the peace and stability of Ranjit Singh's kingdom. This period also changed the nature of religious occupation of city space. Sikh religious structures and palaces became part of the cityscape. Most of the historic palatial houses, the famous havelis belong to this period. Many European architectural features possibly linked to the influence of the many European military advisors and others in the Sikh court were also incorporated in the palaces. The Gurdwara Janam Asthan Guru Ram Das inside Chuna Mandi and the Samadhi of Guru Arjan and Ranjit Singh in the fort precinct date from this period and are even today sites of Sikh pilgrimage due to their spiritual and historical importance for the community.

³⁷ Francis Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire AD 1656-68*, Sebastian Manrique, *Travels of Sebastian Manrique*.

Colonial modern

The colonial spatial imprint in the sub-continental cities was an unmistakable contrast to the pre-colonial urban model³⁸. The Walled city exemplified this contrast; William Glover describes the attitude of the colonial administrators to the Walled City Lahore.

‘To Lahori colonial officials, the Indian quarter of the city in many ways embodied the opposite qualities they desired of them. These would include an ability to police social and economic activities in the city, having means to prevent the outbreak of disease and social unrest, and the mechanism to separate ‘undesirable’ people and practices from those thought more conducive to civility. Streets, buildings, and other components of the vernacular landscape in the indigenous quarters were resistant both to colonial norms of visibility, and the desirable social norms which could be produced, theoretically through social practices.’ Glover (2009).

Colonial disfavor of the indigenous walled city does not imply that it was free of colonial impact. There was no Haussmann³⁹ like surgery to remodel the Walled City but there was significant change. However, this change was incremental and different from the more visible *social space* representative of colonial time outside the walls. Limited urban spill outside the walls of the pre-modern period consisting of suburban villages and garden complexes mushroomed into an extensive sprawl far bigger than the Walled City. A vast grid iron imprint of colonial bureaucratic establishment and infrastructure exemplified in the creation of civil lines, cantonment and railways interspersed with older villages and informal settlements was the larger city spatially and power base.

³⁸ See Anthony King 1976, *Colonial Urban Development Culture, Social Power, And Environment Cities In The Developing World*, for a detailed account of colonial urban planning and design.

³⁹ Baron Haussmann was responsible for the extreme physical makeover of Paris during the time of Napoleon 111.

The walled city too received the entire dowry (Eric Swengedouw's term) of modern infrastructure water tanks, piped water, fire hydrants, gas lighting, electrification etc. New order of functional spaces including, the public⁴⁰ garden, public schools, dispensaries, post offices, police stations, cinemas, banks, hotels, modern townhouses and printing presses⁴¹.

New spatial practices in the form of inspections, municipal bye-laws, surveys became part of the urban environment. As Glover observes while colonial officials were reluctant to intervene in the built space of the old city they were not shy of reshaping the legal traditions and knowledge practices that governed urban physical and social space. These aspects of colonial urban change have produced extensive commentary in recent scholarship. (Talbot 1988, Glover 2011, Mir 2010). However, the social change engendered in the incremental insertions, densification and alterations inside the walled city is still under researched. The stability and growth of Lahore especially with the employment generated by the railways, city administration and trade accelerated building activity because of demand for housing by the fast growing population and densified the walled city.

Many historians have pointed out the investment in infrastructure was first and foremost informed by the expected material benefits for the imperial government (Prashad 2001) and the ability of the improvements to be profitable. British neglected and refused to engage with the poor urban inhabitants and the social life of Walled City.

Economic interest and demands of colonial administrative control (the main source of revenue was the rural economy outside the walls the walled city yielded little property tax and indigenous small craft and manufacture offered competition to the commerce in

⁴⁰ See Glover, *Construing Urban Space as "Public"*, (Glover, 2007) for insight into the use of the category as introduced by the colonial administration in the local context.

⁴¹ Glover 2009, Neville 1998, Mir 2010

imported English manufactured goods) led to complete erasure of urban Lahore from discourse and denigration of its artisanal manufacture as luxury products for decadent oriental despots (Markus Daechsel 2004).

The Walled City Lahore receded in the imagination of the elite and the educated to a realm of disease and backward social living. This was mirrored also in the writings by local intellectuals such as Lateef (1892, 1981) described the colonial developments and modern infrastructure in laudatory terms and was silent about the rich and dense urban world of Walled City.

Markus Daechsel (Mir and Malhotra 2012) describes the growing middle class consumerism of new products ranging from factory made soaps, lotions to industrially produced home appliances and foods. Popular literature and advertising was replete with images of tea drinking families living in suburban homes with running water and electricity. The middle classes began to move out to the new planned developments advertised as healthy and civilizing. Those who stayed behind were mostly merchants, doctors, public sector employees who had the advantage of being close to their businesses and work. There was also deep attachment to communities and institutions, religious, educational, cultural and recreational which anchored people to the old neighborhoods. Many associations of all the three major religious groups in the city the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs centered on high value historical religious built spaces⁴².

There was an active market in urban property even in the pre-colonial period. (Glover 2009). However, the secular mapping and demarcation of every square foot of Walled City land by the state into discrete categories of private, public, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and increased

⁴² Tombs of Muslim saints such as Ishaq Guzroni, Pir Balkhi, mosques, Shia imambargahs, Hindu temples, dharamshalas, Gurdwaras associated with the birthplace of Guru Ramdas, etc.among numerous others.

recourse to the courts for redress of property related matters only increased the commoditization of urban land.

The politics of built heritage museumification, disconnect of rural and urban production, emigration of elites to suburbs are deeply rooted in the environment of colonial times Walled City.

National modern

The end of colonial rule and accompanying partition marked a disruptive transformation of the Walled City. Ian Talbot discusses the differential and localized character of the partition in Lahore City (Talbot 2006). The high density rich Hindu neighborhoods inside Shahalami gate were completely destroyed, the mansions of the rich emptied. The city space contributed to the destruction when fire fighters were unable to reach into the narrow lanes and mohallahs differentiated by religious affiliation and vocation emptied out complete neighborhoods.

The Lahore Improvement Trust demolished 2000 houses inside Shahalami alone (Talbot 2006). In the rebuilding and resettlement a new spatial order was created. This new order reflected British Planning ideals of the fifties about slum clearance, insanitary conditions and preference for motorized transport. State sponsored development included two commercial markets Azam Cloth market built in 1950's and Pakistan Cloth market in the 1960's and incentives were given to traders to rehabilitate the bazaars and markets. A wide vehicular boulevard with a green divider was laid from the site of Shahalami gate to Chowk Rang Mahal. Either sides of this road were plotted for five storied high continuous row of

commercial buildings with a wide covered arcade⁴³. Gandy (2006) calls it the techno-managerialist modernity of the early national modern period.

The administrative force of the state under martial law was unhindered by fear of the native reaction⁴⁴; the destruction of the partition arson had prepared a wasteland to be reclaimed. The choice of development reflected the vision of the times, heritage protection was about monument restoration, and the Walled City Lahore was the anti-thesis of progress, a shame for the new born nation.

The first two decades were also a time of state managed allotment and regularization of building titles based on claims filed by the new migrants from the east. This period is also considered the beginning of systematic corruption in the property administration of the city. Communities with significant presence in government service such as the Kashmiris from Amritsar were quick to claim the properties of the rich Hindu and Sikhs.

Many sacred spaces of the pre partition city Sikh *Gurdwaras*, Hindu temples, wells and *baolis*⁴⁵ became dense makeshift housing for the poorer migrants from India. These spaces were officially declared Evacuee Trust properties and a new bureaucracy was created to manage them. The built properties attracted the least attention of the market but the open land was encroached⁴⁶. This changed in the 1990's as the land in the city became more and more lucrative.

⁴³ See Khalid Bajwa for detail of the design of the post partition spaces.

⁴⁴ The subordination of civil law to the martial law allowed much more sweeping measures.

⁴⁵ Baoli a stepped well used for bathing, Hindu inhabitants had many such public stepped wells constructed for ritualistic bathing and daily use.

⁴⁶ For example the Baoli Sahib in Rang Mahal has been flagrantly built upon by the shopkeepers.

Many old inhabitants of the city nostalgically recall the gracious shopping boulevard of Shahalami Bazaar and the double decker public bus service. The commercial development of the markets and the main bazaar did not take off immediately but gathered momentum only after the 1970's (Qadeer 1983). The city of the fifties was despite the cataclysmic events of partition following the pre-partition rhythms of pedestrian streets, small scale, local manufacture, shops and neighborhoods with mix of classes and functions.

Qadeer (2010) recalls, 'To illustrate the point about how small and big homes being side by side and rich and poor living in close proximity produce an organic community. I will recount the social life of the street in the walled city of Lahore where I grew up. It had nine houses and fifteen households who were not related. Among the household heads were the owner of a furniture shop, a property dealer, a railway official, seven carpenters, a mechanical supervisor, a clerk, and two destitute widows. Widows were looked after by the three affluent households primarily and others on need. Wives and daughters of some of the poor households did domestic chores for neighbors to supplement their family income. There was frequent borrowing of flour, lintels, or money among the neighbors. Children played in the street and occasional fights would embroil adults. Poverty and affluence existed side by side but honor and respectability was everyone's prerogative.'

Public sector dominated the provision of civic amenities and services in the Walled City Lahore. Municipal Corporation managed schools, dispensaries, libraries, reading rooms, water and waste, street lighting, fire department etc. There were 65 public schools and 7 dispensaries according in 1978 were described as adequately servicing the Walled City Lahore (LUDTS 1979).

Between 1947 and 1979 the population of Lahore increased by 300 percent whereas schools, colleges, dispensaries and hospitals increased by about 500 percent and most of the development was publically sponsored. (Qadeer 1983:98).

Significant changes in the built environment in this period were the outcome of one major public sector project in the shape of the World Bank sponsored walled city development component of the LUDTS⁴⁷. The World Bank rationale for the Walled city project was alleviation of problems of the largest concentration⁴⁸ of poor in the city as well as its high heritage value. Most components of the project stressed state planned, managed and financed development⁴⁹.

Accomplishments of this initiative included an updated mapping of the city, inventories of heritage properties and the provision of a modern water and sanitation infrastructure for the walled city.⁵⁰

The commercial wholesale cloth markets as well as the commercial bazaar of Shahalami witnessed rapid growth with the developing textile sector⁵¹ and the remittance money from the Gulf in the late seventies.

However, socially this was the time of maximum out migration, between 1972 and 1981 there was 29% decline in the Walled City population (SDWCLP 2009). The drop in

⁴⁷ Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study 1979, a project sponsored by the World Bank.

⁴⁸ 20000 according to the report (LDA1980,vol.4)

⁴⁹ The planning documents include recommendations for the processing and conduct of work by public sector departments, their capacity building, even house building loans are entirely visualized through the state House Building Finance Corporation etc.

⁵⁰ Piped water had been brought to the city in the ..but the nightsoil disposal remained a system of dry latrines cleaned by scavengers derogatively referred to as 'churas'. These were mostly female Christian employees of the municipal corporation.

⁵¹ Whole sale textile sector in Walled City developed in tandem with the growth of textile industry in post 1970 Punjab.

population was not uniform. Areas on the circular road and to the north were more prone to conversion to commercial use as were the areas in and around Shahalami and the cloth markets. Mochi gate which was a relatively upper class Muslim neighborhood witnessed high emigration as the well off moved to localities with modern amenities especially vehicular access etc.

Global Modern, the neo-liberal Walled City Lahore

'A lot of ill health and no public services, the water is dirty. This is what neo-liberalism is all about...' (Harvey 2007)

Anita Weiss, (Weiss 2001), observed, 'As I wander along the main bazaar inside Lohari Gate, I see the kind of changes that underscore significant structural transformations occurring throughout the Walled City. Shops which were once open to cool night air are often now encased in glass, although the shop owners are nowhere to be seen because most no longer live in the Walled City. Globalization is evident everywhere, with goods originating from around the world available in Walled City bazaars...'

Weiss was describing change she observed in a span of fourteen years between 1987 and 2001. This period is the arrival of a new economic order of neo-liberal globalization. (Sayeed and Khattak 2001) link the rise in poverty in 1990's directly to decrease in social sector state expenditure under IMF sponsored structural adjustment program.

Weiss noted the change in the small shops of Walled City, glazed show windows lined up with the variety of products. Not only did the presence of multiple wares need display for consumer knowledge but they were also there framed as objects of desire. The visual presentation of commodities is a distinguished characteristic of the growing consumerist market.

Baudrillard described glass as, ' *the most effective conceivable material expression of the fundamental ambiguity of 'atmosphere': the fact that it is at once proximity and distance, intimacy and the refusal of intimacy, communication and non-communication. Whether as packaging, window or partition, glass is the basis of a transparency without transition: we see but we cannot touch. A shop window is at once magical and frustrating-the strategy of advertising in epitome.* ' (Baudrillard 2005:42)

The deregulation of and growth of trade in the last two decades of economic restructuring in the Walled City Lahore has led to expansion of commercial markets and creation of new markets of education located surreptitiously deep inside all neighborhoods of high density living.

Jeffery and Jeffery (2007) described the environment of the small town of Bijnor in Uttar Pardesh with its explosive display of schools and college advertisements born of a new market of private education. The Walled City Lahore neighborhoods too have a profusion of small private schools and tuition centers creating a hectic commerce in education. This is accompanied by the presence of many small manufacturing units for the education industry, bags, books, note copies, printing etc. The later market by far the bigger commercial enterprise caters to the provincial needs and is the outcome of the location of Walled city and historical situation of print industry in the area.

The change in education from the time early decades of independence was from largely being a public enterprise which ensured the integration of classes to one that was more private and segregating. Qadeer (1983) narrates his own educational experience; 'I went to a government high school. ...among my school fellows were sons of governors, ministers, diplomats and

corporate executives on one hand, and of carpenters and clerks on the other...privatization has turned education in to a lucrative business.’(Qadeer, 2006:233).

Healthcare is another area where privatization significantly changed the living environment of Walled City Lahore. In case of healthcare it is the disappearance of municipal dispensaries in the public sector large scale hospitals a deep restructuring of service has been significant. Private hospitals and some large scale charity services such as Al-Imran and Al-Khomeini hospitals in Mochi gate have come in to fill the gap.

Another trend observed here and in other cities by Hassan (2008) is the growth of beauty parlours. The Walled City Lahore residents blame the growth on the new media images and new standards of grooming required for employment. Growing poverty is also cited as a reason where young girls contribute by setting up beauty parlours as home based work.

‘Hun dhiyaan ki karan, ghar bai kay kuj kamaiy kar laindian nay’ (how can the daughters contribute to the family income, this is one way they can earn sitting at home). A local Walled City Lahore resident.

Old residents of the city talk nostalgically about a time when, *‘tamah nahein see’*, (there was no greed).

In this recurring refrain they recount simplicity and limited objects of daily use and consumption before the rise of conspicuous consumption fueled initially by remittances in the 1980’s. Till the late 1980’s most eatables were made at home or locally sourced. The Walled City could claim to be cosmopolitan and selective objects came from far off lands even in the pre-colonial time but these were luxury items and not daily consumer goods.

The commercial whole sale markets gained significant impetus with liberalization of trade in the 1990's. The many regional sized markets of cloth, household goods, cosmetics, plastic toys and wares and shoes as well as peripheral markets of chemicals, paper, medicines, goods transport, tyre rims etc. expanded in this period.

The shoe market and manufacture was especially spurred by the nature of the Walled City Lahore built and social environment. Shoe manufacture has historically thrived in dense clusters of working class, where piece work labor is available as well as technical developments in shoe manufacture and demand⁵². New manufacture uses gluing and dye cutting requiring much lower skill. This local labor intensive activity is now becoming mechanized and more and more ingredients based on imports, reducing employment.

Along with the growth of markets there was inflationary rise in the price of land. This led to the dispossession and slow eviction of poorer and vulnerable. The high prices may have been a boon for poor owners of dilapidated properties but given the small size of lots and multiple ownership, the shares were modest.

This trend continues in the Walled City Lahore as the commercial function is growing steadily. Many neighborhoods in the city are people in transit waiting for their house deal, often dreaming of numbers (money) they never imagined. This is a major source of conflict in families and threat to the poor tenants who have no protection against eviction. There are also powerful local mafias claiming and occupying properties of the weak.

Along with motorization, change in scale, land use, material and form of new architecture has limited the claim and space of participation for the inhabitants of the walled city. New

⁵² Scott 2005, describes the process of manufacture of shoe which lends it to use dense clusters of small units in an effective and efficient manner.

construction in the commercial areas of Shahalami bazaar and Azam Cloth market etc.(wholesale markets) is multistoried ‘plazas’⁵³, these are increasingly higher than the original street wall of 3-5 stories. They tower over adjacent residential quarters blocking light and compromising privacy. Shopping even in the non whole sale bazaars is a different experience with bigger shops that depend on the buyer going into the shop to make a purchase. Activities of buying and selling are no longer done in the very public space as was the case with the shopkeeper sitting on a raised platform with wares displayed in reach of the customer.

However, a large part of the contemporary Walled City continues to be 2-3 marla⁵⁴ houses creating a high density environment that has excluded the affluent and favored the poor who concentrate in the Walled City Lahore. The narrow streets and pedestrian nature suits the poor without motorcycles and cars and helps again to concentrate the poor and create a natural neighborhood watch. The narrow streets and pedestrian nature generates interaction and a community. A relatively stable population living in low grade hence undesirable hence undesirable for the middle classes, low rent properties with commonality of culture contribute to the making of community ties.

‘The buzurgs (elderly) in the mohallahs while going for fajr (morning) prayers would poke the blocked open sewer with their khunti (walking stick), solve the problem and make their way to the mosque. Now they have underground pipes which are choked every other day, they are old and sub-standard, often they leak and cause immense damage to house foundations. Also they have

⁵³ A local building term referring to a multistoried building, constructed as simple grid of reinforced concrete column beam structure, upper stories are used for storage or offices and the ground houses multiple or single shop.

⁵⁴ One Marla equals 225 sft.

created smooth paths for the motor bikes which roar through mohallahs and destroy everyone's peace and promote crime.' Local councilor resident Said Mitha Bazaar.

Media and new technologies also have had wide ranging impact on the social environment. People speak of the invasive and overpowering nature of the media business and technology.

Speaking to local residents they ascribed various dates to significant recent changes but the period between 2004 and 2008 is singled out. Saima and her brother, born in a village in Karak and brought up near Pani Wala Talaab ascribed many negative social trends to the popularization of cable T.V and proliferation of mobile phones.

'bus 2004 kay baad, jab sey yi mobile phone aam huay hain....ghar par khaanay kai paisay naheen hoon gai laikin mahanga mobile phone rakha ho ga... .' (Well, since after 2004, when the mobile phones became common, there may be no food to eat at home but they will carry an expensive mobile phone...)'

The changing physical environment and its new life rhythms are often described as environments with a new type of scarcity, a scarcity of time. The new living demands investment of time in long commutes, double shift employment, income generation by women and children on one hand and immersive entertainment of television and internet on the other hand. Paul Virillo describes these as the grey pollution which is not as often mentioned as the pollution of the chemical and physical environment.

' The obvious degradation of the elements, chemical or other, that make up the substances comprising our natural surroundings has joined forces with the

unperceived pollution of the distances that organize our relationship with others, and also with the world of sense experience.’

A sense of security is the hallmark of life in the residential enclaves as well the retail bazaars of Walled City Lahore. This quality is experienced by visitors and often expressed by the residents in the course of the research. However this residential environment is under threat both from the commercialization of land and even formal planning initiative undertaken for the ostensible benefit of the citizens and larger national community.

As Arif Hassan described historic centres of urban Pakistan;

‘Most of the wholesale markets of the larger cities are located in the inner cities where Pakistan’s beautiful urban built heritage is located. The elite areas were also located in these inner cities. With the expansion of these markets and the migration of the working class to them, the elite households have moved out and the old residential areas have been converted into warehousing and sweatshops. Old buildings have been pulled down and replaced by poorly built warehousing on the ground floor, with rooms for labour on the floors above. Most of these areas have degenerated into male-only areas whose entertainment needs are increasingly met by prostitution, drugs and gambling dens, all supported by corrupt police forces.’ (Arif 2011)

Heritage conservation and revitalization of Walled City was adopted as a *Sustainable Development Project* by the Punjab government in 2006. According to a Seminar Report, SDWCLP (2007) *unplanned urbanization, environmental pollution and excessive trade activity* is the bane of built environment of Walled City Lahore.

SDWCLP(2007) recommendations for salvaging ‘heritage’ included making it the ‘fancy’ address in town with ‘better trades’, replacing the hazardous trades, tourist facilities such as

weekly royal procession with regalia and elephants, thematic restaurants etc. Chairman of the provincial development authority (P&D) put it plainly, ‘above all a plan was concerned with *economic development*.’ The SDWCLP gives its objectives⁵⁵:

- *To preserve, restore, protect and develop the Walled City Lahore*
- *To provide improved infrastructure and services reflecting rich heritage*
- *To attract tourism*
- *To create compatible economic opportunities.*

Among the residents of Walled City, middle classes talk of filth, decay, crime, and the lack of modern amenities, they blame poor planning, new migrants and commercial activity; the traders and manufacturers talk of lack of vehicular access, parking, energy crisis and fire hazards and lobby with the government for their conflicting demands. The poor complain about inflation, livelihoods, governmental harassment, education and health facilities and uncertainty of tenure and show least trust in the state.

Alan Middleton (2002), in his study of historic Quito, Ecuador describes the policy of regeneration of historic city centers for tourism revenue as a perspective that celebrates buildings and ignores conflictive social relations, this perspective pervades sustainability planning among official and professional circles in case of Walled City Lahore, SDWCLP 2007 is representative of this mind set. The conditions for tourism in the present climate of heightened securitization locally and globally would involve large scale eviction of existing populations and surveillance. The present capacity for accommodation of diversity and flexible use of space will be diminished. There is danger of development going the ‘food

⁵⁵ Official website of the SDWCLP. <http://walledcitylahore.gop.pk>

street'⁵⁶ model with packaged culture as product will create a mono-use spectacle for the rich and middle class instead of a vibrant urban culture.

The recommendations of the consultant and partner⁵⁷ do not share the bulldozing, liberalizing tenor but only by confining their model initiatives to idyllic architectural designs of green girdles, interlinked urban parks, bazaars with appropriate scale and diversity, building restoration with respect for historical character etc. The social environment in which the local poor residents will continue to benefit from 'history' and 'heritage' value, where state or administrative authority will rein external commercial forces etc. are beyond their mandate and as many have written in recent years expose the limits of 'urban design' and planning in neo-liberal times (Sorkin 2007).

A legal framework for physical planning and development of the Walled City Lahore was created through a law in 2012. Disregard of law lives side by side with a *fetishism of law* as does destruction of heritage and *privatized memory with unrestrained indulgence and diffusion to everywhere and nowhere in particular* in the name of history and heritage (Comaroff and Comaroff 2004).

Many including (Nair, 2006) have discussed the selective use of law in contemporary environments. Zones of exception are created by the powerful who also enforce the law (Roy 2010). These thrive in the increasingly unequal terms of trade of neo-liberal times and help accommodate disparate power interests and privileges. In the Walled City Lahore along with

⁵⁶ 'Food Street', has become a development typology in the local environment comparable to a 'food court' offering ethnic cuisine and tourist products in many Western cities.

⁵⁷ World Bank funded projects have increasingly made Public Private Partnership models a condition for financial assistance. The Agha Khan Cultural Support Program were official partners and provided technical assistance for the built and intangible heritage conservation for the Sustainable Development of Walled city Project (SDWCLP).

ostensibly illegal trades and commercial expansion there are public projects such as the ‘Food Street’, was created in contravention to all the recommendations of the larger project for heritage protection.⁵⁸

Discussion

Space is the direct outcome of the material and social environment; earliest known history Walled city Lahore, the palimpsest of the present physical and social environment was the product of a pre-industrial and feudal urban culture. There was a symbiotic relationship of the city and the immediate physical vicinity of villages. The city fabric, consumption and human resource originated majorly in the local environs and animated power of human and animal effort defined the physical limits of development. Walls created the conditions for accumulation and dense settlement of specialized urban professions, manufacture and commerce. It’s more ancient roots beyond the thousand years of known history ensured an evolved layout characterized by accretion rather than a singular spatial vision imposed on an unbuilt *tabula rasa*. The spatial complexity has endured while the natures of new consumption, waste disposal, manufacture and commerce have changed more radically.

The colonial interlude was uneven but drastic in its transformation of rural relations of production, redefining of political subjectivities and commerce⁵⁹. The spatial expression of this transformation remained restricted inside the walled city and in turn influenced social change unlike the planned localities outside the walls with their ‘rational’ grid iron layouts and functional zoning. New livelihoods for the educated in the administrative and technical

⁵⁸ An ensemble of commercial, high end eateries in a mock Walled City Lahore architecture style. This scheme is only one of the many contradictory, ad-hoc and arbitrary state interventions that are part of the developing environment.

⁵⁹ Many such as Gilmartin, Fox have highlighted the socially conservative reconstruction of rural society in Punjab.

developments of colonial period sowed the seeds for an outmigration of the educated and ambitious desirous of modern life styles that continues to date.

Partition was the most drastic social change at the end of colonial rule. The city lost its ancient religious and cultural diversity and high percentage of public space and amenities in the form of temples, *gurdwaras*, *dharamshalas* and other communal facilities even when they were segregated on religious grounds. It also lost communities with high material and educational capital that had created a vibrant social ethos.

Subsequent development is marked by a period of state sponsored development and its role as provider of basic social needs. The city was dominated by the presence of state owned and operated services in health and education. This created conditions for mixing of classes and a social net however limited.

The last two decades of retraction of the state from education and health services has come with liberalization of trade. This has accelerated the growth of the commercial sector in the Walled city, fuelling a market in property and huge investments in commercial buildings. This is transforming the space, motorizing the pedestrian streets, creating mono-functional market spaces and pushing out the residential population. It has also instigated interest in squeezing economic value from the highly precious built heritage and peculiar social culture. This trend reflects the mixed motivations of the cultural connoisseurs and economic planners that have created internationally a planning discourse of heritage conservation in urban development. After the cataclysmic events of partition the built environment had been in a slow process of decay with sporadic building and change of land use. Socially there was constant outflow but no mass exodus even with the flush of cash from Middle East

remittances in the 1970's. The present pace can be described as unprecedented in recent history.

In the developing conditions the poor are forced to migrate, heritage conservation falters in competition with stronger commercial interests and the scaling back of the state from planning and control of urban environment. The walled city is weak in social control, without the historical security, given unchecked motorized movement and growth of markets high on energy consumption and waste generation.

CHAPTER 5: PATHANS OF WALLED CITY LAHORE

'The arguments, however remain the same, those migrants face the challenge of dealing with new experiences and circumstances, using the only tools available to them, their own cultural understandings.'

Three vignettes;

A slightly plump teenager is sitting perched on a stool with his laptop perched on a small box covered with posters for mobile networks, film stars and discount deals. Abdullah his father works nearby frying the traditional *chappali* kebabs for a sidewalk 'hotel' under a large awning shared with few other vendors. The father is a wiry, tall man in his forties, who lurks and dashes between the frying to wash a plate, pull a bench for a customer, it is midday lunch hour and he does not have a moment of break etc. Comparison between the father and son is striking. The son is dressed in a trouser and shirt, a stylish haircut and would not be taken for a Pathan at first sight, the father in his worn out shalwar kameez and *chappal* is the typical image of a migrant Pathan in Walled City Lahore.

January morning, Shaarri girls and their crawling siblings have taken control of the bald path in the green outside Mori gate. The girls play hop scotch '*keeri kola*', the crawlers roll on the warm earth while a large group of women sit nearby shelling *chilgozas*⁶⁰, cuddling babies and chatting. The women laugh and giggle and question the researcher with the camera. They are assertive and convey their unwillingness to be photographed while not bothering with pictures of the younger girls playing nearby. Walking into Mori gate you hug close to the street wall as a group of motor bikers rush out. These are young Shaarri boys dressed in

⁶⁰ Dry fruit, pine cone seeds, it is tedious to shell and very expensive. Pathan women often do this home based work for a pittance.

second hand Nike joggers, branded jackets and jeans and wear fashionable haircuts, they are riding out to the Sunday traffic free ‘Mall Road’ and the ‘Canal’⁶¹ for a ‘good time’.

Dressed in dark shalwar kameez and distinctive *Peshawari chappals* they move in large groups and appear to be a high school group on a tour from up country. They are the hawkers of spectacles, mobile accessories, roasted corn sherbets and green tea on the Sunday outing visiting the historical Lahore fort and Minar-e-Pakistan.

Pathan Migration

Pathans have been a part of the Walled City Lahore from the earliest time⁶²; many old walled city families continue to identify with their Pathan lineage even though most do not speak Pushto⁶³.

Talbot (2006) mentions the Pathan *biraderi* among the poor artisan communities of early twentieth century Lahore. According to the census 1883⁶⁴, there were 658 Pushto speakers in Lahore Tehsil⁶⁵. Jaquemot the French traveler in 1830 (Talbot 2006) noted the presence of Afghan traders in Amritsar, Lahore as a competing administrative capital and commercial city would have had similar populations. Kipling fictional novel ‘Kim’ from 19th century Lahore mentions ‘all manner of northern folks in the hot and crowded bazaars of Walled City.

⁶¹ The Mall road of Lahore is a central city boulevard lined with shopping and major institutional buildings and monuments. The Upper Bari Link Canal passes through Lahore and is now a wide signal free roadway with under passes, it is lined with significant plantation.

⁶² The present walled city construction is surmised to be an extension of the mud wall fortification made by Mahmud of Ghazi’s local governor Ayyaz, 16th century Akhund Darweza’s book Tazkirat al Abrar wa al-Ashrar mentions Pathans in the service of Pathan fighters in the army of the Ghaznavid.

⁶³ An old Pathan family of Mochi gate introduces themselves as Mohammedzai Pathans and proudly recounts the characteristic Pukhtunwali code as their guiding values, however they have no visible affiliation with the new Pushto speaking migrants and are completely absorbed in the local ethos.

⁶⁴ Lahore District Gazeteer 1883-84

⁶⁵ Tehsil administrative sub-division of a provincial district.

Gali Peshawarian inside Sootar Mandi, Lohari Gate, Mohallah Kakeyzayian, Dehli gate and Haveli Kabuli Mal all recall the historical presence of Pathan. City lore is full of Pathan characters such as stories of Pathan horse traders of Kucha Chabukswaran.

Low rainfall and poorly irrigated areas of Afghanistan and north-west Pakistan has sent its surplus labor out of the subsistence economy villages for minor trade and seasonal labor (Weinreich 2011, Nichols, 2008). After 1947, infrastructure development projects and industries located in the larger cities of Pakistan, Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi attracted migrant Pathan labor. Khyber Pukhtunkhawa (KP) has the highest rate of emigration (transnational internal migration combined) among the four provinces of Pakistan⁶⁶.

There is a saying that *'All Pathans are Afghan though all Afghans may not be Pathan.*

Pathans are defined by the Pushto language. However, there are dialects within the broad category of Pushto. Some small sub-ethnicities within the Pushto speaking areas may have quite a different language yet pass under the common rubric of Pathan because they share many cultural features with the larger group. Shaarri is one such language which is spoken by a small group from north-east region in Afghanistan. The Shaarri speakers constitute the largest group of Pathans in the Walled City. The linguistic distinction of Pushto speaking Pathans and the Shaarri speaking tribes from Afghanistan is a basic divide. Whereas the appellation Pathan is given by the Walled City residents for both the groups, similarities in appearance and certain visible social traditions contribute to perception among other factors.⁶⁷

Pathan is a colonial corruption of Pushtun or Pukhtun and it is disfavored by Pathans as appellation to identify themselves (Spain 2009). The locals in Walled City Lahore seldom

⁶⁶ Census 1998

⁶⁷ Interviews, attitudes regarding females, involvement in physical labor, large clans etc.

distinguished between the Shaarri speaking and Pushto speakers. Queries about Pathan settlements often brought one to a settlement of Shaarri speaking ‘Pashayi Afghans’⁶⁸ or Chitralis. Pathans interviewed in the city did not voice such sentiment or refrain from using the term for themselves. However, they did distinguish themselves from Afghans and often emphasized their own Pakistani identity versus that of the ‘*Afghan Muhajir*’.

Pathans are thus far from being a homogeneous community. They hail from different areas of present day Khyber Pukhtunkhawa, FATA, Baluchistan and Afghanistan⁶⁹. They can be distinguished on the basis of their time of arrival, nature of livelihoods, places of origin and language among others. The people of the settled districts of KP as well as the tribal areas identify themselves by their tribe. These tribes have a pyramidal structure with tribe, qabeela or quam, divided into clans or khels, further sub-divided into tappas or families or kors.

(Spain 1962.)

The majority of the Pathan migrants coming to cities within Pakistan are poor; those with skills or money can seek prospects transnational employment in Middle East, Europe, Australia or the United States (Hassan, 2001, Rahim, Vario, 2002).

Adolescent boys manning carts of roasted corn, offering shoe polish service, serving tea or helping in tandoors are mostly from Swat, Bajaur, Dir, Malakand, Momand, Khyber or KP.

⁶⁸ Pashayi 1% of the population of Afghanistan (1982). Hail from Gulbahar across Kapisa and Laghman provinces to Nuristan on the Alingar River, especially the Alishen valley and valleys north of Sarob, Upper and lower Darrai Nur valley, Damentch, Shale(Shari).Hoeth of Shewa in Nangarhar province and adjacent regions of the Alingar valley in southern Laghman province.<http://northern Afghanistan.com/>accessed 29.8.2012. See also World Ethnography Catalogue of SIL

⁶⁹ Inhabitants of eastern Afghanistan have long travelled, usually seasonally, to seek work in the lowlands of what is now Pakistan. Many of these were nomadic groups who moved their flocks east to lower elevations during the winter. These included the *powindas*, now generally referred to as *kuchis*, most of them Pashtuns of the Ghilzai tribe. Evidence of their wide-ranging migration is the fact that many of them were fluent in Persian and Urdu, and even Bengali, Burmese, and other more distant languages (Collective for Social Science Research 2005). However, the largest group are the refugees who came after the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and have continued to stay. See UNCHR for details on the Afghan refugees.

They are young migrants often living with fathers or an elderly male relative and employed in earning and remitting money to their homes.

Waves of Migration

The migratory trend shows change in volume, composition and quality of life for settlers even in the relatively brief time frame of fifty years. Three waves of migrations can be observed among the present Pushto and Shaarri speaking Pathans of Walled City. Pathan migratory waves reflect the larger regional developments such as colonial hegemony and its demise, post 1947 socio-political changes in Pakistan and on global scale. Significant among these are the green revolution, labor migration to the Gulf in 1970's, Afghan war refugee settlement in Pakistan and the present turmoil of war in Afghanistan and neo- liberal globalization.

The first wave in the 60's: was in keeping with the larger national trend as seen in the census data (Memon 2005). This was the 'development decade' when the relative stability after partition and implementation of infrastructure projects, industrialization and 'green revolution' brought semi-skilled Pathan migrants to the larger cities of Karachi and Lahore (Nichols 2009). Green technologies were simultaneously adopted as development policy in the sixties in Afghanistan with social and ecological repercussions. It was 'small change' which cast asunder traditional tribal ties and damaged the land (Anderson 1978). It is conjectured that mechanization and loss of soil fertility also sent migrants south to Pakistan, an area where they were already coming for seasonal work and trade⁷⁰. The closure of the

⁷⁰ Activities in the primary sectors (such as agriculture, forestry and mining) are the most resource intensive per unit of economic output (Mani&Wheeler 1998, UNEP 1999). The provenance of the Pathans also suffered directly from the intensification of urban development. The extractions of marble in Momand and Khyber agencies, herbal plants and commercial cultivation of potatoes from Swat exchanged for monetary value are part of development initiatives but their ecological costs are externalized. In the long term they impoverish the local social and material environment.

Pakistan Afghanistan border in the 1960-61 for the *powindas*⁷¹ by the government of Pakistan also led to them settling in areas of Pakistan (Spain 2009).

Recent migrants typically arrive in the city through a system of chain migration. Kinship based networks helped them gain entry into specialized livelihoods similar to their host contact.

The absence of Pathan among the groups of daily wage seekers at places such as the *Pani Wala Talaab*, confirm the relative low dependence on the open labor market for work. Most Pathan livelihoods in the city are defined by sub-ethnicities; many Walled City residents would repeat this with minor change in order,

*'Momand taal walay hon gay, jutian tey ainakaan walay Bajaur dey nain,
challi walay Dir, Malakand tay cha walay sub Swat dey hon gay,*

(Momand are firewood sellers, Bajaur men sell shoes and spectacles, the corn cob vendors are from Dir and Malakand and tea stalls are run by those from Swat)

The Pathan migrants from Mohmand, Bajaur, Dir and Swat all narrate the need for cash for basic survival in the villages and absence of earning opportunities as the motivation for migration. The pull of the city, the *city lights narrative* is seldom cited as a reason for migration. For both the main groups i.e. Afghans and Pushto speaking Pathans their provenance is mostly rural and economically underdeveloped. For example the migrants from Swat are from the poorer and backward districts of Buner and Shangla rather than Mingora or Bahrain. In Mohmand they hail from the upper Mohmand region close to the Durand line, an area more remote and dependent on rain fed agriculture (Lok Virsa Ahmed

⁷¹ Migratory tribe of Afghans who travelled in caravans to the areas of Punjab and Sindh in winter and went back to their grazing lands in northeast Afghanistan in the summer. Many have settled in Pakistan and are involved in the earth moving construction business (Hassan,)

1997). There is a rising need for cash in the provenance because of the changing structure of agriculture. Rahim, Vario 2002:185 describe the changes in the traditional mode of production and the erosion of values of *melmastia* and *pannah* leaving each to fend for himself. It has moved from being a closed cycle ecological to an open cycle industrial in which all inputs are external and acquired from the market. It is push and not pull that brings them to the Walled City Lahore.

The second wave was Shaarri speaking Afghan Pathans who came post 1980's as refugees from the war in Afghanistan⁷². It is claimed that many of the millions of Afghans who fled to Pakistan had either lived there previously or had family who had lived there, and they were thus able to draw upon pre-existing experience, social networks, kinship ties, and economic activities. (Kronfield 2008)

The third wave of migration has been the recent spike in migrants from tribal areas or KP who have been displaced by the army operation as in these areas as part of the war on terror⁷³.

The Pathans have been known to follow their distinct cultural traditions which are the product of the '*Pukhtunwali*' 'rivaj' or code.⁷⁴ This code remains the stuff of popular lore and academic scholarship about Pathans. The non-Pathan communities in Walled City Lahore associate many of the '*Pukhtunwali*' traditions with the recent and old settled Pathans in their midst. As mentioned earlier they seldom differentiate between the Shaarri speaking and

⁷² In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, forcing some 3.8 million people to flee the country; 2.3 million of them sought refuge in Pakistan, and 1.5 million in Iran (Turton and Marsden 2002).

⁷³ Army operations were conducted in Swat, Bajaur Agency, Dir and Malakand and North Waziristan

⁷⁴ Pukhtunwali' 'rivaj' or code of life is characterized by the qualities of nang (honour), badla (revenge), melmastia (hospitality), jirga (council), lyar (way), nanawati (plea for forgiveness), tiga (truce), hamsaya (protege), nikat (equilibrium), pighur (self respect), sarrishta (collective decision), tarboor (cousin, synonymous with enemy).

Pushto speaking and impute attitudes pertaining to women, terms for business dealings and manner of socializing and entertaining to their code of '*Pukhtunwali*'.

Walled City Lahore residents are impressed by what James W. Spain described as the 'polite egalitarianism' (Spain 2002), of the tribal Pathans observed in the manner of sharing the dinner spread with servants and retainers.

They also refer repeatedly to the 'ittafaq' (unity), among the Pathans. This trait has attracted more awe and praise but is also seen as a threat. Some locals fear the solidarity of the Pathans allows them unionized takeover of businesses and property especially in face of the absence of any cohesive comparable structure among the Punjabis or others in Walled City Lahore.

Ali (2012) mentions the 'shared stove' of the Afghan migrants in Karachi as a reason for their ability to work for much lower salaries. They aggregate their community, clan resources due to their traditional tribal living pattern.

There is no display of power and aggression on part of the Pathan migrants. The nature of their social position, most are poor laborers and petty businessmen as well as the larger political environment where Pathans are also easily implicated and harassed through the use of police in case they overstep their expected position. Lindholm (1988) brings another dimension which can be a possible explanation for this behavior. The cultural training of the Pathan where he lives with his rivals in close proximity and the norms of honorable behavior expect him to act unhesitatingly when challenged and provoked.

Pathan men who grew up inside the Walled City participate much more in the local cultural life compared to the women. Almost all the Pathans visiting parks, historical spaces, cinema in the 70' and 80's playing cricket, snooker, video games, etc. are males. Though majority of the men have little cash or time and seldom indulge in any recreation. The second generation

Mohmands and the Shaarri Pathans are the most urbanized and participate in the mainstream recreational activities but even their women are less active than local females in the public domain.

Pathan Sub-ethnicities in Walled City

Shaarris

The largest group of Pathans in the walled city is the Pashayi speaking Shaarri from area around Jalalabad in Afghanistan. They live in clusters in Bhaati gate area and otherwise dispersed in various neighborhoods in the walled city. They are considered akin to Pathans but have a distinct language and culture. Ethnic groups from Afghanistan other than the Pathans are not bound by the Pukhtunwali code but because the Pathans have dominated many of the customs are shared and they often speak Pushto as second language (Connor, 1989). As a group they suffer most from caricatured images of Pathans as being mired in poverty, being backward, poor and willing to take on any hard labor (AREU 2005).

Most Shaarri respondents in Walled City Lahore claimed descent from Shaarri's living in the city since before 1947. Khan Din related how Hindu' who shared their language trusted them more than the Punjabi's. His father a Muslim was asked to take care of their belongings when they moved to India during partition.

Another woman narrated a story about partition she had heard in her family. It was said that the poor Pathans did not know or have the power to take over Hindu property and valuables and busied themselves with salvaging burnt wood⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ A Sikh Gurdwara, officially designated as Naraiyan Singh Gurdwara in the Evacuee Trust record, also referred to as the Gurdwara Guru Hargobind Chati Padshahi by Mr. Sham Singh of Pakistan Gurwara Prabhandak Committee was among other non-Muslim properties burnt in Bhaati Gate area in June 1947.

'Hamaray baroon ko pata hi nahin tha gharoon ki keemat ka, hum bhi ameer hotay' (our elders did not know the value of houses; ah we could also have been rich today)'.

Presence of relatives and contacts in a Shaarri community could be an important factor in the settlement of Afghans in the Bhaati area. However, most have migrated in the 1980's after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. There is general fear among the Shaarris of consequences of owning their Afghan identity they typically claim descent from ancestors who had lived here for hundred years or more.

The Shaarri's link with Afghanistan has weakened over time due to the travails of cross border movement in the recent past but it has not completely snapped. This link of the Afghans is commonly the basis of perceptions connecting many criminal activities with this group⁷⁶. However, their poverty, nature of livelihoods and absence of any substantiated record of criminality refute this claim⁷⁷. There has been little or no vertical mobility rather a downtrend among the Shaarris living in the Walled City Lahore for over three decades. Some Shaarris had managed to set up small manufacturing units, plastic die machines churning cheap plastic products such as toys or soap dishes etc. These have closed down in the last few years due to the competition from finer quality but cheaper Chinese products⁷⁸.

As a Shaarri in the Chomala neighborhood of Bhaati gate put it when asked about his present state of unemployment

'Ay cheen saday goday, gitayaan vich bay gaya ay

Pehlay tay asi kadi Murree vi chalay jandain saan'

⁷⁶ Interviews, certain people considered the ability of Afghans to disappear to areas inside Afghanistan

⁷⁷ There are exceptions such as the story of Toor Khan who murdered a local councilor in Bhaati and served jail. He does not reside in Bhaati anymore. The criminal activity in the walled city is no more public or obvious than other city settlements.

⁷⁸ With trade liberalization since the nineteen nineties many small, local plastic molding concerns have shut down.

China has disabled us, (literally destroyed our limbs), earlier we even went to Murree⁷⁹ for vacation)

Most Shaarris are engaged in a variety of low paying jobs such as helpers in eateries and tandoors, salesmen, running small businesses such as PCOs, motorbike rental or recyclables collection depots etc. Shaarri women work outside the house mostly as maids and waste scavengers in the bazaars of Walled City Lahore. Unlike the variety of house based work done by local women (Weiss 1999, Simorgh 2010) the only work they do at home is to shell almonds and chilgozas. They however do not share in the contract piece work of the burgeoning shoe manufacture and many minor home based work such as samoosa making, embroidery and tinsel decorations, cloth cutting and tailoring etc.⁸⁰. This practice confirms the exclusive work circuits of different communities and the distance of the Shaarris from the local community despite visible cultural assimilation.

A stream of Shaarris has found small business and employment connected with the tremendous increase in motorcycle use in Lahore (JICA 2011)⁸¹. They sell small accessories such as covers, decoration, mirrors and small body parts outside Walled City on McLeod road the centre for this business. A few of the young boys were apprenticed as motorcycle mechanics. Some Shaarris also run very small motorcycle rental business with one or two motorbikes. The other self employment is the junk dealer shops and mobile credit or mobile application and music/video uploading service.

The earlier settlers among Shaarris of Walled city worked almost exclusively as stone and brick ballast breaking labor. The work was done on contract basis and the whole family used

⁷⁹ Popular summer resort in the hills two hour drive from Islamabad.

⁸⁰ Dated but still relevant see Anita Weiss, Walls within Walls, life histories of working women in the old city of Lahore OUP.2002. Also recent project report by a Women organization SIMORG.

⁸¹

to participate in the effort. Many spoke of the solidarity of the Shaarris who would never compete for work with their fellow Shaarris. They cited examples of the stone ballast labor and the cloth market where they never competed for business.

Shaarris still retain strong links to their language but the present generation has no knowledge of their folklore or music. The language is spoken but there is no interest in the Shaarri folk poetry or music among the youth. The younger generation shares taste in music with the other Walled City Lahore youth which is mostly Indian film songs and popular Pakistani music.

'Waday gandain nain, sahnoon tey oo azeeb lagda aay'

(the elders sing (old) songs, but we find it all odd). Anum from Mori gate.

However, they still retain the tradition of group dancing *aatan*, danced by men and women separately but now increasingly only a male activity.

'Jis nay aik dafa aatan dekh liya oos ka dil karega who bhi karey, seekhay aura cha karey, yay humari khas riwayat hai' (once someone has seen the aatan (dance), they want to do it, learn and do it well, this is our special tradition.) A middle aged Shaarri.

Interviews with people living in a shared Evacuee Trust property inside Mori gate told of proselytizing influence of the Tableeghi Jamaat. These Shaarri have started to give up the practices associated with Shaarri marriage such as *war war*⁸², wedding feast arranged by the

⁸² War, War is also referred to as Sar paisa, or head money. It is the money given to the brides family by the groom. This tribal custom has come under attack at various junctures in recent history of Afghanistan and Pakistani tribal areas. Both religious injunction and secular law discourage this practice often equated with 'buying' of women. The Pathans in the Walled City had a mixed reaction to the reform perspective which some felt left families with girls more vulnerable and also no one valued what they had not purchased. Most thought of it being un-Islamic and worth forgoing but cited pressure from others in the village which was changing with the ascendance of the religious figures and education.

bride's family for the groom's party as well as dancing, musical celebration etc. They now have a simple *Nikah* ceremony and religiously celebrate *Walima* feast which is considered *Sunnah*. However, there is a growing trend among those who can afford to emulate the locals marriage customs especially Mehndi ceremony.

Many Shaarris live in portions of dilapidated, low rent houses. There is discrimination⁸³ and most people do not rent to the Shaarris. Rising property values are creating fear of eviction and have reduced options for renting accommodation inside the Walled City Lahore. Most Shaarris live inside Bhaati Gate in Evacuee Trust properties, but there are also clusters inside Mori and Lohari gate and on the outer periphery of Yakki and Mochi gate area.

For the Shaarri speaking Afghans, arriving as refugees in the 1980's survival entailed everyone in the family fending for work. Women, children and men all worked. One important source of livelihood was hammering stone ballast floors and roadways, everyone from the youngest to the oldest participated in this contracted job labor. The women also work as housemaids and collect recyclable waste from the markets and streets.

Unlike the variety of house based work done by local women (Weiss 1999, Simorgh 2010) the only work they do at home is to shell almonds and chilgozas. This practice confirms the exclusive work circuits of different communities and the distance of the Shaarris from the local community despite visible cultural assimilation.

Shaarris are among the more culturally assimilated group of recent Pathan migrants in the Walled City Lahore, they speak fluent Punjabi, young males socialize with local counterparts and share their activities, most children go to school, including females. Their relatively large

⁸³ Based on interviews with Shaarris and property owners.

number, long stay and lack of contact with their homes may be reasons for their adoption of local mores and social ties especially among the youth.

Shaarri teenagers are given to the popular pastimes of Walled City Lahore teenagers, they are fond of watching films on TV or now on computers and even mobiles, exchanging songs and messages on mobiles. The young boys age 7 to 13 are visible in the video game shops.

Shaarri have more readily acquiesced to send daughters to school with few cherishing ambition beyond doing their civilized duty. One girl spoke of her father's ambition,

'Abbu ko tu shawk tha mein college jaoon, un ko bus parhanay ka shawk tha'

(My father wanted me to go to college, he had great desire that I acquire an education.)

Despite their desire for better living informants acknowledged many benefits of living in close proximity and being able to come to each other's aid even though they claim community ties are now breaking down. One of them described the present state.

'Ab to har koi kasai key bakray ki tarah akela, akela tunga howa hai'

(Everyone is now alone and hanging helplessly like butchered lambs in a meat shop)

Those who are more dispersed still feel the advantage of being inside the Walled City and able to access relatives without the need of transport or worry about safety of children and females. Also the Walled City location is central to the larger Shaari communities living on the west and northwest in the neighborhoods of Data Darbar, Bund road and Shahdara.

The harassment of the community by police with the heightened security concerns often result in campaigns for weeding out people without valid Pakistani identity cards as well as

the general prejudice against poorer Pathans. This has also resulted in reactive community solidarity as one young informant observed,

*'hum main ittefaq hai, yeh zarori hai, kuch log jaisay Gujjar vagaira phir
theek rehtay hain'*

(We stay united as it serves us well when we have to deal with people such as the Gujjars of Walled city)

Mohmands

The Mohmand *Taal Wallahs* (firewood sellers) are among the oldest of the Pushto speaking migrants and their taals or firewood shops dot the city neighborhoods.

The Mohmands belong to the fore mentioned first wave of Pathan migrants coming in the 1950-60's but claim some local contact from as early as the 1930's. Before the arrival of Sui gas⁸⁴ in the 1980's Walled City Lahore residents used kerosene oil, cow dung cakes and fire wood as fuel. Fire wood business was hard labor with poor returns.

Anwar Khan Momand of Mori gate recalled life till the eighties:

'The whole family lived in a one room mud house next to the heaps of firewood. My mother and we children would plaster the walls, the smoke from the oil lamp would be replastered, my father brought flour chaff given away by the tandoorwalahs and used oil from the halwais for my mother to cook. There was no running water. We wore malasia suits which were carefully washed once a week so as to not break a button. School supplies were the *takhti* (wooden tablet) reed pen and ink. If we broke a *takhti* we could not afford a new one. After

⁸⁴ Sui gas came late in the 1990's to the Walled City relative to other parts as it was deemed dangerous.

school we scoured the streets for waste paper till late at night to help the family as our father had a feud in the village.’

These ‘taal’ (firewood shops) owners in recent generations have branched into other professions including rickshaw driving, recycled waste collection and transportation, retail etc.

Majority of the Mohmands have links with their ancestral villages. A feature of their life is the periodic return for two to four years to their native villages in Mohmand agency⁸⁵. They work on their rotationally allocated piece of land⁸⁶.

Their lifestyle despite forty years of residence in the city adheres deeply to their native culture. It is prominently manifest in the language, strict seclusion of females, Hujra culture, conservative dress and house interiors. The generations born in the Walled City Lahore are fluent in the use of Punjabi and are more at ease with Punjabi than Urdu⁸⁷. The older generation speaks a mixture of Urdu and Punjabi and are not fluent in either.

Wives mostly speak only Pushto and are seldom second generation Walled City residents. As all marriages are contracted within the tribe, new brides are generally from the villages. Marriages in the traditional Mohmand culture are a communal affair and arranged to strengthen bonds between clans and families.

Education was not a priority among the first generation and was likely the direct outcome of their extreme poverty. The present generation is keen on education though females are still

⁸⁵ Mohmand agency is an area of rugged mountains with barren slopes. This agency like some of the other agencies is rich in mineral resources though largely untapped. Mohmand, Khyber, Bajaur, Orakzai and Kurram Agencies have huge quantities of Marbles.

⁸⁶ There is a system of rotational right to land in the limited land holdings in the tribal areas. Mohmands have this system of shared ownership of land among families.

⁸⁷ The young son born in Lahore slipped into Punjabi after a few sentences during the interview and then stuck to Punjabi, the father was comfortable spoke a mix of broken Urdu and Punjabi.

not encouraged especially in households with more active links with villages. A Momand explained this;

*'Baat yeh hai keh hum shadi khandaan mei kartay hain, dartay hain parhi
likhey ko ghaon walay rishta nahin dain gay'*

(We have to marry our daughters in the family, we are scared that no one will take her hand.)

Regular observation of religious practice by men and women is the norm in most households. Girls are actively encouraged to study Quran but secular education is shunned.

Most of the migrant '*taal*' owners have managed to acquire ownership of homes. These properties were either public owned open space or cheap land available in the 1970's. It is not possible for new migrants to even dream of owning property in the Walled City. The earlier settlers also afforded to bring their families living despite grinding poverty an impossible proposition in present times.

Swat Pathans

Swat has been described as an 'ecological paradise', the result of a combination of topography, terrain and altitude⁸⁸. Tourism promoters and popular literature often refer to it as 'Switzerland' of the region. Migration and urbanization have been the major harbingers of change in this agrarian tribal culture (Barth , Lindholm , Rahim & Vario 2002). This trend has disrupted the classical socio-political structure. The inflow of remittances by migrants has created new political leaders, diminished rural welfare mechanisms and created dependence on external resources.

⁸⁸ Swat is administratively a part of Malakand Division of Khyber Pukhtunkhawa . See Rahim, Vario 2002 for a detailed survey of socio-environmental change in Swat Valley.

Compared to other Pathan migrants from Bajaur, Mohmand and Dir, the Swatis are more urbanized and educated⁸⁹. In the Walled City Lahore they own and run most of the tea stalls and small eateries (hotels in the local parlance). They also run private cabs, work as drivers, electricians, manage small businesses such as LPG cylinder refilling and trade in loose tea leaf etc. It is unlikely to find a Swati shoe polish or corn vendor. Most of the Swati migrants hail from Shangla and Buner, both these areas witnessed major development in education and health during the martial law of General Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980's. Many madressahs were established in this relatively poor region of Swat to create a cadre of young jihadis for the Afghan Jihad sponsored by the United States of America.

There is a strong chain of related households linked to three generations of migrant labor in Lahore. One of the leading figures of the group from Shangla has a tea shop in the lucrative Paisa Akhbar street in the area opposite Lohari gate. He is also an office bearer of the Pukhtun Qaumi Ittehad, a body created few years ago to provide social support such as funeral arrangements to indigent migrants. He lives inside Bhatti gate where some more Shangla Pathan families have clustered.

Their main cluster is however inside Lohari gate near Chowk Mati where a state owned property allowed for more stable and sizeable residence.⁹⁰

Almost all the tea stalls are run by Swati Pathans from Shangla. This business is a sizeable enterprise if we take the tea stalls inside Shahalami and other markets; the extreme density of the commercial outlets means more than 200 shops, and offices being served by a single tea

⁸⁹ Education was free under the Wali of Swat, an extensive network of schools and the first degree college were established. Many Punjabis would also travel to Swat to study in the Jehanzeb College in Saidu Sharif.

⁹⁰ The state owned properties inside the walled city are the buildings belonging to the Evacuee Trust which manages the Non-Muslim trust property and consist of Hindu temples, religious schools, marriage halls, Sikh Gurdwaras etc. They were occupied after partition by the poorest migrants and continue to be homes to the poorest of the Walled City. Exceptions are the properties where some more powerful elements have demolished structures and built new homes with the collusion of the concerned authorities.

stall. The scale of the operation is measured in terms of the maunds⁹¹ of milk used. They do not use packaged milk and are known to pay more than the market price for better quality milk. The terms of employment and business are highly standardized⁹². The locally evolved model develops as it is replicated to ensure least risk and tested source of ingredients, equipment and salary.

The area of Shangla is also famous for many medicinal herbs and some of the Hakims there have clientele from Lahore facilitated by the migrants. However, there is neither use of herbal medicines by the migrants nor any specialized knowledge of herbal cures.

The group in the Walled City is under strong influence of Tableeghi Jamaat also spoke of having given up many traditional practices such as bride price, dancing and playing music etc.

The women did not practice any crafts or do home based work in their homes and were very isolated as the community is small and they observe strict segregation.

Khyber Pathans

Many Pathans from Khyber are engaged in transportation and import business. People from Khyber Agency were given license for transport routes and concessions during the martial law rule of Field Marshal Ayub Khan who was himself a Pathan (Hassan 1999).

Migrants from Khyber include both richer merchants, transport business owners and workers from their home towns, villages. They like the Swatis are more urbanized and prosperous

⁹¹ 1 kilogram is equal to 0.025 maund, maund is an anglicised version of traditional Indian measure *man* used or weight.

⁹² All the items used in the tea shop are acquired through a system of references and the same type of crockery, loose tea leaf, cooking utensils and book keeping are used. Used tea leaf is saved and collected by waste recyclers.

than the Mohmands and Bajauris in the Walled City. The powerful among them have businesses in Shahalami commercial area, or occupy the circular road and not the dispersed web of narrow lanes and dilapidated houses which are home to most poor Pathan resident. The rich merchants and transportation offices line the road out of necessity but also power cannot move inside without destroying the existing order which is encumbered by sheer density.

A group of young Shinwari tribal men living in a rented apartment in Mochi gate was representative of the middle class Khyber Pathans in Walled City Lahore. All the men in this group had a completed their intermediate degree (12 years of education) or had a Bachelors degree (14 years of education). One of them worked as an administrative secretary for a goods transporter. Another was a trader in mobile phones and electronics from China. One of them spoke Chinese and had a second accommodation in Urumchi in China and acted as an interpreter and guide for the Pathan traders. These four young men lived in a two room apartment. The interior was a carpeted floor sitting arrangement with traditional bolsters and cushions. The men shared all the domestic chores of cooking, cleaning and washing. The place was kept very clean and organized. The group interviewed was Khugi Khel, Shinwari. Unlike the mostly working class homes of the Shangla, Mohmand and Bajaur migrants theirs was a bachelors house with a more middle class interior trappings even in a space ostensibly described as a commuters base. A large television, wall to wall synthetic carpeting, fancy curtains were in contrast but the floor sleeping and sitting arrangement was the same. They and another group of middle class traders were the only ones drinking boiled and filtered water.

Bajaur Pathans

Majority of Bajauri Pathans are single men working as hawkers, shoe polish boys, tailors, small merchants, chowkidars etc.

Few have brought families in recent years. The financial status of the migrant and absence of a capable male family head to look after the family back home determines the family moves to Walled City Lahore or not. There is obvious advantage of having family in the city for practical and sentimental reasons but most migrants are too poor for this undertaking.

In the Walled City Lahore, a large number of single, young Bajauri men live in shared accommodation around the Sheranwala gate area. One of the buildings in the bazaar has hosted them since 1965. Recent drone attacks and operation by the Pakistan army has resulted in a spike in the number of migrants coming from Bajaur.

These men work as hawkers selling primarily shoes in summer and leather jackets in winter. However, there are also many other cheap accessories especially spectacles sold by Bajauris.

The living conditions in the mostly forty plus year old buildings are extremely degraded. In one of the buildings in Sheranwala gate more than fifty men shared a single bathroom and toilet.

Men work on short rotations and regularly go home but it is decreasing in frequency due to high travel cost etc. Most live in large groups in degraded properties with few amenities.

Almost all eat from wayside restaurants and do not cook at home. They are prone to many

health problems blamed on the consumption of bazaar food and drinking of regular tap water⁹³.

Typically the young men from Bajaur return home every four to six months for a month or more of stay. They depend on their relatives and others from the home village for taking care of their job or business till they return. These trips are also breaks to physically recover in case of illness or they go for more serious medical treatment.⁹⁴

Many who work inside Sheranwala gate or as vendors around the city also live in Landa Bazaar or Farooq Gunj neighborhoods adjacent to the Walled City.

Few like Habibullah have brought their families to Lahore. He prefers to keep the family in Landa Bazaar as there are other families from his area and they found an airy accommodation. He is literate, having completed secondary school in Bajaur and has worked at the same spot for more than ten years. He is respected by the neighbors and the business is brisk on most days. His children go to a private school and education for the children dominated his conversation. Bajaur was fondly remembered in the heat of Lahore as the land of clear streams and greenery. Summer vacations were time for the family to move back to their village where they still have a family home and some land.

⁹³ According to the Agha Khan survey the water in the WCL is polluted due to poor quality of supply pipes and mixing with waste water from leaking sewerage pipes.

⁹⁴ Even though the facilities in Khar etc. cannot compare with Lahore. The non-affordability of health services in Lahore push them to use this route.

Khyber Pukhtunkhwa

Besides the tribal areas which sent most of the migrants in recent years, a sizeable number of Pathans from the settled areas⁹⁵ of the KP province. Some Pathans from KP are more educated and urbanized but the larger number is rural poor with minimal education and no skills. Most are single men exceptions are families with multiple earning members and impossibility of keeping family in the villages.

The more educated group had the weakest links to their villages and was more disparaging of the cultural environment in the provenance. Their natal home environment was more urbanized hence more unlivable. The pressure to seek good education, advanced healthcare, municipal services for growing waste of high consumption and above all insecurity are the drivers in addition to more critical absence of employment.

Discussion

Pathan Migration in the recent past can be divided into three distinct waves; 1960's which was part of the post partition rural urban migration trend, 1980's fueled by the Afghan war, present decade of growth in trade and commerce and accelerated push from disappearing rural livelihoods.

The term Pathan as used by locals and the Pathans themselves does not convey the diversity of this group in the Walled City. There are two main sub-ethnicities namely the Pushto speaking Pathans and the Shaarri speaking Pashayai Afghans. The Shaarri are more concentrated, have families and appear larger in number. Pushto speaking Pathans are

⁹⁵ The provincial limits of settled areas date back to the colonial time with some modifications such as inclusion of some areas previously categorized as tribal into provincially administered areas of the country. The tribal areas have a separate administrative structure under Federal Administration.

mostly single male migrants living in shared accommodation with small number of families fairly dispersed in the residential areas of Walled City.

Pathan migration follows a pattern where social networks have been more directly responsible for the destination and type of work they would seek. This is in keeping with the findings of Memon (2005) regarding the importance of networks in addition to wage incentives that bring migrants to a particular location.

The Pathans run many standardized small businesses using their kinship base. Each sub-ethnic group is distinguished by a dedicated livelihood.

The sub-ethnic groups include; Mohmand families who have lived here longest and originally monopolised the firewood business inside the Walled City and have now branched into other professions such as rickshaw driving, waste recycling etc.

Bajauris are mostly single men and work as shoe shines, whole sale shoes dealers and hawkers of shoes and imported knick knacks from China.

Swatis are mostly from Shangla and many have brought families, they run tea stalls and small bazaar eateries.

Among other minor groups are migrants from settled areas of Khyber Pukhtunkhawa, they are more recent arrivals in a motley of professions and few have families.

A small number from the tribal agency of Khyber are in the more lucrative transport and related businesses. They are more prosperous and educated compared to other migrants from the tribal agencies.

Pathan women observe *pardah* and avoid coming into public. They are more confined to the home environment as compared to typical local females. They do not even venture out to

shop for clothes or daily food; men bring everything to the house. In addition to their physical confinement their social role inside homes is even more curtailed than their native villages. Teaching mother tongue, feeding the family, caring for the sick, entertaining guests, interacting with the extended clan through a complex system of *Khushi Ghami*⁹⁶ reciprocity, crafting the household furnishing are marginalized. Pathans women are not directly involved in any form of earning, though some older women may collect recyclables or even sit and do sorting at a junk shop.

The Shaarri speaking Afghans are an exception for them survival entailed everyone in the family fending for work. The women mostly work as housemaids and collect recyclable waste from the markets and streets.

The time of arrival in the city was crucial; the composition of the migrant stream and its settlement has been changing over time. Acquisition of permanent home properties, education of children and adoption of local language were strong indicators of their shared stake and participation in the local environment. Pathan migrants to the Walled City in the 1950s and 1960s found it possible to claim government owned properties and unclaimed open places to set up their humble living quarters.

Commercialisation and growth of shoe manufacture has allowed a growth in hard, physical labor jobs such as porters, hawkers of cheap imported knick knack. Overall the deskilling in the employment has created a niche for the Pathans who did not have new technical or previous craft based skills but a culture of tough physical work and discipline. They also had a knack for running small business and minor trade both of which demand high social capital.

⁹⁶ Khushi Ghami exchange is the complex social obligatory visits and gift exchange on various occasions celebrating joy or sharing loss and sorrow. See Amineh Ahmed (2005) for a detailed account of the system of obligations and the female role in an ethnography of upper class Swati females living in Islamabad city Pakistan.

Two professions which provided independent livelihood for Pathans, shoe repair and work as night watchmen have changed with new technologies. Shoe repair is sought only by the poorest with cheaper, disposable shoes. Security has been monopolized by the formal sector and sophisticated technologies

New technologies for water treatment and continued deterioration in the urban water supply, LPG and CNG powered rickshaws and use of diesel generators has also thrown up new small businesses. Pathans have found a niche in the delivery of water and diesel delivery⁹⁷.

⁹⁷ The case of diesel fuel for generators and LPG for rickshaws was also diversification of the delivery and rickshaw business.

CHAPTER 6: THE INVISIBLE GLUE:

Social Defenses of the Migrant Poor.

'Pataa Nahein yeh kaisay akathey ho jatey hain'

(It is confounding how they manage to gather), a local resident referring to the speed and manner of Mohmand Pathans coming to the aid of their fellow Mohmands in the Walled City.

The Pathans are a small minority among the residents of the Walled City but their language, manner and social bonding makes them a far more recognized community among the many distinct social groups. The visibility of the Pathans is also related to the nature of their livelihoods which have dispersed them across the city e.g. The firewood shops, tea stalls etc. or their wide circulation as vendors and loaders. The Pathan who arrived through a chain migration have developed significant networks⁹⁸ in recent years as their communities have increased in number in the city at large and monopolized niches in the local economy e.g. vending of imported Chinese accessories, local and imported cheap footwear, corn cob, tea shops and sale of dry tea leaf to name a few.

The Pathans have migrated from tribal areas where tradition ruled and was imbibed. It was their socially enabling system which solved all problems. From that socially cohesive community they have migrated into atomized urban set-up where law is not enforced by the community (taking the law into own hands is a crime) but by the state which has monopoly of enforcement. The state in Pakistan is dysfunctional today. The Pathans organically move

⁹⁸ See Haas 2010, for discussion on the progressive transition from chain of family or kinship based links to networks. Networks facilitate migration by helping to access local resources. Positive network externalities arise when sufficient numbers of migrants settle in a location.

into two trends one to recreate a community the other to withdraw from trouble. This chapter discusses their organic search to reconstruct a community.

Language

Pred (1984), considers language a *crucial constraint and enabling condition of cultural and social practices* in a given area. It provides the basis for describing, grouping and differentiating things and the ideological and affective bearings of society. According to Bourdieu (1999), the role of language in social environments is fundamental in configuring power relationships

There are two main languages spoken by a varied group of non-Punjabi migrants who are categorized as 'Pathan' in the local parlance. These are Pushto and Shaarri. Whereas Pushto is the language of the Pathans from the areas of Pakistani Khyber Pukhtunkhawa, FATA(Federally Administered Tribal Areas) and parts of Afghanistan, Shaarri also known as Pashayai is the language of a small group from northeast Afghanistan⁹⁹.

Of all the bonds language is the strongest and most pervasive and is a source of strength for the two groups of 'Pathans'. It provides them with horizontal and vertical social capital, strengthening bonds among equals and providing access to the classes above. Even in case of Punjabis who have the weakest association with their language, the Punjabi speaking Gujrati in Oslo and the Hindko cluster in Bradford are testimony to the power of linguistic and associated regional clustering. Ethnicity is defined foremost by language and acts as a social cement in cities (Qadeer 1983). The Pathans in the walled city have a higher level of affinity with their language than the other ethnic groups. Most other second generation migrants from rural Punjab and small towns the children speak Urdu rather than Punjabi.

⁹⁹ Near Jalalabad city.

The linguistic affinity creates relations of trust and cultural bonding. This proves to be an advantage in finding work, accommodation and security upon arrival in the Walled City Lahore. As one of the locals, Shehzad Butt remarked

‘Pathan wastey Pathan pucca gahak aay’

(The Pathan has other Pathans as his dedicated customer). The Pathan business can never fail. It starts with a reserved Pathan clientele.

Both the Shaarri speaking and Pushto speaking Pathans in the Walled City draw advantage from the social capital of their native languages however the dynamics of language for each of these sub-ethnicities is very different.

Shaarri language is basis for reproduction of their community in the absence of active links with the provenance which could serve to strengthen clan networks¹⁰⁰. Shaarri is the language of the private domain, the community are mostly second or third generation settlers in the walled city and very proficient in the use of Punjabi and Urdu compared to Pushto speaking Pathans. The Shaarris are under pressure to disown their Shaarri /Afghan identity and it is avoided in public.

The Shaarris are a stigmatized community among the Walled City Lahore Pathans their low economic status and association with waste collection are both the product of their refugee status and source of continued marginalization. Most Shaarris even if they are settlers for many generations and legal residents of the city are forced to suffer the same fate by association and especially as they are also poor and low class.

¹⁰⁰ Shaarris have historically taken advantage of the porosity of Durand Line for continued contact with their ancestral homes but in the present political environment this has virtually stopped.

Weinreich (2008) discusses the class dynamics that dictate the choice of keeping or discarding Pushto as mother tongue among the migrants in the Northern Areas¹⁰¹. Poor rural based migrants among a homogenous, peasantry were more likely forgo any attachment to their native Pushto which was the only distinction between their otherwise total assimilation with host peasant community in the northern area. In the urban areas Weinreich observed a different trend in the recent years as more and more rich traders are visible in the northern urban centres maintenance of language has become not just a matter of ‘*ethnic sentiments*’ but a status symbol, as it served as an efficient tool to mark their place within a comparatively affluent, influential and respected population group.

The Shaarri language has only in recent years of American occupation acquired a written form¹⁰². Most Shaarris were emphatic about teaching Shaarri to their children and mentioned the ‘*qaida*’ (basic alphabet learning text) even if they had not seen it.

There was also a recurring reference to their language being ‘*ajeeb*’ (strange) and even ‘*bhairhi*’ (bad as in annoying).

Baji na pucho bari bhairi aay

(Sister, do not ask it is very bad)

Or,

Saadi boli bari ageeb aay

(Our language is very strange)

¹⁰¹ Northern areas refers to the five administrative units of Gilgit, Ghizer, Diamer, Skardu and Ganche districts in the north of Pakistan ruled under special legal arrangement unlike the four main provinces of the country.

¹⁰² SIL (Summer Institute for Language) website <http://www.sil.org/>

The continued clustered living of Shaarris and lack of inter marriage with outsiders has ensured the continuation of the use of language among the third generation.

The Pushto speakers on the other hand are openly proud of their language identity and explicitly differentiate themselves from the ‘Afghans’. Pushto in the Walled City Lahore is valued for its social capital both in the city and the natal village.

Abdul Jaleel from Shangla Swat mentioned how he made special effort to teach his children Pushto in Lahore so that they could cope both with school and otherwise be able to assimilate with the village community if they had to go back home.

However, many complained about the dilution of the language and lack of good command among the school going children. A young mother said the children speak ‘*gulabi Pushtu*’, or mixed language.

The Pathans in the Walled City Lahore attribute the less pure variety of Pashto spoken by Lahore born children to their lack of exposure to native Pathan environment and school.

Working young were more adept in multiple languages than school going children who preferred to speak Urdu.

‘yeh sab mahaul ki baat hai’

(It is all about the environment), A Shinwari Pathan from Mori Gate

A Shinwari Pathan claimed that a child who had spent the first three years of life in the ancestral village acquires language skills for a lifetime but the city born children can never attain the same quality of learning.

Pathan migrants of the previous generation born in the Walled City Lahore have greater comfort with using Punjabi than Urdu; the present generation of school going children is learning more Urdu and a practice supported by the parents.

Attitude towards Urdu, English is same as that of local Punjabis except that Pushto speaking at home is still valued. Women especially the Afghans speak Punjabi and know very little Urdu.

When Abdul Jaleel of Shangla brought his family to the Walled City in the 1980's he was very concerned about his children falling behind their counterparts in the village in reading and writing in Pushto School. He brought the books and made sure they were tutored at home in Pushto so that they have no problem in case they had to return to Shangla. This may be a pragmatic act but language is not a mere functional tool but the embracing web of a cultural world the migrant can share even far from home. It is the loss of the larger, social integration that haunts the migrant and his attachment to language provides insight into the nature of language as resource in the urban setting of Walled City Lahore.

It is reported that there was more affluent Shaarri speaking non-Muslim population in Bhaati before 1947, language was a basis for vertical social capital by the poorer Shaarris during that time (Interview with Chowkidar Khan Din).

The present marginal position of Shaarri community and discrimination has consolidated their ties as a group even though their lifestyles present more proximity to the urbanized, nuclear households of the Walled City Lahore. The threat of the others has thrown them back on their community resources and language remains the most vital bond in the absence of links to provenance and shared production. Pushto speakers however are not shy of asserting their language based identity, even though they converse with the locals in Urdu and Punjabi

there is bigger presence of Pushto in the sound scape. Pathans groups in social situations will only talk amongst themselves in Pushto.¹⁰³

Pred (1984:285) quotes Nigel Thrifts five interrelated types of unknowing that can exist in a place, *the unknown*; the not understood, *the hidden*, *the undiscussed* and *the distorted*, and how unknowing can constrain cultural and social practices. The Pathan women especially the Pushto speaking who are confined physically to the house are the most constrained socially. Most of these women know only Pushto and have no comprehension of their surroundings. One of the elderly Pathans in Bhaati confessed to the loneliness of his wife,

'Who boli ki wajah si udaas rehti hai'

(She is forlorn as she cannot speak the language of the locals i.e. Punjabi)

The Role of Ancestral Village

The phrase Alta gatee, dalta okhree (save there, eat here), neatly sums up the way in which Pakhtun migrants understand their own and families condition. (Watkins 2003)

Pathan migrants have been described as 'suffering *men of faith*', (Watkins 2003) from Dir working the Gulf *who* suffer extreme privation and hardships to send money home. They consider the consumption of the money by the family in the village as creation of value such as family and kin ties. They emphasize that they worked not to earn for themselves but to save it to send to their families back home.

This money helps finance construction of homes, a major investment made from remittance money. Marriages are the second biggest expense paid with migrant earnings. The huge sums

¹⁰³ The visibility of Pathans is perceived largely because of the language. A regular chronicler of the Walled City Lahore among journalists, Majid Shiekh in Dawn ..2012 makes a cynical prediction about Pushto becoming the lingua franca of the Walled City unless the exodus of the locals is stalled.

spent on marriages and gifts at weddings require the pooling of resources of the extended family. Marriages are a social bond between families and not an affair of the immediate filial group even less so the two individuals getting married (Barth 1959, Ahmed 1980, Watkins 2003).

For all the Pathans in the Walled City Lahore the tradition of the provenance calls for a disciplining of personal desire for the sake of the larger group, family, tribe. Watkins (2003) discusses the division of households into *Khrooskoo and sakhee households* i.e. the miserly, hence denigrated and the generous households the later representing the desired social model.

Werbner (Kalra 2009), discusses the how the Pakistani immigrants in Britain do not attach or evaluate status on the basis of their house in Britain but the house back home. The Pathan migrants too eat here but live there. The single men especially live in miserable conditions and do not think of their residence here as a marker of their social position.

The strictly patrilineal kinship of Pathan society demands that all those related through a common male ancestor should stand united against outsiders. This tradition is attributed to be a major factor in the success of Pukhtun resistance to colonial encroachment (Lindholm 1988).

Similar to first generation international migrants, the ancestral village becomes the link between members of a particular tribe. It not only provides horizontal links but also vertical links with those in the upper classes. So long as a person maintains its links with the ancestral village he is member of an equal fraternity. However, when his link with the village breaks relationship among the migrants takes on a class character.

'Agar Malik ko gaon jana hai tu os ko gharaib ko bhi shehar main milna ho ga, jab who idhar ka ho gaiya tu phir gharib gharib hai, us tak nahain ja sakta,'

(If a Malik has to keep contact with the village he must meet the poor man from his village, if he decides to be a city man than there is no way they will meet) A Bajauri Pathan

Nichols (2008) describes the migration process to be chain migration developed in very local networks often operating on a village or sub-district level while being totally absent from even nearby village. This migrant chain reinforces and strengthens the relational networks determined by familial and tribal ties. The city based uncle's position allows him to extend his hospitality and knowledge and reconfirm his position as relative and elder, the obligation of the nephew, reciprocated through acts of compensation keeps alive and furthers these links.

As the migrant settles more securely into the new environment his dependence on the networks is diluted which also changes the quality of the relations with the ancestral home (Tilly, 1981). Social and economic change in the provenance also changes the nature of the urban networks of the migrant community as they are first and foremost based on the common links in the place of origin.

Mohmand Pathans in the Walled City are peasants from Kunar, an area bordering Afghanistan. They have a rotational system of cultivation among patrilineal clans. The rotational system ranges from 2-5 years where brothers take turns to till the land. But agriculture has become unsustainable as the need for cash and cost of living in the city and back home have increased steeply. Many such as the family of a second generation Mohmand

from Mori gate had given up their claim to the land in the village and did not return for the rotational turn. The weakened ties with the natal village of his father and a wife also born and raised in Rawalpindi city had less pre-occupation with the extended clan. His wife managed the nuclear family house, socialized with Walled City Lahore neighbors unlike other Mohmand females. The wife was born and raised in Rawalpindi and her brothers were tailors. Her urban background partially explained and supported the view that contact with provenance restrained adoption of urban mores.

Roger Ballard (2001) in his study of different ethnic rural migrants to Britain discusses the historical continuity of networks which were mostly based on common kinship. The observations could apply to the Pathan migrants to the Walled City Lahore .The family units are strongly hierarchal and subordinates are expected to respect their super ordinate. The extended family worked like collective providing safety under through its cumulative assets. Peasant culture also gave them the value of self-reliance. Ballard believes that peasant farmers have the ability to take the long term view and their economic horizon stretches not just from harvest to harvest but from generation to generation. The peasants see the vulnerability of the local addicted to cheap credit and consumer product. The migrants being used to working for themselves do not think much of long work hours and even seven day weeks. They also adopt basic rural diet, lintel and rent and share accommodation. He says “precisely because those involved or engage in entrepreneurship from below, their very alterity is crucial dimension of their capacity for agency”. It is precisely because of their capacity to act and to organize in unexpected ways (at least from the perspective of hegemonic majority) that has enabled them – and continues to enable them – to succeed, despite the odds piled up against them.

Papanek (1979) quotes a Pathan proverb, '*A man is known from the qualities of his wife*', and discusses enhancement of 'family status production' as an important aspect of the work of women. Among the Pathans especially from the less urbanized areas such as the Mohmand firewood depot or *Taalwallahs* the continued link with the provenance has meant a more substantial role for wives and mothers. It is the women who perform many gendered clan building and social bonding roles often having influence beyond domestic matters. They can through the appropriate socializing; the attendance of *Ghami/Khushi* (Ahmed 2005, Benedict 2004), gift exchange etc. cement alliances which may influence business and political settlements. Among those who have brought families, women are not directly involved in any form of earning.

Pathan mores, their role as homemakers literally *kor wadhana*¹⁰⁴ combined with the migrant's lack of linguistic skill and knowledge of the local environment accentuates the confinement of Pathan women.

The original home environment of the Pathan women did not restrict the women to the physical boundaries of the house. In Swat rural women participate actively in agricultural and livestock rearing activities outside the house (Rahim and Vario 2002). Woman from Mohmand narrated the relative freedom of village life where they collect water, firewood and work in the fields.

The Shaarris have close cultural affinity to the Pushto speaking community and shared attitudes and practices with respect to the women but their women work both inside and outside their homes in the Walled city.

¹⁰⁴ Pushto literally the one who adds to the family.

A group described their village gender environment as '*Khulla Mahaul*' literally, open environment, where there was segregation but no strict veiling. Young village males and females played together and swam in the river, according to one of the informants.

The Shaarris claim to still marry within the Shaarri community. Khan Din mentioned how parents do not consider the girls a burden as they have no problem finding a match as also her family is her support and check on the husband against maltreatment. The relationship between families in the village was based on a series of social exchange and interactions between members of the in-law clan and the bride's families. It has become harder to exercise any real control in the relatively atomised urban environment of Walled City.

Shaarri speaking Afghan migrants had a live connection with the home location because of the historically weak and porous separation of the Durand Line. However, new developments are weakening this link with ancestral homes for the Shaarris as well as Pathans from Tribal areas and Khyber Pukhtunkhawa. The Durand Line is no longer as porous for the Afghan migrants and travel is prohibitively expensive.

Along with changes brought about by development there has been actual destruction of the provenance. The recent war on terrorism and army movement in the areas has hastened the construction and building of infrastructure (Raza 2005) as well as the destruction of existing traditional architecture and infrastructure and life¹⁰⁵.

Qari Sahib of Mohallah Sethan from Karak talked of change in the provenance,

¹⁰⁵ As culled from the press reports given the frequency of drone attacks and damage from Army operations in Mohmand, Bajaur and Swat over the last decade.

*'Pehlay jab hum chootey jatey thay tu khuhsi hoti thi gaon ja rahey hain,
wapis aatey huway bukhaar charh jata tha. Ab mahaul badal gaya hai, janey
ko dil nahin karta.'*

(In the beginning we used to be very happy to go back to visit the village in the holidays, we would fall ill at the thought of returning to Lahore but now we do not like to go back, the environment in the village has changed)

Architectural historian Kamil Khan Mumtaz (1987) described Darra Adam Khel in the Khyber agency as some of the best preserved traditional architecture of the area. One of the striking features of settlements is the unity of design of all houses in tribal villages. Most villages in the tribal areas are losing their vernacular architecture and show use of concrete, glazing and all the modern utilities and accoutrements. The change in the architecture is most pronounced in the villages and towns of KP which have a very developed road and electricity distribution network.

The cost of travel has gone up and it discourages travel with large families. Along with cost the pressures of time is increasingly contributing to an erosion of this link. The school schedules of the children, as more and more Pathans choose to educate their children, economic constraints which force longer work hours and inflexible routines etc. make them abandon unscheduled or long visits for traditional *Ghami/Khushi* occasions.

The new generation of urbanized offspring are influenced and normalized into the lifestyle of the city and show less or no propensity to visit the village they consider 'hard country'.

Last but not least the new technologies of communication and exchange such as mobile phones, internet etc. allow migrants to conduct many functional duties such as sending

money and gifts, photographs, exchanging news etc. the link with the home based on face to face exchange

Overall the link with village or ancestral home is a real advantage helping to preserve culture, pride, fraternity and provide horizontal and vertical linkages.

Assimilation into the local culture has apparently not brought much advantage to the largest and most culturally assimilated group is the Shaarri speaking Afghans. They continue to be among the poorest community among the Pathan migrants. It is also that the few who have done better have abandoned the community and moved out of the Walled City Lahore.

Death and Burials

Like all significant occasions in the life, death has established rituals and its powerful, universally manifest facticity makes it an ideal site for reinforcing values and building the edifice of culture. Doving (Kalra and Khan 2009), cites examples from her own study of Pakistanis in Norway and other studies to bring forth the nuanced and situated nature of the burial rituals. The economics and politics around identity determine when the burial in home country becomes the desirable practice and how community institutions are developed around death.

Among the Pathans it is a priority to shift the body to the village upon death. The only present formal association among Pathans, *Pukhtun Ittehad* is primarily a social welfare body that helps to facilitate the transportation of dead to their home villages. The provenance remains an active link in the lives of the majority of recent migrants and also the small number of families settled for the last 30-40 years such as the Mohmand *Taalwallahs*.

The Shaarri Afghans bury most of their kin in the local graveyards. The economic status of this group and the loss of contact with the home villages are responsible for this trend. There

are always exceptions, such as the wealthier among them who are also more likely to have maintained links with homes in Afghanistan. Another case was a story narrated by one of the respondents.

'A young boy, the only son among the many daughters of his widowed mother was sent to Lahore to escape the violence of war after the American invasion. After only a few days in Lahore he was killed by a bus in Shahdara, people buried him locally but then were shamed when reminded of the grieving mother in the village by one of the community members. They collected money exhumed the body and sent it home.'

Religion

Religion is a major bonding force for the migrants especially through its role in strengthening the traditional family hierarchy. Religious sanction of patriarchal authority keeps the family together in the face of the pressures of the new urban environment. Family is the basic unit in the community, the link in the chain of social networks and source of social capital.

The *Tableeghi Jamaat* has a large following among the Walled City Lahore Pathans. The association with the *Jamaat* provides not only cohesion among the migrants but also bridging capital to a larger community. The bonds of the *Jamaat* are created through a systematic routine of participation in proselytising tours both local and out of city as well as attendance of annual international congregation. A Spartan, egalitarian and communal model is followed in the living, travel and organizational activities of the *Jamaat* which has appeal for the Pathans.

Religious sermon gatherings are also occasions for intellectual dialogue and everyday issues of ethical conduct, duty to family and community are actively debated as are issues of religious practice. Some women among the *Tableeghi* influenced families described the

reading of religious commentaries along with their male members to become better informed Muslims.

There was visibly more socializing with outsider females by families which had active *Tableeghi* husbands. Both A. Khan from Shangla and the family of a Qari from Chitral mentioned the exchange of visits with other *Tableeghi* families.

Partha Chatterjee (Guha 1989:172) quotes Gramsci '*fatalism is nothing other than the clothing worn by real and active will when in weak position*'; the hard life of poor migrants visibly relies on the solidarities of religious fraternity.

Recreational Gatherings

Pathan males especially the single men who are the largest group after the Shaarri families in the Walled City Lahore have many informal social events including cricket matches between various ethnicities, Bajaur vs. Swat etc. picnics and group visits to historical buildings and public parks. These are very different from the recreational preferences of the locals except the cricket matches. Visits to the public places and historical monuments are mostly free or cost very little which may be one attraction. However, there is also a curiosity and interest in visiting places while local young men are more interested in electronic entertainment in the form of DVD movies, sharing of music and renting motorbikes for joyrides around town. The single men also arrange occasional feasts where they cook themselves and sometimes invite local Pathan musicians.

The walled city is a densely built up space with few open areas for organized games or recreational facilities. However, it has had always ample parks and open spaces available in close vicinity. These spaces continue to be used by the new migrants as well. The Mochi gate grounds, both the park on the west side and the paved stadium on the east are heavily used by

young boys who play cricket. Cricket is also informally played in the streets but is decreasing with the rise in motor cycle traffic in the side streets and alleys. There are also changes in the open space, new design of parks forces the young cricketers to relocate further out in Minto Park etc or not play cricket.

Discussion

The Pathans have managed to monopolise certain livelihoods in the city where their social capital rooted in linguistic and social ties provides them a competitive edge. There is high degree of trust and most business undertakings are based on unwritten agreements. This manner of business is also considered the hallmark of the 'traditional bazaar sector' (Qadeer, 1980) and highlighted by proponents of the idea of social capital (Coleman 1988). The Pathans are considered good business men and this acumen is recognized in the manner in which they do some of the most marginal small businesses such as shoe shine or running tea stalls.

Many locals and Pathans interviewed repeated that the Pathans have monopolized the tea stall business because they make superior tea and are consistent about ensuring quality.

The Pathans from the villages work harder in extremely demanding jobs such as loading, construction, rickshaw driving and vending in harsh weather, locals testify to their superior endurance.

The original home of most migrants, the fountainhead of their language and culture is still a largely rural environment. This environment is low in amenities and demands physical effort and hardiness but provides high social support. The poor Pathans still go back to recuperate their health and find shelter for the family even when most claim that there is diminishing of social resources as many men have left homes and there is complete monetization of items of

daily need. Many of the migrants continue to have small stakes in land and property in the villages and they are keen not to lose their ties with the home environment. In the present inflationary environment most can only manage by keeping their families in the villages.

Language, communal ties of shared rituals, recreation and regular visits to village homes all contributed to reinforcing binding ties. Language is however not a static entity, it is always becoming Pred (1984). The dialectical relationship between doing and knowing continues to inform the manner in which language changes has been displaced or adopted by social groups in the social environment of Walled City.

The marginal economic status of Pathan migrants makes them dependent on the network and chains that help them arrive in the city. The social capital of a fast changing but still cohesive tribal society of remote rural locations that are their natal homes is significant in their settlement. Language in these networks is a bonding and there is more to lose than gain from abandoning the native language. The fact that they work in niche sectors also precludes need for acquiring more than functional language skills of the locals i.e. Punjabi.

There is less and less public culture that physically allows the Pathans and locals exposure to more complex cultural expressions. The cinema of the fifties and sixties was a commonly shared popular cultural experience but it has experienced decline in scale as well as a qualitative transformation. Informants shared their fondness for Urdu and Punjabi films which are now few and the market dominated by distant dubbed English language and Bollywood films.

For the Shaaris language is their strongest link as they consciously keep their identity secure in face of adverse pressures on them from outside. They do not flaunt it publically and insist

on being identified as locals but guard their communal ties. It may not be a cohesion that they could sustain with the loss of links with provenance and education and dispersal for work.

Religion is a social practice they share with the rest of the Walled City including the influence of the *Tableeghi Jamaat*. However, there is more visible religious observance especially among the Pushto speaking Pathans and less among the younger generation of Shaarris. The religiosity and hardening of attitudes regarding female segregation are also a possible reaction to the urban environment than a reflection of the village culture. There is fear of loss patriarchal authority and filial unity which is countered with religious sanction. The growing financial demands of consumption intensive trends in the host culture of Walled City are also avoided by strict religious code of dress and avoidance of many media dependent past times. Internet use and cable television are high on the targeted list of anti-religion forces.

In brief the community of Pathan migrants is poor labourers, vendors, scavengers, drivers, minor shop keepers with relatively high social capital, a product of their natal environment and a strategy against loss of identity, moral values and filial unity.

CHAPTER 7: LIFE INSIDE THE WALLS AND DREAMS OF THE OUTSIDE

Gali Kuchas of the Walled City

'In the old parts of the city the streets were true commons. Some people sat on the road to sell vegetables and charcoal. Others put their chairs on the road to drink coffee or tequila.Others drove their donkeys through the crowd... Children played in the gutter, and still people walking could use the road to get from one place to another. Such roads were not built for people. Like any true commons, the street itself was the result of people living there and making that space livable. If people now sat down or stopped on the street, they would become obstacles for traffic, and traffic would be dangerous to them. The road has been degraded from a commons to a simple resource for the circulation of vehicles. People can circulate no more on their own. Traffic has displaced their mobility. They can circulate only when they are strapped down and are moved.' Ivan Illich (1982).

More than traffic arteries, Walled City streets are an ensemble of path, street wall, sky, people and activities that enliven the space. Streets of the Walled City are a powerful force shaping its social environment. They guide movement and create patterns of *co-presence* and therefore *co-awareness* amongst the individuals living in and passing through an area. 'Co-present people are not a community, but they are part of the raw material for community, which may in due course become activated, and can be activated if it becomes necessary' (Hillier 2007:141).

Pedestrian streets enable an amazing range of diversity of function and scale but also have a propensity to be a commons. Walled City streets are a commons¹⁰⁶. It is here that the body is

¹⁰⁶ A succinct explanation of term is offered by Hildyard, Lohmann, Sexton, Fairlie, 1995, *Despite its ubiquity, the commons is hard to define. It provides sustenance, security and independence, yet (in what many Westerners feel to be a paradox) typically does not produce commodities. Unlike most things in modern industrial society, moreover, it is neither private nor public: neither business firm nor state utility, neither jealously guarded*

free to move, stop, squeeze, greet and solicit, it is a primary site for the city dweller to claim the right to subsist, where he vends, begs, performs and protests. However, the street commons are not the outcome of physical attributes and pedestrian traffic alone. All true commons are managed by a complex system of rules, evolved over time rather than created by a dictate of written law. Gidwani and Baviskar (2011), consider the local bazaars sites of commerce and cultural invention and the distinctive public culture of a city its most generative yet unnoticed commons. Commons always occupy the liminal, in-between spaces where constant negotiation is the norm rather than fixity of law.

Habibullah from Bajaur has his humble shoe repair outfit next to a doorway of a house inside Mochi Gate. The alley here is covered as the property straddles across on both sides, a feature not uncommon in the Walled City. He has been sitting at this rent free spot for the last nine years. Business is brisk in this dense and poor residential neighborhood and shoes are repaired more often than discarded outright.

'Yahaan sab hum ko jantay hain, sub izzat kartay hain'

(Everyone here knows me, they all respect me), Shoe mender from Bajaur inside Mochi gate.

Not very far in *Kucha Chabuksawaran*¹⁰⁷, Khan Baba, a corn cob seller sets up his cart every Sunday and does a thriving business on winter evenings, he has been doing it for few seasons and does not pay any rent. Both these Pathans enjoy not only rent free business but also the small benefits of getting locals to man their outlet while they need take a break etc. This is possible because of opportunity for repeated face to face interaction with the residents, high density, class character and traditions of the neighborhood. There is no blanket law allowing

private plot nor national and city park. Nor is it usually open to all. The relevant local community typically decides who uses it and how.'

¹⁰⁷ Literally the enclave of the horse riders, an old neighborhood inside Mochi Gate.

vendors, rather it is monitored. Often neighborhoods assume control of 'public' space turning away anyone they do not want. However, within this control there is a tacit support for a right to earn a livelihood. A local councilor narrated how he upbraided his wife who complains about the noise the neighbors made running small machines late at night.

'Rozi kamana odha haq ay, sada aaraam aidhay toon ziada aham nain'

('It is his right to earn a living, it cannot be less important than our need for quiet and rest.)

The commercial markets have no room for gratis occupation but there is the advantage of a pedestrian market for vendors who in turn bring more business and desired density. This is not seen as competition. The rates for setting up a cart in the bazaars are among the highest in the city (in the range of Rs.500 plus per day for a small stand). The mobile hawkers are able to get business without a need for a fixed location. The Pathan *miswaak* (twig toothbrush), spectacle and imported electronic household gadgets sellers endlessly roam the busy pedestrian streets of the Walled City and get reasonable business.

Women and children mostly Shaarris carry their sacks collecting recyclable paper and plastics, the streets full of other pedestrians are far safer than the streets in the larger city where they fear harassment and need to travel far to collect sufficient quantities. This activity easily criminalized by formal control¹⁰⁸ remains possible in the socio-spatial environment of Walled City.

¹⁰⁸ Many of the new middle and upper class neighborhoods have strict laws prohibiting the Pathan scavengers from the waste skips. The motorized streets and class character of these places makes the scavengers easy to control. Daily Times, The Solid Waste Management Department (SWMD) owns all garbage in Lahore, after waste management reforms, and has franchised collection to private companies. Saturday, November 19, 2005 <http://www.dailytimes.com.pk>, February 09, 2009 <http://www.nation.com.pk>

History too is a commons; in the Walled City it is tangible in the built environment and vividly experienced in the city, lore, festivals and myriad social practices of the inhabitants. Till the recent past most historical built heritage was free of formal control exercised by state institutions concerned with heritage protection and tourism. Many critics (Mumtaz 2008, Assi 2008, Rogers 2011, Ali and Reiker 2010, Herzfeld 2010) question the application of universal standards of heritage conservation and the power politics involved in these practices.

Rogers (2011) observes the people we find living betwixt or using heritage sites in Pakistan are ‘the marginalized old, women and children, poor and under-educated, dislocated and transient. In fact they are almost everyone living in the historic cities of this country. They do not relate heritage to their identity as passive receivers, nor are they part of an active and self-conscious opposition to the authorized discourse. They simply relate without any reference to it at all, falling outside its sphere of influence.’

In the Walled City the historic fabric envelops the lives of the poor inhabitants and it is a resource they draw from both consciously and unconsciously. The array of tangible history creates a rich sense of place and is part of the experience of places through associated practices and ready imaginative narratives of the locals. Many Pathan interlocutors dwelled long, narrating colorful half improvised histories, identifying its many monuments and their own version of events.

The principal of a school housed in one of the grand palaces from Sikh period found the architecture of the school transformative for teachers and students. The school had ‘*khas asar*’ (extraordinary influence) and the school teachers and students shared this experience.

Festivals and fairs are located in many spaces and buildings of historical import which are often open to migrants and the locals. The scale of the physical environment is conducive to

creating new public encounters and events given its density and pedestrian nature even when the population is impoverished or culturally distant. Over time there has been a decline in spaces available for festivities and rituals once shared simply because of location and pace of daily life.

Women are visible in the Walled City Lahore¹⁰⁹, they ride rickshaws, drive cars, behind sons, fathers, husbands and close relatives on motorbikes, walk to work, shopping and visiting. A few sit at the reception desks of modern offices, manage hotels, waitress or run small shops¹¹⁰. Parallel with the scene in the larger city men outnumber women in the public sphere.

Walled City Lahore presents a unique environment where in the confines of a limited space¹¹¹, women claim access to a greater variety of spaces and encounters than anywhere else in Lahore city. This environment is the outcome of its diverse land use; here health, educational, recreational, religious, commercial and small scale manufacture of immense variety exists within an accessible pedestrian environment.

The pedestrian nature of streets, their hierarchical structure of residential cul-de-sacs, alleys and commercial bazaar, connected roofs, small homes, multiple dwellings etc. all contribute to greater social interaction within the still confined role of housekeeping and maintaining '*pardah*' or seclusion in the public sphere.

¹⁰⁹ Anita Weiss makes mention of invisibility of women from the public sphere in the Walled City Lahore, she also seems to imply that women were part of the public sphere in larger Lahore and not in Walled City.

¹¹⁰ It can be argued that these are exceptions but they point to the quiet insertion of these practices comparable to other parts of the city.

¹¹¹ 2.5 square kilometers

Women including the Pathan women casually occupy space outside the house to perform a variety of domestic chores, socialize and do commercial work in the cul-de-sac alleys¹¹².

Entering Lohari or Bhaati gate we can often observe many women among the crowd of patients seeking treatment from the traditional bone and joint specialists. The treatment is often applied in public view and provision made for modesty if the women so desire.

They are more visibly absent from the fast expanding wholesale markets and are never seen in the tea stalls, snooker joints and the ubiquitous *tharas*¹¹³ of the Walled City Lahore. The city space is a gendered space but the boundaries work in complex ways, women may share the same space but position, comportment and dress will demarcate their zones of participation.

Janaki Nair (Promise of the Metropolis 2005:302) talks of the strict zoning laws that guide the lives of women in cities.

'A complex matrix of gestures, markings, bodily controls and language enable the safe passage of women through the urban space. Sometimes when her movement is purposive-to the water pump, near the temple, or with the children in tow she becomes safe as well as invisible. At other times or in other spaces-lingering at the street corner, in a restaurant, or in a street at night her visibility is heightened. ...male control of the street through cat calls, unwelcome gestures, brutal molestation...privileges of the flaneur are uniquely male.'

The space of female movement remains confined in a patriarchal society, the environment Janaki describes is not distant from the world of women in Lahore. However, there is a

¹¹² These practices are on a decline given the motorization of traffic and gadgets in homes pulling work to the inside. Yashpal (2011) in his novel *Jhoota Such* provides a rich glimpse in to the semi-public mohallah space.

¹¹³ Extended platform outside homes and shops used for casual sitting in the Walled City. The thara culture associated with this form of socializing is considered characteristic of WCL's neighborliness and with witty banter and popular wisdom.

qualitative difference in the nature of the censure of women where community and its spatial settlement are controlled from within through complex 'common laws'¹¹⁴, versus the law of state or power that dictates from without. This is the difference experienced inside the Walled city. Residents repeatedly describe the sense of personal safety and less fear of harassment...*cat calls, unwelcome gestures, brutal molestation.....*are a rarity as is the female flaneur.

The relative security enables greater movement of women inside the walled city. The Shaarri women according to the respondents are able to work in homes as maids because they feel safe moving in the city. The Pathan women's employment in other localities is not as safe as it is within the walls. It is also expensive to travel for work.

'Idhar ka mahaul acha hai, sab jaantey hain, bahir tu door jana parta hai, kharcha bhi hota hai'

(The environment inside the Walled city is good, people know each other, if we had to work outside we will need to travel far and that also costs money).

A Shaarri maid from Bhaati

Pathan women are seen interacting with the school administration because of proximity hence ease to access the schools. A principal of a private school in Bhaati spoke of the keenness of Shaarri mothers for the education of their children. There is less burden of dropping and picking up children from school and tuition as most children move independently inside the walled city.

'Bhaati tu apna ghar lagta hai, ronaq hai,'

(Bhaati feels like home, it is full of hustle and bustle), a Shaarri resident from Bhaati gate.

¹¹⁴ Rhetorically used but the unwritten quality and rootedness in tradition and uniqueness to a historical community is implied.

Old resident Shaarris speak of their immense attachment to the Walled City neighborhood of Bhaati gate which they claim is far superior to the outer localities.

The presence of a relatively stable old population in Bhaati, public properties, working class neighbors, proximity to the transport hub and contiguity to bigger clusters of Shaarris outside the Walled City has attracted Shaarri Afghans to settle here. These Shaarri women like their local counterparts thought of the larger neighborhood as 'home' environment. Bhaati also has no whole sale market but there is as thriving local bazaar with mix of amenities needed by the neighborhood. Shopkeepers with items of daily use do well as is visible in the investment in improvement of shops etc.

Shaarris have continued to occupy the Chowmala Gurdwara site for three decades and some families rent homes in state of disrepair hence affordable. Few moved out of the Evacuee Trust properties due to space constrains or have acquired means to build their own house, given the present rise in land prices means relocation to peripheral localities of Bund Road or across the river in Shahdara.

There is also talk of increasing insecurity and mention of the '*mahaul*' (environment) of yesteryears. But there is also comparison with the city outside the walls and claims of superior social environment inside.

Two Mohmand families presented a glimpse of the way streets, buildings, land use, vehicular access and class combined to create boundaries of home and outside.

The family of Anwar Khan of Mori Gate lives among a relatively poor working class neighbors. They have more social ties with the extended neighborhood. Anwar Khan recalls when he was young and they did not have a television set in the house, he would often fall asleep in the neighbor's home watching television and stay for the night.

The family of Rehman Khan have done well and progressed in a generation from being poor firewood sellers to owners of a flourishing business in recycled waste collection and delivery to plastic factories. They are located on the edge of Walled City in Bhaati gate and the road is a main motorized artery. The area is largely lower middle class and has witnessed rapid physical and demographic change. Most houses are large, newly built, multi-dwelling units. All the houses in the area have large steel gates and few women are seen in the street. The Pathan family here was much more introvert and families in the neighborhood interact less than the Mori gate neighborhood. Some old residents of the area claimed that it was not safe for women to walk out of the house and the girls going to colleges and schools used rickshaws or vans etc.

Walls within Walls

The children are more and more confined inside the house by parents either because the neighbors complain about Pathan children and consider them more unmanageable or troublesome or to prevent them from perceived threats.

School going children are also extremely constrained by the nature of their educational routines. Without exception all children beginning with kindergarten class go for tuition after school. The tuition offered in a class setting in private homes by individual often female teachers in the neighborhood ranges from 3-4 hours every day. The lack of free time or time to play or pursue any hobby is a typical refrain in the Walled City. Children are sent for tuition because of multiple reasons including the inability of parents to teach English and Math, pressure of private school teachers, rise in competition and aspirations of parents, failing school standards etc. Most parents find the tuitions financially burdensome and additional pressure for children but it is the norm for every family including Pathans.

Digital games and use of computers have confined children inside the homes and upset time routines as well as redefined the nature of domestic space. The small houses had supported life routines by using the street. There is less problems with television and computer games among Pathan children except Shaarris due to conservative domestic environment. Pathan mothers complained of increasing insecurity and intolerance of neighbors.

A Bajauri mother and sisters narrated the string of episodes of negotiation with neighbors and hazards of the ten year old playing cricket on the roof.

Other than the unhealthy and restrictive environment the small homes create for children there is increase in stress among mothers.

'Gaaoon mein har kam waqt say hota tha, idhar koi kam khatam nahain hota, safai ho nahin sakti bachay har waqt andar hotay hain...'

(I never get to finish any work, everything had a fixed time in the village, and I cannot clean the house because the children are always getting in the way.) A young Pathan mother from Mardan

This family of a Biryani vendor from Mardan in KP living in Dehli gate has three young boys the mother speaks little Punjabi and hardly ventures out of the house. The day is a long struggle to keep them quiet and looking out for their dangerous antics as they peep out from the windows or climb stairs to the roof.

The migrant Pathans follow their cultural practice of keep females in *purdah* or seclusion. Their confinement in the city is much worse than the villages. At home women were engaged in productive agricultural labor and had many social responsibilities in the extended tribal family. In the small houses of the Walled City without any knowledge of local language,

mistrust of males of local society to ensure safety of women and fear of the many lures of the city has more decisively segregated the Pathan women.

Many women suffered from chronic ailments such as hypertension, arthritis, diabetes etc. A *Qari* (prayer leader) Sahib's daughter mentioned how her mother's health improved when they visited the village and she could move around in fresh air.

'Yahaan tu charpai say nahain oththein wahaan gaon mein bilkul theek ho jati hain'

(Here she does not even move from her bed, in the village she is hale and hearty)

The Walled City homes are much smaller than houses in the village, they lack open space unless there is access to the roof or the space in the street. Most women complained of the struggle to dry clothes and do simple tasks that required sun and air. Roofs have become out of bounds as their privacy is compromised by taller commercial buildings, occupation by new appurtenances, water tanks wires and connections etc and growing commercial activity making them the domain of working men.

Learning from the Street

The walled city streets are full of children, unaccompanied bargaining with hawkers and shopkeepers, walking alone to school, playing or just sitting on a thara watching the city spectacle.

In the *mohallahs* and *katris* the local children playing in the street are a ubiquitous presence.

They seldom disappoint in their knowledge of places or shy in interacting with strangers.

More often than not their initiative and pranks make the visitor the choice target to interrogate and play.

Environments can enable learning in children by the nature of social life they engender as well as their ability to stimulate and be responsive to curiosity. Jacobs (1964) considered a lesson in public responsibility fundamental for children as future citizens and believed this lesson was best learnt by the experience of strangers sharing responsibility for children by demonstration of acts of care and support. Though fast disappearing with rapid changes in the Walled City, neighborhoods elders do not hesitate to guide children or upbraid them. Walled city children including the Pathans show visible confidence and initiative in engaging with strangers.

Pathan children, easily recognizable by appearance and the use of Pushto or Shaarri language are also a small but visible sprinkling in many neighborhoods and more so in the circular garden around the city.

The Shaarris never tire of telling how their language is too hard to learn but one young man was also quick to share that the children in the neighbourhood had no problem picking up the language. Weinreich (2009) observed how people in the northern areas had a working knowledge of multiple languages. The Walled City children demonstrate the role of interactive spaces and variety of real world activities in learning.

Street Food

Shergul, a Mohmand from Said Mitha counting the many virtues of the Walled City for the poor migrant noted the availability of inexpensive food on the street. What was remarkable was not the only variety and twenty four hour availability but also the tradition of tailoring the portion according to the pocket of the buyer. The portions sold by vendors in the city have increasingly become fixed in price, it is also the same in the Walled City but the regular shops and *tandoors* for the locals retain their traditional ways. Children are seen coming to

the shops with their bowls for yogurt or chick pea curry and getting infinitely varied portions according to the money they carry.

Over time the food quality in the city has been degraded. There is total inability to ensure the quality of milk arriving in the city. While the traditional city had milk animals living inside the city or in the open spaces outside the walls they were banned from the city decades ago in the 1960's but continued to be present till the 1980's. Once the commercial markets expanded the legal decree combined with the force of land value to evict the animals.

There was no consumption of milk by young children except for first two years of breast feeding by mothers. One of the young mothers was observed giving bottle fed powdered milk to her toddler. Consumption of tea with milk and sugar was fairly high and it was the staple accompaniment of breakfast but also taken in evenings etc. by children along with the parents. There is also the use of a non-dairy packaged tea whitener by some families.

Most school cafeterias offered only a choice of crisps, candies, cookies, carbonated drinks, sweetened, artificial flavored juices as snacks for the morning break. The government school canteen served the same with the two high schools also offering white bread burgers, chicken pizza and sandwiches. There is strict prohibition on buying from outside vendors during school time in government schools.

Teachers complained about mothers not making breakfast at home for children and students either came without eating or grabbed a nan and chick pea curry on the way to school. Most children did not bring any snack a few brought some money to buy a packaged drink or candy.

Families with younger children are enveloped in a routine of visits to doctors and variety of medications sit on shelves. Self medication for common ailments using allopathic drugs is

common. (Hakims are not consulted rather there is mistrust of Hakims by most Pathans.

Some children are seen wearing a variety of *Taawiz*, amulets).

Incidence of asthma, childhood diabetes, stomach ailments and hepatitis and skin problems are common¹¹⁵. Dental health was also considered to be poor among the younger generation.

Children working as waste scavengers are exposed to multiple health risks (Butt 2009).

Prevalence of childhood diabetes was mentioned by one of the administrators of City Lyceum School in Bhaati gate.

Pathan children had a relatively less street food. Home meals are a simple diet of plain thick nan eaten often with no supplement. Daal or vegetables are cooked when possible or some readymade chick pea curry is brought from the market. Simorg (2011) records the difficulties of cooking at home for the poor. Demand on time because of home based work, unreliable water and gas supply and cost of ingredients makes cheap bazaar food more affordable.

A Shaarri mother used her home cooking to distinguish from the other more lumpen families sharing the Evacuee Trust property who might collect *niaz* (religious offering in the form of food) or buy food from the street.

Aspirations

Tara's is a poor Shaarri woman from Mori gate her husband remarried and left her to support her two sons. She works as a maid in two houses and earns approximately Rs.3000 per month. Education of her sons was her highest priority.

*'Apna pait katney aan, ay parh jaan, har cheez lai kay dainey aan, bag,
kapan'*

¹¹⁵ Based on interviews with doctors at the Said Mitha and Nawaz Sharif government hospitals and with private practitioners and *hakims*.

(I forgo food to keep my children in school and buy them everything they need, bags, notebooks)

Some young women speak enviously of the better homes and quiet in the localities of Mohni Road and Green Town where some of the well off relatives have settled.

'bahir acha hai, khulay ghar hain, shor kum hai'

(It is nice outside the Walled city, the houses are bigger and it is quieter)

They express a desire to move to more nuclear and segregated life. Saira a *Madressah* teacher and the daughter of a Qari Sahib shared dreams of a home in the suburbs. There she could keep the children inside and provide them everything. The tight space of Walled City houses offers no space for play and proper furniture. In the new modern home there will be less interference from neighbors and extended clan and children could be trained as desired.

Nair(2005), noted the following 'eight bigs' of modern Bangalore lower middle class homes; a television, refrigerator, stereo, water purifier, motorcycle, furniture set, washing machine and electrical fan. The Walled City upwardly mobile Pathans aspire for the same but the water purifier may be replaced by locally delivered bottled water.

Pathan migrants show an increasing interest in the education of their children even girls. The largest group of migrant children among the Pathans are the Shaarris most of whom were born in Walled City Lahore. Education was not common among the parent's generation of the present school going population. Most had started working to support families at a very young age. Generation of a small income using the cumulative labor of a large family from waste scavenging , contract labor per job in road building and construction such as sweeping, carrying loads, breaking stones etc. meant the employment of everyone on the job. The present generation is sending children to school; most males drop out in high school to help

the family financially or fail to cope with the demands of the school. There is widespread cynicism among young males regarding future prospects even after acquiring an education.

The Pathans from KP are more educated and invest more in the education of the children.

However, among them education of the girls except for religious education is not encouraged.

Boys in a family are often split between some who go to regular school and those who pursue *Madressah* education. This is in keeping with the trend among the locals.

Life in Green Town and Allama Iqbal Towns was described as being much more expensive, insecure and bereft of any community by many respondents. However, it was still desired for its symbolic capital as well as the physical amenities of spacious homes, cleaner water and better waste system.

A young woman married Shaarri woman described the aspirations of young women;

*“Hun tey har koi , har shay separate manghda ay, kurian kehandian nai
separate bathroom howay, kitchen howay, banda vi onhaan da howay maan,
baap da na hooway.”*

Nowadays everyone wants to have their own thing, separate, girls at marriage demand a separate bathroom, kitchen, they would rather that their husband is also separate, independent of his parents and only belongs to the wife).

Discussion

The Walled City has accommodated the new, poor and ethnically diverse migrant for most of the twentieth century. It is a place hospitable for the lower class and the life style of Pathan migrants. It remains a place of relatively higher security, social integration, and low energy consumption, opportunities for learning and rich cultural life.

The pedestrian streets of Walled City Lahore are its ultimate commons as places for work, play, performance and protest. Along with motorization, change in scale, land use, material and design of new architecture has combined to degrade and enclose this commons of the Walled City.

Endless opportunities for face to face negotiation, interference and exchange have moved out of the public space. Simple activities such as shopping were a public affair with the shopkeeper sitting on a raised platform, the ubiquitous *thara* with wares displayed in virtual reach of the customer.

There is intensification of competition in society, fed by advertising and education. More liberal Pathans share the local's ambition for children. This ambition translates into schooling in appropriate class behavior and manners. These are acquired through markers of language, dress and lifestyle. The environment of the Walled City teeming with working class men on the streets, dense living in small, shared spaces is seen as a negative influence.

The world of children and females is a double confinement, the walls within walls; it is a source of increasing physical and psychic stress. This physical confinement is the lot of the conservative Pathans and liberals alike.

CHAPTER 8: MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Ours is a century of disappearances – John Berger

The Research

This research started as a study of social change in the urban environment of Walled City of Lahore with migration serving as the focal point. The Pathans migrants offered themselves as an easily distinguishable and diversely distributed sample, given their conspicuous language, appearance, and varied but distinct livelihood streams. At the same time they were the least discussed in the available literature on Walled City and a target of negative stereotyping. A study of their migratory experience promised new insights and linkages for studying social change.

But social change in the Pathan migrants cannot be separated from social change in the city. Nor can it be separated from change in the natal environment. Walled city is one of the social environments the Pathans occupy; it is only a subset of the study of Pathan migrants. But any attempt to address this *situation* makes the migrant a subset of the larger Walled city environment. There is no categorical answer to the above question, it is both.

The lives of the migrants are essentially stories of the city. They reveal the lived experience of Pathans. They are also revealing of trends linking local, national and global processes changing the city and the migrants. The Pathans of Walled City are not a monolithic entity, they represent different sub-ethnicities and arriving at different times in the city history. Each sub-ethnicity is associated with distinct streams of work revealing different aspects of the phenomenon under study.

The findings of the ethnographic study are discussed as three thematic essays.

1. 'Unfreedom' and Depletion,
2. Resistance of Pathan Migrants,
3. The Discourse Gap.

A discussion on the significance of the study and directions for future research concludes the dissertation.

'Unfreedom' and Depletion

Lack of opportunity, growing population, need for cash, education and health facilities, a composite environment of deprivation and scarcity is the driver bringing rural population to Pakistani cities (Hassan 2011). Paradoxically the host cities are more populated, extremely polluted and lack basic social services and shelter for the poor.

The only difference between the deprivation of the village and the city is the possibility of earning a minimum wage. There is no 'bright lights' narrative in the decision to migrate (Burki 1974, Selier 1988). While this observation was made decades ago, aspirations for urbanized lifestyles may have increased yet there is no illusion about life in the cities.

Migrants continue to arrive in cities through a network of kinsmen and family to work in cities for years and support family in the villages. Berger (1975) called this an 'unfreedom', which can only be 'recognized if an objective economic system is related to the subjective experience of those who are trapped within it'.

The Pathan migrants confirmed and substantiated most general trends observed in literature on rural urban migration in Pakistan and fast urbanizing countries of the south. These include possibly among other factors loss of rural livelihood, need for cash, importance of migratory network, role of state, globalization etc.

Pathans arrive in the Walled City because modernity is destroying their old livelihoods without adequate replacement, their tribal society has been monetized with cash based agriculture and introduction of new needs. Contrary to popular perceptions Pathans do not come to the city seeking comfort and urban society. In fact many live in conditions much worse than what they enjoyed in the native villages.

While brain drain may figure more prominently as a concern in transnational migration, internally it is more 'brawn drain' (Penninx 1982), as able bodied young males migrate from rural areas to cities.

The monetization of Pathan villages has been underway for a long of time. These rain fed villages of what constitutes Khyber Pukhtunkhawa and FATA now were slowly incorporated into the urban economy with colonial military and civil employment, prompting migration (Nichols 2010). However, in recent years there has been was a deluge. Agriculture has moved from being a closed cycle ecological to an open cycle industrial in which all inputs are external and acquired from the market. Subsistence farming in villages has being wiped by the flood of new commodities and lifestyles which arrive with infrastructure, technology and education. Hence Pathan tribal society has been monetized with cash based agriculture new needs. These newly created needs include long distance travel, motorcycles, cars, cell phones, electric gadgets, education and healthcare.

Rising need for cash in the Pathan villages tied to the changes in the traditional mode of production is also eroding the values of *melmastia* (hospitality) and *pannah* (protection for guests even if they are enemies) leaving each to fend for himself. This process has hastened with globalization and trade liberalization (Rahim and Vario 2002, Qadeer 2006).

The culture of migration in the villages undermines community. The depletion of the social capital had always been a concern but an accelerated flow of commodities and education has created a culture of migration.

The arrival of a marketized amenity creates more poor and deprived. In a culture of migration, the availability of each new facility in the city increases the poverty of the village. The role of education in schooling new needs and indifference to rural culture becomes an ally in undermining social capital. The educated have market value in the city, in the village it is a pressure to become a migrant, lost to the family. The families compensate by having large number of children but eventually act rationally and invest in perceived bigger returns of high quality education of few. The more educated travel farthest and return even less.

Community at home is social capital that extends spatially in the form of kinship networks. It allows a migrant to leave family, provides him with support with employment city and makes arrangements in sickness and death. While all this benefits the migrant in the short term, in the long run the village is changed by the very same fruits of migration. The new ecology of money and market undermines the very basis of community, shared poverty and local production.

Pathans typically arrive in Walled City through kinship based networks. This not only explains their clearly differentiated livelihood streams in the city but also how as Memon (2005) noted 'rational economic choice' and 'market knowledge' cannot explain many anomalies in the migrant movement.

The city of arrival is a stratified, class based society. The migrant arrives at the lower rung of the system. There is limited vertical mobility and many facilities which had earlier softened the landing in the city are lost. These included a low cost, simple lifestyle, security and

relatively stable host community. Hassan (2012) noted the change in the host city of Karachi for migrants; the environment had become more harsh, segregated and insecure. In the Walled City too, street crime and violence have increased and even water, air and staple food is polluted and degraded.

The possibilities of generating social capital in the city through new urban associations of work and interests are limited in the post-Fordist production and changed nature of state employment. There is instead retrogressive hardening of ethnic identities and drift towards a culture of violence and exclusion.

Social depletion is also depletion of the local ecology. All environments are local (Scott 1998), agricultural knowledge is an outcome of practice and cultural transfer. The intricate knowledge base of rain fed agriculture on river valley terraces is being supplanted by heavy reliance on pumped water and artificial fertilizers as fewer are attracted to agricultural production. Livestock rearing was also a historically evolved culture. These animals and many secondary crops and vegetables had been a rich and diverse source of nutrition. Social depletion is also a material degradation.

Resistance of the Pathans; How They Cope

Pathans show an active resistance to change in the new environment. This resistance to change is a hallmark of the Pathan migrants. In this they are comparable to many transnational migrants who cling tenaciously to their culture and identity when they move to Europe and North America.

This resistance takes the form of zealous confinement of the women, preservation of language culture, dress, increased religiosity and maintenance of links with provenance.

The social capital of Pathans is the product of a material world of agricultural production and tribal culture. They try to maximise this social capital and save it from erosion. It will ultimately be lost as urbanization overtakes the provenance and the city schools the migrant into local ways. This social change will erase identity based upon Pathan traditions.

In the village tradition was the system. The role of each was defined and embedded in a historically evolved structure. The segregation of the females was not segregation from the larger environment. Women had the substantial share in the production process and social world within a gendered separation of spaces and activities.

The conditions in the city are both unknown and visibly threatening in the deteriorating security environment and disruptive fast paced change.

Pathan's encounter in the city is with a failed state which looks down upon tradition but has nothing to offer. The migrants respond by withdrawing their women and children and trying to rebuild a community as a protective shell. Their coping mechanisms are the mutations through which they evolve unwittingly and unwillingly. Their path to change proceeds through resistance. Many of their conservative, anti-liberal practices are only an effort to freeze and protect what capital they brought rather than get nothing from the city and also lose the past. The little bit of respect they still carry in the city is because of their past culture. Pathans try to preserve their language, culture of hard work, honesty, respect for word, simplicity and honour and communal bonds and resist assimilation. It is a rationality that gives precedence to strengthening tribal ties over personal gain and urban lifestyle. The migrant *works here* but *lives there*. Once assimilated they would be judged by class not by their culture.

The children of the Pathans show less pronounced deviance than locals of their class. Family hierarchy and persistence of tradition may explain this behavior. Language culture is zealously preserved unlike the Punjabis by both the Shaarri and the Pushto speakers. Pathan men still dress in *shalwar kameez* unlike the Shaarri and local younger generation which has totally adopted western dress.

The Pathans resistance varies with provenance and time of arrival. An example is the strict confinement of the women by the Pushto speaking Pathans and to a lesser degree by the others. The confinement of women is also evident in the locals where young women increasingly wear veils and use rickshaws and private transport instead of walking to college due to deteriorating security conditions.

Pathan men and women react differently to city life. Women carry a history of physical hardship and social oppression in the provenance; they value medicine, domestic amenities of piped water, ready fuel and education of their children as the promise of a better future. Men carry the history of social support and relative equality of a tribal solidarity; they experience market exploitation and social insecurity of urban living; they value village traditions vital for securing membership to the social structure of the provenance. They also fear addiction to comfort, gadgets and dependence on urban facilities as increase in expenses.

There is also a tendency to control the entry of media in the homes. Television is absent from majority of the homes and even mobile phones for women and children are discouraged. The migrants see the media and education as external control of the minds of the future generation over which they have very limited control. The language and social values of mainstream media are considered subversive to family hierarchy, filial duty and respect for manual labor.

The Pathans are visibly more religious than the locals as a community. There growing influence of the *Tableeghi Jamaat* among all the sub-ethnicities. The growing religiosity sometimes comes in conflict with traditional Pathan ways; such as tribal marriage customs. However, there is increasing respect for religious injunction as interpreted by religious scholars and preachers of *Tableeghi Jamaat*. The *Tableeghi Jamaat* is a major social network for the Pathans in the Walled City and parallels the kinship networks in settlement and migration from provenance.

Education for male children is sought but for the majority it is not a zealous pursuit like the locals. It is seen as an obstacle to taking up manual work and source of distancing from family especially by the fathers. In difference to education means not sending women to school or truncating education early. Mothers share dreams of education for the children and a future in white collar jobs.

They are surrounded with the environment of education, literally explosive advertisement and presence of innumerable private schools and tuition centers. It commands space and social importance in the production of 'urban' subject and is seen as essential employment qualification.

The school curricula are biased in support of urbanized lifestyles and technology worship; there are no role models for peasant farmers that promote indigenous knowledge or lifestyles. It is an enterprise farthest from the lives of poor rural migrants.

Madressah based education has gained favour with local and Pathans in recent decades. This has been the result of multiple factors; most importantly state and international policy which helped establish a large network of *Madressahs* during the Afghan Jihad. It now is a large diverse sector parallel to the private and public sector regular school systems. The Pathan

culture also has a long tradition of the religious leader as political and social mediator as the ‘mullah’ was not a part of the landowning tribes.

The role of a teacher in the *Madressah* and in the mosques allows a person to gain employment and vertical social capital. It even enhances their influence in their own homes.

Rotational visits to the village are seen as a defense and renewal of link to traditional culture and more importantly as cementing of tribal bonds. These rotational visits allowed time for working on the land the basis for retaining membership of the tribe These rotations have become shorter and less frequent as competition for jobs and need for cash at home has increased.

The Pathan migrant and the host population of Walled City share a common battle against larger forces of globalization, neo-liberalisation arriving powered by new technologies of communication, transport and manufacture.

The new forces are first and foremost the expanding markets helped by increase in trade across borders¹¹⁶. Foreign actors have gained significance in the planning, operation and economic role in the urban environment¹¹⁷. There is increased distance between users and planners, disruption of small scale manufacture and business and slow eviction of poorer inhabitants. The state of public water supply, health and education sectors in walled city reflects the withdrawal of the state leaving the people with the burden of high cost and inadequate facilities.

¹¹⁶ Especially significant has been the growth of market economy in China in the last two decades and liberalization of trade with India.

¹¹⁷ Turkish firms in partnership with local partners have taken over sanitation responsibilities in the city. Conteca, an Italian firm was selected by World Bank to advise on tourism potential as part of the Sustainable Development of Walled City Project. Agha Khan Cultural Services were partners of the local project unit for the same initiative.

Media and communication technologies are deeply restructuring domestic routines and lifestyles. The twenty four hour television programming, internet and mobile phones are intrusive and impossible to control. There is limited ability of poor to influence or ‘talk back’, to the external forces controlling content, duration and cost of the new communication media. The media influences opinions, controls information and in turn determines the behavior of the children, their discipline, health and play.

The pace of change is visible in new construction, demolition, motorization of streets and growth of market bringing new products, services and attendant appurtenances. Mammoth, new commercial buildings and godowns and car and motorcycle parking occupy the city. Hectic human and vehicular traffic, generators, air conditioners, mobile towers and hoardings¹¹⁸ move, roar and announce the new order of market and business¹¹⁹. Earlier in eighties, wider streets were taken over by rickshaws and Suzuki vans¹²⁰, now the narrower *galis* are run over by motorbikes. The physical environment today has higher air and noise pollution and energy consumption and daytime population outsiders¹²¹ compared to any time in previous history.

State has replaced the community but it is a failed state that does not deliver. The poor Pathans do not see the state as a guarantor of security of life and honor. For them the community in the provenance had more protection. Human life and dignity had value. The

¹¹⁸ The motorization of all the large arteries and the narrow *galis* and the construction of larger sized properties after demolition of old residential buildings is the norm.

¹¹⁹ Many new plazas have been constructed in the course of the one year including the New Azam Cloth market, addition of new wings in the public sector hospital Nawaz Sharif Hospital at Yakki Gate, inauguration of new hospital at Said Mitha bazaar, demolition of the famous Baithak Katibaan (a historical landmark and traditional learning centre for calligraphy), creation of a gated ‘food street’ on Fort road, demolition of shops around the Mughal period bathhouse for ‘conservation’ of building, demolition of the historical ‘Novelty cinema’ at Taxali, landscaping of portions of the circular garden, construction of new shoe manufacturing units in Thatti Malahan, Hira Mandi, removal of the tonga stand outside Dehli gate etc.

¹²⁰ Small sized Japanese van model popularized in the early 1980’s.

¹²¹ As per an estimate made by the consultants for the Sustainable Development of Walled City Lahore Project.

modern state is corrupt, heavily biased in favor of the affluent and powerful. The judicial process is expensive, protracted and insulting. The state has always had a troubled relation with tribal societies. It is not that the state has no control or influence over the tribes but it is a history of actively contested control.

The Discourse Gap

In the Walled City the Sustainable Development of Walled City Project (SDWCLP) launched with international assistance and expertise finds more resonance with the planners, academics and bureaucrats than local citizens. It is farthest from their imagination even deemed anti-thetical to their needs and problems. The gap is not a cultural lag which will be bridged by education and incentives. It is an impassable rift.

“...poverty, environmental degradation and social and economic disintegration of the walled city are not the result of eons of neglect but the ravages of modern development-the development of the modernized world and its “shining” outposts and colonies in the developing/underdeveloped/less developed world, the GORs, Gulbergs and Defense estates, and the colonized minds of their residents”. Kamil Khan Mumtaz (2007)

Mumtaz has been a consistent advocate of the efficacy of traditional built space and associated lifestyle as a way out of the conundrum of industrialized living and the waste dilemma. New developments including the heritage conservation project SDWCLP are also seen as destructive of small scale production and handicraft, promoting class segregation and undermining community. The solution for Mumtaz lies primarily in the ‘development of man’ and not infrastructure. This is not the view shared by mainstream planners and architects.

This is a utopian vision. The world of artisan manufacturers was never a system in itself, they sprouted under feudalism. They struggled against it and when they had their way they developed into large scale production of capitalism with its entire attendant exploitation and alienation. They may have been more sustainable in terms of resource use but were not sustainable as a system. They cannot become the goal post for the future.

Khan et al (2008) document the livelihood process of small artisans in Walled City and contend a way of saving traditional livelihoods through three processes of niche, antiquation and adaptation. These three processes show extreme existential pressure on small scale production reducing their market (niche), shifting to trading their past (antiquation) and adopting the machine gradually (adaptation). The small scale is fast retreating in the walled city under the onslaught of large scale production and global trade. The marginalization and bleak future of small scale production is also the bleak future and marginalization of traditional community.

Hassan (2009) blamed the neo-liberal paradigm for the planning and implementation failures of the state including lack of redistributive mechanisms and ad-hoc projects. He advocated more inclusive and planned development. The state practices were non-participatory and anti-people with disregard for livelihoods in face of evictions for development and predatory business by land mafias.

Hassan (2011) writes, 'An increase in the number of PhDs, private universities, O and A level schools, flyovers, expressways, cars, mobile phones, TVs and malls, alone, do not create development or end deprivation.' and considers problems of the environment to be more political and socio-economic in nature.

The writings of Arif Hassan and Mohammed Qadeer do not consistently challenge the mainstream view of ‘development’ and the contradictions of the same with ecological sustainability. Most importantly Mohammed Qadeer and Arif Hassan continue to appeal to the state for better planning and control. The state has been recast in the present times (Roy 2010, Harvey 2009, Ferguson 2002). As Kamil Khan notes, ‘Likewise, the “state” is not some autonomous, independent entity that determines the nature and social behavior of man, but it is an entirely human social construct whose form and nature is determined by man, including the ideas, values and mores of human collectivities’. (Mumtaz nd)

There has been a ‘hollowing out’ and diminished role as manager of social services and welfare and the blurring of limits of local, national and transnational authority. Pathans of the Walled City like most of the poor inhabitants show distrust of the state and its intentions.

The close nexus of education, media, micro-finance and legal discourse with the interests of transnational business and global institutions has made a mockery of planning through by-laws, heritage conservation and environmental impact assessment.

The more fundamental issue of sustaining existing environment friendly and socially cohesive communities may need underdevelopment rather than development of everywhere. This option was popular in the 1970’s era of ‘appropriate technologies’ and indigenous development, it now finds less and less articulation in the planning discourse.

Haque (2006) idea of ‘cities as engines of growth’ is more in conformity with the new global outlook and prescribes less public control and marketisation of services associated with the state. He proposes a laissez faire economic policy to remedy emblematic problems of third world cities such as failing urban services, corruption and planning disasters.

The discourse of heritage and ‘creative city’ (Florida 2003) ideas for the Walled City, information technology revolution and participatory planning find no echo among the vast majority; they see the impassable rift while the planners plan for ‘education’ in ‘modern values’ . History is never a neutral entity; in the deepening polarization and segregation of society it is even more contested.

More cynical is the calculus of economic growth, heritage value is easily displaced by the massive gains in commercial property and the poverty of the residents.

The poor see access to healthcare, education and increasingly even food impossible; the state as corrupt and incapable of providing for basic needs.

Since the nineties urbanization has come to be accepted as *fait accompli*. The focus shifted to dealing with the developing situation in the growing cities. The cities environments have continued to spiral down into worse conditions.

Migration research has focused on the lucrative area of ‘remittances with monetary value and a visible uplift of the material life of the migrants.

The growing poor migrants in cities has been the domain of non-government organizations with limited agendas mostly pragmatic, localised technical solutions.

Discussion

This study extends the existing knowledge of local urban environment to include social change through a *bio-graphy* of migrants and locale.

The study developed a dynamic picture of migrant settlement by juxtaposing ethnographic data of Pathan lives in Walled City over the past six decades and material change in space, infrastructure, consumption, waste and livelihoods. This allowed for a holistic account of the

multi-scalar processes in the social environment as they operate from individual, family, neighborhood, city to the national and global scale.

It also challenges stereotypes of Pathan migrants and rural migrants as bereft of values of discipline, respect for law, value for education and given to criminal activities and cruelty to women

Internal migration from rural to urban areas is a constant flow. Ethnic ghettoisation and class segregation are on the rise. Localised and multi-dimensional understanding of migrant communities and its social and ecological repercussions is required more than ever before.

The metabolic rift caused by the flow of produce and human capital continues to haunt the future health of the environment and remains a challenge when social controls have shifted to market control and political hegemony of advanced economies.

From their traditional society the Pathans bring a family structure and values of hard work, hospitality, honesty and honour. The city is the net beneficiary but does not count intangibles in its balance sheet. They also bring the agricultural skills of a peasant but it has no value in the urban environment. So they are considered illiterate and unskilled. A skilled person, a cultured person is seen as unskilled and illiterate. The migrants themselves internalize this view of them.

The social ecology of health, security, cultural diversity and rational use of resources is an area in need of future research. The social significance of community is recognized by all shades of opinion but there is very limited local research in this regard especially linking the social and ecological.

The state has changed radically in recent decades but local environment discourse lacks a historical perspective of changes in the state structures and environment.

A study of a small population of Pathans in the limited area of a city reiterates the deeply intertwined nature of the social and ecological and complexity of social change.

Traditional¹²² societies responded to scarcity by considering options such as frugality, simplicity and sacrifice for overcoming diminished resources. As some have described there is no destitution but convivial poverty and the social cohesion of society is the most valued asset in traditional societies (Rahnema 2003). Without falling for unexamined nostalgia of a past 'golden age' there lessons to be learnt from traditional societies. They can help find ways to rejuvenate and extend the lessons of moral subsistence economy especially as we face new social and metabolic rifts created by hegemonic globalized capitalism.

The study was able to identify and present key sub-ethnicities of Pathans of Walled City Lahore, the nature of their livelihoods, living conditions through a historically contextualised narrative. It also substantially related the ways of occupying and using space in the city and the material culture of the domestic environments. It also made visible the inter linkages of the many scales of social organization from the global to the local in the lives of working class and petty business owner Pathans.

The findings and the process of conducting the research contradicts the popular perceptions about the Pathans. There was very little hindrance and more generous openness to entertain the researcher and allow long candid interviews in an amiable environment. While the study restricts itself to the Walled City findings multiple encounters and five extended interviews with Pathans outside the Walled City proved the same. The rewards of the research for the writer were no less, it was to partake the fruits of dialogue and relearn the value of the story of every life.

¹²² Traditional here is used not as a fixed category of social organization but to denote a located, evolved system of production that is distinguished by the absence of large scale industrial production and long distance trade. The limits of the social are vernacular physical limits.

REFERENCES

- Abu-Lughod, J. (1961). Migrant adjustment to city life: the Egyptian case. *American Journal of Sociology*, 22-32.
- Addleton, J. S... (1992). *Undermining the centre: The Gulf migration and Pakistan* (p. 89138). Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Ahmed, A. S. (1980). *Pukhtun economy and society: traditional structure and economic development in a tribal society*. Routledge and Kegan Paul...
- Ahmed Akbar S. (1996): *Pakistan Society: Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia*. OUP 1996.
- Ahmed, Amineh 2005. *Death and Celebration Among Muslim Women: A Case Study From Pakistan*. Modern Asian Studies. Vol. 39. No. 4 (Oct. 2005) pp 929-980 Cambridge University Press.
- AKCSP (2008), “*The Lahore walled city: a preliminary strategic framework*”. Report submitted to Punjab Government Sustainable Development of Walled City Project Unit February 2008.
- Alba, F. (1978). Mexico's international migration as a manifestation of its development pattern. *International Migration Review*, 502-513.
- Alexander, Christopher 1965, *The City is not a Tree*, Architectural Forum .1965 (Vol. 122, No 1, April 1965, pp 58-62
- Ali Khan et al (2010), Skill vs. Scale; The Transformation of Traditional Occupations in the Androon Shehr. Unpublished paper.
- Ali, Asdar Kamran (2011) *Women, Work and Public Spaces: Conflict and Coexistence in Karachi's Poor Neighborhoods*. Journal of Urban and Regional Research. 2011. Joint Editors and Blackwell publishing Ltd.
- Ali, Asdar Kamran and Reiker, Martina. (2010). *Comparing Cities*, OUP 2010
- Ali, Reza H. 1990. “*Urban conservation in Pakistan: a case study of the Walled city of Lahore*”, in Abu H Imamuddin and Karen R Longeteig (Editors), *Architectural and urban conservation in the Islamic world*, the Agha Khan trust for Culture, Geneva, accessible at www.archnet.org/library/documents
- Ali, Reza. 2002. “*How urban is Pakistan?*” Economic and political weekly Vol. xxx vii, No 44/45, Delhi

- Anderson, Jon W. 1978. There are no Khans Anymore: Economic Development and Social Change in Tribal Afghanistan. *Middle East Journal* Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 1978) Middle East Institute
- Anthony Oliver-Smith and Xiaomeng Shen (Eds.) (2008) *Linking Environmental Change, Migration & Social Vulnerability* Outcomes of the 3rd UNU-EHS Summer Academy of the Munich Re Chair on Social Vulnerability 27 July–2 August 2008, Hohenkammer, Germany
- AREU (2005), *Afghans in Karachi: Migration, Settlement and Social Networks* .Collective for Social Science Research. March 2005
- Arif, G. M. (2005). Internal Migration and Household Well-being: Myth or Reality. *Internal Labour Migration in Pakistan*. Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organisation, Chiba, Japan.
- Arif, G. M. and Hamid, Shahnaz (2009), Urbanization, City Growth and Quality of Life in Pakistan, *European Journal of Social Sciences* – Volume 10, Number 2 (2009)
- Ashraf, Agha. (1989), *Aik Dil Hazaar Daastan* (Urdu autobiography).
- Assi, E. 2008. The relevance of urban conservation charters in the world heritage cities in the Arab States. *City & Time* 4 (1):5. [online] URL: <http://www.ct.ceci-br.org>
- Audebert, C., & Dorai, M. K. (2010). *Migration in a globalised world: new research issues and prospects*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Bajwa, Khalid (2007) Unpublished PhD. Dissertation ‘Development Conditions Of Androon Shehr, the Walled City Of Lahore, Towards A Spatial Knowledge Base for Urban Design and Planning. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 2007
- Bakewell, O. (2013). *Re-launching migration systems* (No. 2013011). Norface Research Programme on Migration, Department of Economics, University College London.
- Ballard 1987, “The Political Economy of Migration: Pakistan, Kalra, Virinder (ed.) *Pakistani Diasporas*, Oxford University Press. 2009
- Ballard, R. (2001). *The impact of kinship on the economic dynamics of transnational networks: reflections on some South Asian developments*. University of Oxford. Transnational Communities Programme.
- Ballard, R. (2003). A case of capital-rich under-development: The paradoxical consequences of successful transnational entrepreneurship from Mirpur. *Contributions to Indian sociology*, 37(1-2), 25-57.

- Banerjee, S. B. (2003). Who sustains whose development? Sustainable development and the reinvention of nature. *Organization Studies*, 24(1), 143-180.
- Barth, Fredrik (1956) Ecologic Relationships of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan (Dec., 1956), *American Anthropologist*, New Series, New Series, Vol. 58, No. 6
- Baudrillard, Jean. (2005), *The System of Objects*. Verso London 2005.
- Bayat, Asef (1997), Cairo's Poor, Dilemmas of Survival and Solidarity. *Middle East Report* Winter 1997.
- Bayat, Asef (2002), Activism and Social Development in the Middle East. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Feb., 2002), pp. 1-28
- Bayly, Christopher (1996) *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India. 1780-1870* .Cambridge University Press 1996
- Borjas, G. J. (2001). Does immigration grease the wheels of the labor market? *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 2001(1), 69-133.
- Bourdieu, P. (1999). *The weight of the world: Social suffering in contemporary society*. Stanford University Press.
- Brettell, Caroline, and James Frank Hollifield, eds. *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Bromwich, S. K. (2005). Street vendors in Asia: a review. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2256-2264.
- Brown, Louise, (2006), *The dancing girls of Lahore*. Harper Collins New York.
- Burawoy, Michael. *Ethnography unbound: Power and resistance in the modern metropolis*. University of California Press, 1991.
- Burkett, Paul. *Marx and nature: A red and green perspective*. Nueva York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Burki ,Shahid Javed 1974 Development of Towns: The Pakistan Experience. *Asia Survey* (Vol. 14, No. 8, Aug., 1974 University of California Press
- Butt, Khalid Manzoor 2009, PhD Dissertation titled Child Labour in Human Rights Perspective. (Case Study of Child Scavengers of Urban Areas of Lahore). Government College University <http://pr.hec.gov.pk/Thesis/551S.pdf> Accessed April 12 2013

- Cairns Jr, J. (2010). Threats to the biosphere: eight interactive global crises. *Journal of Cosmology*, 8, 1906-1915.
- Castles, S. (2004). The Factors that Make and Unmake Migration Policies¹. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 852-884.
- Castles, S. (2008), Migration and Social Transformation. Inaugural Lecture for Migration Studies Unit. LSE 15th November 2007. Accessed online 1.25.2013 <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk>
- Castles, S. (2010) Understanding global Migration: a social transformation perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and migration Studies*, 36(10)
- Chatterjee, Partha. *Caste and Subaltern Consciousness*. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, 1989.
- Chishty (1996), *Tahqiqat 'e' Chisty*, (Urdu)
- Clement, M. T. (2010). Urbanization and the natural environment: An environmental sociological review and synthesis. *Organization & Environment*, 23(3), 291-314.
- Comaroff, J. A. J. (2004). Criminal obsessions, after Foucault: Postcoloniality, policing, and the metaphysics of disorder. *Critical Inquiry*, 30(4), 800-824.
- Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. L. (2012,). Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is evolving toward Africa. In *Anthropological Forum* (Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 113-131). Routledge.
- Connor, K. M. (1989). Factors in the Residential Choices of Self-Settled Afghan Refugees in Peshawar, Pakistan. *International migration review*, 904-932.
- Cross, Jennifer E.(2001).What is Sense of Place? Department of Sociology Colorado State University 12th Headwaters Conference, November 2-4,.
- Daechsel, M. (2004). De-urbanizing the City: Colonial cognition and the people of Lahore'. Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi (ed. s), *People on the Move: Punjabi colonial and post-colonial migration*.OUP.
- Davis, K. 1951. Office of Population Research. (1951). *The population of India and Pakistan* (Vol. 1955). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Davis, M. (2006). *Planet of slums*. Verso
- De Haas, Hein (2010). Migration and development: a theoretical perspective¹. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227-264.

- De Haas, Hein (2010), The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 36, No. 10, December 2010, pp. 1587_1617
- De Neve, Geert, Donner, Henrike (Eds.) (2006) *The meaning of the local, Politics of place in India*, Routledge.
- Ezdi, Rabia, 2009, The Dynamics of Land Use in Lahore Inner City: The Case of Mochi Gate. *Environment and Urbanization*
- Fainstein. Susan S., Campbell, Scott (2011), Editors, *Readings in Urban Theory*. Wiley Blackwell U.K .2011
- Ferguson, J. (1990). *The Anti-Politics Machine: " Development," Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. CUP Archive.
- Ferguson, J. (2002). Spatializing states: toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality. *American ethnologist*, 29(4), 981-1002.
- Fitzgerald, D. (2006). Towards a theoretical ethnography of migration. *Qualitative Sociology*, 29(1), 1-24
- Florida, R. 2002. *The Economic Geography of Talent*. Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 92(4):743-755.
- Foster, J. B. (1999). Marx's Theory of Metabolic Rift: Classical Foundations for Environmental Sociology 1. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(2), 366-405.
- Foster, J. B., & Magdoff, F. (1998). Liebig, Marx, and the depletion of soil fertility: Relevance for today's agriculture. *Monthly Review-New York-*, 50, 32-45.
- Frank, A. G. (1966). *The development of underdevelopment*. New England Free Press.
- Gandy, M. (2006). Urban nature and the ecological imaginary. *The nature of cities: urban political ecology and the politics of urban metabolism*, Routledge London.
- Ġannām, F. (2002). *Remaking the modern: Space, relocation, and the politics of identity in a global Cairo*. Univ of California Press.
- Gazdar, Haris (2003), A review of migration issues in Pakistan, Collective for Social Science Research, Karachi, Pakistan, paper presented at Regional Conference on Migration, Development and Pro-Poor Planning in Dacca .2003.
- Gazdar, Haris And Mallah, Hussain Bux 2011, The Making of a 'Colony' in Karachi and the Politics of Regularisation, Rethinking Urban Democracy in South Asia, *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal* 5 | 2011 :

- Ghannam, F. (1996). Relocation and the Use of Urban Space in Cairo. *Middle East Report*, 27(1), 202.
- Gidwani, V., & Sivaramakrishnan, K. (2003). Circular migration and the spaces of cultural assertion. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93(1), 186-213.
- Gidwani, Vinay and Baviskar, Amita (2011), Urban Commons, *Economics and Political Weekly* December 2011
- Giljum, S., & Eisenmenger, N. (2004). North-South trade and the distribution of environmental goods and burdens: a biophysical perspective. *The Journal of Environment & Development*, 13(1), 73-100.
- Glaser, B. G. (2008). Conceptualization: On theory and theorizing using grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1(2), 23-38.
- Glick, Nina Schiller & Çağlar, Ayse (2008) Migrant Incorporation And City Scale: Towards A Theory Of Locality in *Migration Studies* 2008
- Glover, J William. 1999. “*Making Lahore modern: Urban form and social practice in colonial Punjab*”. A dissertation submitted as degree requirement for PhD in architecture. University of California, Berkeley
- Glover, William (2010), *Making Lahore Modern*, Oxford University Press. Pakistan.
- Grima, Benedicte, 2004. *The Performance of Emotion Among Paxtun Women*. OUP 2004
- Gupta, Akhil and Ferguson, James (1992). Beyond “culture”: Space, identity and the politics of difference. *Cultural anthropology*. Vol. 7, No. 1, Page 6-23.
- Haim Yacobi, Relli Shechter 2005, Rethinking cities in the Middle East: political economy, planning, and the lived space .*The Journal of Architecture* Volume 10 ,Number 5, 2005
- Haque, N., & Nayab, D. (2007). The City in Human Life in Cities: Engine of Growth. PIDE. Islamabad.
- Haque, Nadeem –ul- (2006), *Awake the Sleeper Within, Releasing the Energy of Stifled Domestic Commerce*. PIDE Working Papers 2006:11
- Hardin, G. (2009). The Tragedy of the Commons*. *Journal of Natural Resources Policy Research*, 1(3), 243-253.
- Harris, J. R., & Todaro, M. P. (1970). Migration, unemployment and development: a two-sector analysis. *The American Economic Review*, 60(1), 126-142.

- Harvey, David, (2011). *The enigma of capital: and the crises of capitalism*. Profile Books
- Harvey, David, 1982, *The Limits To Capital* University Of Chicago Press
- Hasan, Arif & Raza, Mansoor(2011), *Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan* . OUP 2011
- Hashmi H Shafik and Jones N. Garth. eds. (1966) “Problems of urbanization in Pakistan”,
The National Institute of Public Administration, Karachi, Pakistan.
- Hassan (1999), *Understanding Karachi*, Karachi, City Press.
- Hassan, Arif ((2001), *The Unplanned Revolution*, Observations on the process of socio-economic change in Pakistan. OUP 2001
- Hassan, Arif (2009), ‘The World Class City Concept and its Repercussions on Urban Planning for Cities in the Asia Pacific Region “. Paper presented at IAPS-CSDE Network Symposia on Culture, Space and Revitalization, Istanbul, Turkey, 12 – 16 October 2009
- Hassan, Arif 2012, “The-impending-migration”, <http://arifhasan.org/articles/t>, Accessed 28th March 2013
- Herzfeld. Michael (2010), Engagement, Gentrification, and the Neoliberal Hijacking of History. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 51, No. S2,
- Hillier, Bill (2004). Can streets be made safe? *Urban Design International*, 9(1), 31-45.
- Hillier, Bill (2007). *Space is the Machine*, Electronic edition published 2007 by: Space Syntax London www.spacesyntax.com
- Illich, I. (1983). Silence is a Commons. *The Coevolution Quarterly*, 40, 5-9
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Life And Death Of Great American Cities*. Vintage.
- Ju-HongYun (nd), Pashai language development project: Promoting Pashai language, literacy and community development. http://www-01.sil.org/asia/ldc/parallel_papers/ju-hong_yun.pdf accessed June 2012
- Kalra, Virinder (ed.) (2009). *Pakistani Diasporas*, Oxford University Press. 2009
- Karaman, O. (2010). Remaking Space for Globalization: dispossession through urban renewal in Istanbul (Doctoral dissertation, University Of Minnesota)
- Karaman, O., & Islam, T. (2012). On the dual nature of intra-urban borders: The case of a Romani neighborhood in Istanbul. *Cities*, 29(4), 234-243.

- Khan, A. H., Shehnaz, L., & Ahmed, A. M. (2000). Determinants of Internal Migration in Pakistan: Evidence from the Labour Force Survey, 1996-97 [with Comments]. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 695-712.
- King, Anthony D. 1976, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment Cities in the Developing World*, Routledge & Paul, 1976
- Kron, Zachary M. *Conservation of the Urban Fabric Walled City of Lahore, Pakistan* [http://web.mit.edu/akpia/www/AKP site/4.239/Lahore/lahore.html](http://web.mit.edu/akpia/www/AKP%20site/4.239/Lahore/lahore.html)
- Kronenfeld D (2008): Afghan Refugees In Pakistan: Not All Refugees, Not Always In Pakistan, Not Necessarily Afghan? *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 21(1), 43-63
- Kuschminder, Katie, Dora, Manoj (2009), *Migration in Afghanistan: History, current trends and Future Prospects*. Paper Series Migration and Development Country profiles. Maastricht Graduate School of Governance, Maastricht University. http://mgsog.merit.unu.edu/publications/external_policy_reports/2009_Afghanistan_Country_Paper.pdf Accessed 10th January 2012.
- Lahore development authority (LDA). 1982. "Household Survey of Walled City: Area Between Lohari And Mori Gate" Lahore: Metropolitan Planning Wing.
- Lahore development authority (LDA). 1984. 'Study of Household And Sanitation Conditions, Walled City, Lahore. Metropolitan Planning Wing
- Latif, Syed Muhammad (1892, 1981). Lahore: *Architectural remains Lahore*: New imperial press (reprinted) in Lahore by Sandhu printers, 1981.
- LDA (1980), Lahore Development Authority (LDA). 1980. 'Walled City Upgrading Study, Lahore Urban Development And Traffic Study, Final Report/Volume 4. Lahore; Metropolitan Planning Wing.
- Lee, Everett S. "A theory of migration." *Demography* 3.1 (1966): 47-57.
- Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour. *The Manchester school*, 22(2), 139-191.
- Lewis, W. Arthur. "Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour." *The Manchester school* 22.2 (1954): 139-191.
- Lindholm, C. (1979), Contemporary Politics in a Tribal Society: Swat District, NWFP, Pakistan: *Asian Survey*, Vol. 19, No. 5 (May, 1979), pp. 485-505 Published by: University of California Press.
- Lindholm, C. (1988), The Social Structure of Emotional Constraint: The Court of Louis XIV and the Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan. *Ethos*, 16: 227-246.

- LUPTS (1979), Lahore development authority (LDA). 1979. *'Walled city of Lahore; a socioeconomic study'* Lahore. Metropolitan Planning Wing.
- Mahmud et al 2009, Determinants of Internal Migration in Pakistan –Lessons from Existing Patterns. CREB (Centre for Research in Economics and Business) Lahore School of Economics Publication.
- Malhotra Anshu and Mir Farina, eds 2012, *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture and Practice* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Mehmood, Qaiser Khalid, Ahmed, Ishtiaq, Zulfiqar Mudassir (2009), *Social Adjustment of Pathan Migrants and their Assimilation with Punjabies in Lahore*. Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology, Institute of Social and Cultural Studies, Punjab University. 2007-2009
- Memon, R. (2005), Patterns, Determinants and Trends of Internal Migration in Pakistan, Mimeo, Collective for Social Science Research, Karachi.
- Middleton, A. (2003). Informal traders and planners in the regeneration of historic city centres: the case of Quito, Ecuador. *Progress in Planning*, 59(2), 71-123.
- Mir, Farina 2010 *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab*. University of California Press, Berkeley, (2010)
- Moore, J. W. (2000). Environmental crises and the metabolic rift in world-historical perspective. *Organization & Environment*, 13(2), 123-157.
- Moore, J. W. (2003). The Modern World-System as environmental history? Ecology and the rise of capitalism. *Theory and Society*, 32(3), 307-377.
- Mumtaz, Kamil Khan (2010), CPPG, Working Paper 1, Development Paradigms. available at <http://www.kamilkhanmumtaz.com> accessed 23.4.2013
- Mumtaz, Kamil Khan (nd), Urbanization, Globalization and institutional Lag in Pakistan Review available at <http://www.kamilkhanmumtaz.com> accessed 23.4.2013
- Mumtaz, Kamil Khan, (2006) Observations in response to the presentation on Sustainable Development of the Walled City of Lahore, a project of the Planning and Development Department of the Government of the Punjab available at <http://www.kamilkhanmumtaz.com>
- Myrdal, G. (1957). *Economic theory and under-developed regions*. Gerald Duckworth 1957
- Nair, Janaki (2005), *The promise of the metropolis: Bangalore's twentieth century*, Oxford

- Nair, Janaki. 2010. *Is there an "Indian" urbanism?* Centre for historical studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
- Neville, Pran, (1997), *A Sentimental Journey*. Oxford University Press Pakistan
- Nichols, Robert (2008). *A History of Pashtun Migration, 1775-2006*, Oxford University Press, Pakistan
- Novak, Paolo. "Place and Afghan refugees: A contribution to Turton." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20.4 (2007): 551-578.
- Osella, F., & Osella, C. (2000). Migration, money and masculinity in Kerala. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 6(1), 117-133.
- Ozan Karaman *Urban Renewal in Istanbul: Reconfigured Spaces, Robotic Lives*. Article first published online: 30 JUL 2012
- Papanek, H. (1979). Family status production: The "work" and "non-work" of women. *Signs*, 4(4), 775-781
- Park, R. E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *American journal of sociology*, 881-893.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Penninx R. 1982. *A Critical Review of Theory and Practice: The Case of Turkey*.
- PEPAC, (1983), Pakistan environmental planning and architectural consultants Ltd. 1993. "Monograph of the Walled city of Lahore". Pakistan Environmental Planning And Architectural Consultants Ltd. (PEPAC) Lahore,
- PEPAC, (1987), Pakistan environmental planning and architectural consultants, Ltd. 1987. "Conservation issues and intervention alternatives: a strategic framework". Prepared for the Lahore development authority, conservation plan for the walled city of Lahore,
- Phillips, W. M. (1964). Urbanization and social change in Pakistan. *Phylon (1960-)*, 25(1), 33-43
- Portes, A. (2010). Migration and social change: some conceptual reflections. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1537-1563
- Prashad, V. (2001). The technology of sanitation in colonial Delhi. *Modern Asian Studies*, 35(1), 113-155.

- Pred, A. (1984). Place as historically contingent process: Structuration and the time-geography of becoming places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74(2), 279-297.
- Qadeer, M. A. (1983). *Lahore: Urban Development in the Third World*. Vanguard Books
- Qadeer, Mohammad A.(1996), An Assessment Of Pakistan's Urban Policies, 1947–1997 *The Pakistan Development Review* 35 : 4
- Qadeer, Mohammed A. (1974), *Do Cities 'Modernize' the Developing Countries? An Examination of the South Asian Experience* Author(s): Cambridge University Press
- Qadeer, Muhammad 2006, *Social Change in a Muslim Society*. Routledge.
- Qureshi, Samina, (1989), *The City Within*, Routledge (March 1989)
- Rahim, Inam-ur, Viaro, Alain (2002), *Swat An Afghan Society in Pakistan: Urbanization and Change in a Tribal Environment*. City press Karachi 2002.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), 167-235.
- Rehman, A. 1997, *Historical Towns of the Punjab*. Ferozesons Lahore 1997.
- Rehman, N. (2009). *From artifact to site: understanding the canal in the city of gardens* Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Roy, A. (2002). Global histories: A new repertoire of cities. *New global history and the city*, New Global History Press. Retrieved from <http://www.journalinks.nl/Mijn%20webs/Global%20Histories.doc>.
- Roy, A. (2009). The 21st-century metropolis: new geographies of theory. *Regional Studies*, 43(6), 819-830.
- Roy, A. (2009). Why India cannot plan its cities: informality, insurgence and the idiom of urbanization. *Planning Theory*, 8(1), 76-87.
- Roy, A. (2011). Slumdog cities: rethinking subaltern urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(2), 223-238.
- Saeed, F (1999), 'Taboo' *The Hidden Culture of a Red Light Area*. OUP
- Saeed, Sohail Anwer, 1993. *The City of Lahore: Trans-cultural Space in Historical Perspective*. MSc. Dissertation University College London.
- Sassen, S. (2010). The city: Its return as a lens for social theory. *City, Culture and Society*, 1(1), 3-11.

- Sayeed, A., & Khattak, S. (2001). Women's work and empowerment issues in an era of economic liberalisation: a case study of Pakistan's urban manufacturing sector. Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research PILER, Karachi.
- Schnaiberg, A., & Gould, K. A. (1994). *Environment and society: The enduring conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Scott, J. C. 1998. Seeing like a State: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed. *Yale University, Yale Agrarian Series, pps, 2(3), 5*.
- SDWCLP (2007), Exploring the economic potential of Walled City Lahore . Seminar Report. Planning and Development Department Government of Punjab 2007.
- SDWCLP (2009), *The Walled City of Lahore* . Sustainable Development of Walled City Lahore Project.2009 Second Edition, First Edition 1993 by Lahore Development Authority
- Selier, J.M. Frits,(1988), Rural Urban Migration in Pakistan, The Case of Karachi. Vanguard Books Pakistan 1988.
- Shiva, V. (1993). Monocultures of the Mind. *Trumpeter, 10(4)*.
- Shrestha, N. R. (1988). A structural perspective on labour migration in underdeveloped countries. *Progress in Human Geography, 12(2), 179-207*.
- Simorgh, 2008, "*Nai sooch, naey qadam*". Simorg Resource & Publication Centre. Lahore. Pakistan
- Skeldon, Ronald (2010) Migration and development over twenty years of research: progress and prospects in Ce'dric Audebert and Mohamed Kamel Dorai" / Amsterdam University Press, 2010
- Sökefeld, Martin 1997. "Migration and Society in Gilgit, Northern Areas of Pakistan." *Anthropos (1997): 83-90*.
- Sorkin, Michael (2007), "*End(s) of Urban Design*", Harvard Design Magazine: Harvard University. 2007.
- Spain, James W.(2009), *The Way of the Pathans*, OUP.2009
- Stark, O. (1991). *The migration of labor*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Talbot, I., & Thandi, S. S. (2004). *People on the move: Punjabi colonial, and post-colonial migration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Talbot, Ian. 2006. *“Divided cities: partition and its aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar”*. Oxford
- Taylor, B. B. (1987) *The Walled City, Lahore*, in *MIMAR 24: Architecture in Development*. Singapore: Concept Media Ltd.
- Tilly, C., & Brown, C. H. (1967). On uprooting, kinship, and the auspices of migration. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 8(2), 139-164.
- Tufail, M. (ed.) 1962. *Nuqoosh – Lahore* (in Urdu) No.9, February University press, Karachi, 350 pages.
- UNFCCC (1992) <http://www.unfccc.int>. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate
- Van Hear, Nicholas. "Theories of migration and social change." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36.10 (2010): 1531-1536.
- Vandal, Pervaiz (1988), *The Walled City Conservation Plan an Analysis*, Pakistan Times, Times Group of Publications.
- Virilio, P. (1997). *Open sky* (Vol. 35). Verso Books.
- Wallerstein, I. (1974). The Rise And Future Demise Of The World Capitalist System: Concepts For Comparative Analysis. *Comparative studies in society and history*, 16(4), 387-415.
- Watkins, F. (2003). 'Save There, Eat Here': Migrants, Households And Community Identity Among Pakhtuns In Northern Pakistan. *Contributions to Indian sociology*, 37(1-2), 59-81.
- Watkins, Francis (2009), *God Don't Kill the Traveler, Grant their Desire* in Virinder S. Kalra eds. *Pakistani Diasporas, Culture, Conflict and Change*. Oxford in Pakistan Readings in Sociology and Social Anthropology Oxford Pakistan 2009.
- Weinreich, Matthias (2009), *Pashtun migrants in the Northern Areas of Pakistan*. 2009 OUP.
- Werbner, Pnina (2009), 'Chains of Migrant: Culture value and the Housing Market' in Virinder S. Kalra eds. *Pakistani Diasporas, Culture, Conflict and Change*. Oxford in Pakistan Readings in Sociology and Social Anthropology Oxford Pakistan 2009.
- Wescoat, J. (1992). Gardens versus citadels: The territorial context of early Mughal gardens. *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods*, 331, 358.
- Whiteford, M. B. (1978). Women, migration and social change: a Colombian case study. *International Migration Review*, 236-247.

- Wiame, Isabelle Bertaux (1979), The Life History Approach to Internal Migration. *Oral History* Vol.7. Spring 1979. Published by Oral History Society.
- Wiess, M. Anita. 1999. "Walls within walls: Life histories of working women in the old city of Lahore". Oxford University Press, Pakistan.
- Willis, P., & Trondman, M. (2000). Manifesto for Ethnography. *Ethnography*, 1(1), 5-16.
- Yashpal (2011), *Jhoota Such*, (Punjabi Novel). Published by Suheet Kitab
- York, A. M., Smith, M. E., Stanley, B. W., Stark, B. L., Novic, J., Harlan, S. L., ... & Boone, C. G. (2011). Ethnic and Class Clustering through the Ages: A Transdisciplinary Approach to Urban Neighbourhood Social Patterns. *Urban studies*, 48(11), 2399-2415

APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire for Semi Structured Interviews

- Neighbourhood
- Name
- Relation to Head of Household
- Family/Children Do you live in a nuclear or an extended family setup: Total number of persons: # of Children
- How long have you lived here?
- Where did you live earlier/, reasons for moving to this locality? Is the house rented or owned?
- Occupation of the head of household and other working members?
- Ethnicity, clan, original home.
- Language spoken in the house.
- How many rooms does this house have?
- How are these rooms used, male and female domains,
- Electrical appliances and gadgets for the house.
- Differences in house environment original home and the WCL?
- Do you have any pets,
- Do you sleep outside in the summers
- What are the biggest discomfort and annoyance.
- Are you comfortable in this neighborhood, how do you get along with the neighbors?
- Are they friendly and helpful
- Do the children and women have friends in the neighborhood that they visit, share and exchange gifts etc.
- What is the livelihood of the head of family and others ?
- Health of the family, here and back home, which health service do they use
- Does anyone in the household require special health care, where do they go for treatment.
- Do your children (boy/girl) go to school in neighbourhood? tuition. Need for tuition ,
- Division of labor in the family. Who cooks,shops, keeps budget etc.

- Marriage, customs, match making,
- Why do some men bring families and some do not,
- Role of men, elders versus young and females
- Ambitions and concerns for students.
- Role of religion in their life.
- Pushto language, importance, cultural significance...stories, songs.

APPENDIX 2

Extended Version Questionnaire

Basic Information

1. Union Council _____
2. Is there a specific name of this neighbourhood?

3. Name _____ Gender: M __ F __
4. Relation to Head of Household:
5. Demography of the household, Extended, Nuclear, Number of persons, ages
How many residents are in age group: <5 __ < 18 __ < 35 __ < 60 __
6. How long have you lived here?
7. Where did you live earlier/, reasons for moving to this locality?
8. Is the house rented or owned?
9. How old is the house?
10. Occupation of the head of household and other working members?
11. Language spoken in the house
12. Any biraderi or community that you identify with?

Household Environment

1. How many rooms does this house have/?
2. How are these rooms used
3. When did you last make any major improvements in the house
4. What do you feel is the most urgent improvement you would like to make in the house
5. Do you have: DCooler__ AC__ Fridge__ Freezer__ Toaster__ Oven__
Microwave__ Blender__
6. Have u any hired outside help: N__ Y__ - Sweeping__ Washing__ Cooking__
7. What has changed in the house environment?
8. Do you remember the time before sui gas, piped water, electricity.internet,mobile
phones
9. Do you subscribe to any newspaper, magazine
10. Do you have any pets
11. Do you sleep outside in the summers
12. What are the biggest household pests

Neighborhood

1. Number of houses in the neighborhood
2. Can neighbourhood residents be categorized as a community?
3. Is there any neighbourhood (mohalla) committee in existence?
4. Commons in the neighborhood?
5. Is the neighbourhood self sufficient in providing needs to its residents?
6. The last crime in the neighbourhood?
7. What are your biggest Neighbourhood Problems:
8. What would you like changed in your neighborhood?

Employment

1. What is the livelihood the resident family?
2. Where do they work (Location):
3. What transport do they take?
4. Do women conduct non-household work in the house for extra income?

Health

1. Does anyone in the household require special health care
2. Is there a Dispensary in the neighbourhood? Y__ N__ Where
3. Which Hospital do you go to in case of emergency?
4. Do you know any Hakim, Jarah, homeopathic doctor
5. Do you think their quality has deteriorated.
6. Do you visit any dargah, pir etc. for cure

Education

1. Do your children (boy/girl) go to school in neighbourhood? Name (Govt/Prvt) & Location?
 - i. Primary school & under:
 - ii. Secondary school
 - iii. College:
 - iv. If outside the community, Where (Location)? Which kind of transport do they take
 - v. Walk __ Cy __ MCy __ Car __ Rks __ Wagon __ Bus __ Chx __

2. Do the children go for tuition.
3. Why do they go for tuition after school.

Food

1. How many meals do you have in a day
2. What are the typical meals
3. Who cooks for the family
4. Where do you sit and eat
5. Do the children take any lunch to school
6. How often do you eat outside the house
7. How do you shop for the food
8. Do you share food with neighbors on special occasions

APPENDIX 3

Questionnaire For Health Practitioners

Basic Information

13. Nature of establishment, Doctor, Hakim, Homeopath, Jarrah, Faith healer

14. Address, name of clinic if any _____
15. Timmings
16. Name of practitioner _____ Gender: M ___ F ___
17. Description of clinic/shop
Size, one room shop front, few rooms, tharra etc.
18. Services offered, consultation, dispensary, surgery, lab work, hospitalization.
19. Number of employees and their qualification and job description.
20. How long has the establishment been in the area.
21. Number of patients seen every day.
22. What is the busiest time of the day for patients?
23. What is the demographic profile of the patients in terms of sex, age, occupation.
24. What is the most frequent complaint or illness of the visitors.
25. Breakdown by disease
Tuberculosis, Diabetes, Hypertension, Heart disease, HepatitisA, B, C,
Asthma, Malaria, Cholera, Polio, Rickets,
26. State of dental health of patients.
27. Is there a hospital you refer to the patients.
28. Are the diseases more seasonal?
29. Are the health problems related to malnutrition?
30. Is the physical environment in the homes and schools a cause of diseases?
31. Is the poverty of the patients an issue in forgoing consultation with doctors/

APPENDIX 4

Table No. 1 Pathan Livelihoods

No.	Occupation/Business	Employer	Hours per day
1.	Taal, Firewood sale depot	Self Employed/ family business	12+
2.	Chowkidar/Watchman	Multiple shops or businesses	12
3.	Shoe Shine	Self employed	12
4.	Cart Vendor of corn and peanuts	Self employed	12-14
9.	Water and gasoline delivery man	Self employed	8
10.	Recyclable Waste Scavenger	Self employed	8-10
9.	Rickshaw Driver	Self-employed	10-12
10.	Clerk	Whole sale merchants/transporters	8
11.	Salesman	Miscellaneous shops	8
12.	School Teacher	Public School	6-8
13.	<i>Khateeb/Madressah</i> teacher	Government and non-government mosques	6-8
14.	Recyclable Junk Shop Owner	Self Employed	8-10
15.	Recyclable Waste Collection and Factory Supplier	Self Employed	8-10
16.	Tea Stall owner	Self Employed	10-12
17.	Tea Stall Helper	Tea Stall owner	10-12
18.	<i>Tandoor</i> Helper	<i>Tandoor</i> owner	10-12

APPENDIX 5

Table No. 2 Pathan Women Livelihoods

No.	Occupation/Business	Employer	Hours per day
1.	Housemaid	Middle class household	6
2.	Dry fruit shelling	Informal home based work	4-6
3.	Madressah teacher	Private Madressah	6
4.	Scavenger	Self employed	6-8
	Waste sorting	Day wager at waste collection shops	4-6

APPENDIX 6

Walled City of Lahore Authority Act

In the April 2012, the Government of Punjab passed the Walled City of Lahore Authority Act and declared the Walled City of Lahore as an autonomous body to run the functions of the entire Walled City of Lahore.

The objectives of the Authority under the ACT are:

- Identification and authenticity of the heritage and heritage value of Walled City of Lahore
- Master plan for conservation and restoration of the heritage of Walled City of Lahore
- Maintenance and Conservation of the Heritage of Walled City of Lahore
- To plan, develop and create an infrastructure to preserve heritage of Walled City of Lahore by providing adequate access through streets, roads, safe pipelines for water and sewerage as well as related electricity and communication networks
- Temporary take-over of private Buildings by the Authority for restoration of original heritage and then return to owner/occupant
- Promotion of tourism in Walled City of Lahore
- Promotion of cultural activity in the Walled City of Lahore

Powers of the Authority

The Authority shall have all powers necessary to perform its functions under the Act. In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing powers, the Authority shall exercise the following powers:

- undertake any work, incur any expenditure for the implementation of the master conservation and re-development planned schemes;
- provision of civic utilities and municipal services;
- regulation of building construction and granting permits for demolition and reconstruction;
- regulation of trade, calling and occupation in the Walled City;
- removal of encroachments;

- promotion of tourism and sports;
- promotion of investment for development of Walled City;
- community mobilization and poverty alleviation;
- eviction of illegal occupants of private or public utility buildings;
- acquire property, both movable and immovable;
- procure machinery instruments or any other material required by it;
- enter into contracts;
- coordinate with various Government agencies and other local and international organizations and institute for smooth implementation of the Act;
- establish separate Directorates of the Authority;
- enforce the provisions of the Act, rules and regulations;
- seek or call for any information from any person or Government agency, as may be required for carrying out the purposes of the Act;
- seek from any Government agency assistance in the discharge of its functions and;
- exercise such other powers as the Government may, time to time, assign to the Authority.

APPENDIX 7

Copy of Loan Agreement for the Sustainable Development of Walled City Project

Source :<http://walledcitylahore.gov.pk/index.php/the-proj-bg>

The World Bank



The World Bank is the donor of SDWCLP. A loan agreement was signed between the Government of Punjab and the World Bank in June 2006, in which US\$ 6.0 million was diverted from the World Bank credit for the Punjab Urban Development Sector.

The World Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. Our mission is to fight poverty with passion and professionalism for lasting results and to help people help themselves and their environment by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors.

The World Bank is made up of two unique development institutions owned by 187 member countries: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA).

Each institution plays a different but collaborative role in advancing the vision of inclusive and sustainable globalization. The IBRD aims to reduce poverty in middle-income and creditworthy poorer countries, while IDA focuses on the world's poorest countries.

The World Bank carries out projects and provides a wide variety of analytical and advisory services to help meet the development needs of individual countries and the international community.

The World Bank, Pakistan is helping the Federal and Provincial Governments in implementing various reform programs aimed at encouraging growth, investment, and employment generation. Reforms at the provincial level are specifically aimed at improving delivery of social services like education, health, clean drinking water, and sanitation. These efforts have yielded impressive results in many areas.

Statutorily the line agencies i.e. LESCO, PTCL, WASA and SNGPL are responsible for supply & maintenance of electricity, telecommunication, sewerage & water supply and sui gas supply respectively. To acquire their functions temporarily, Memoranda of Partnership (MoP) have been prepared after detailed deliberations with the line agencies as well.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Location of Lahore and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa



Figure 2: Map of Khyber Pukhtunkhawa and FATA

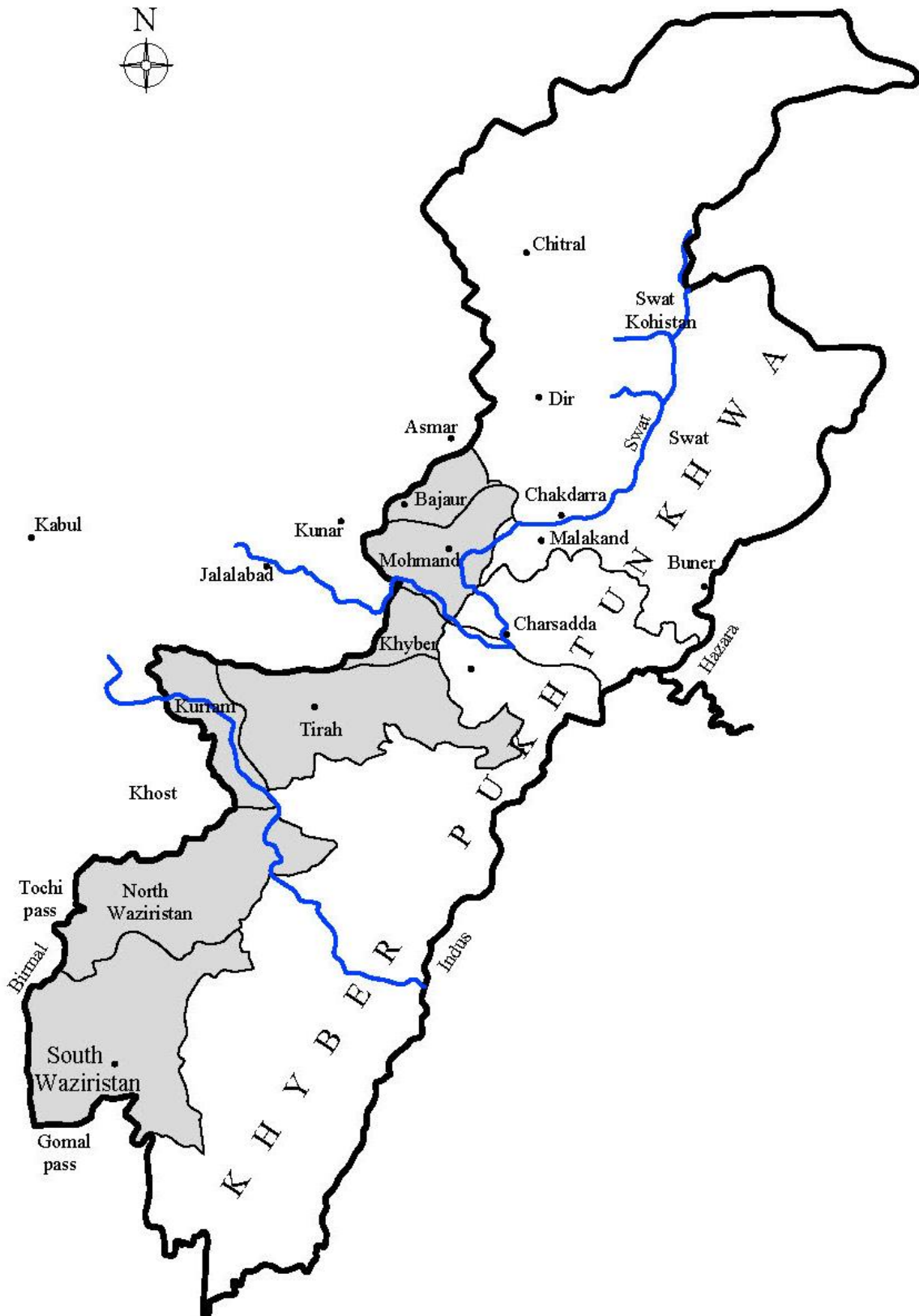


Figure 3: Map of Metropolitan Lahore showing location of the Walled City

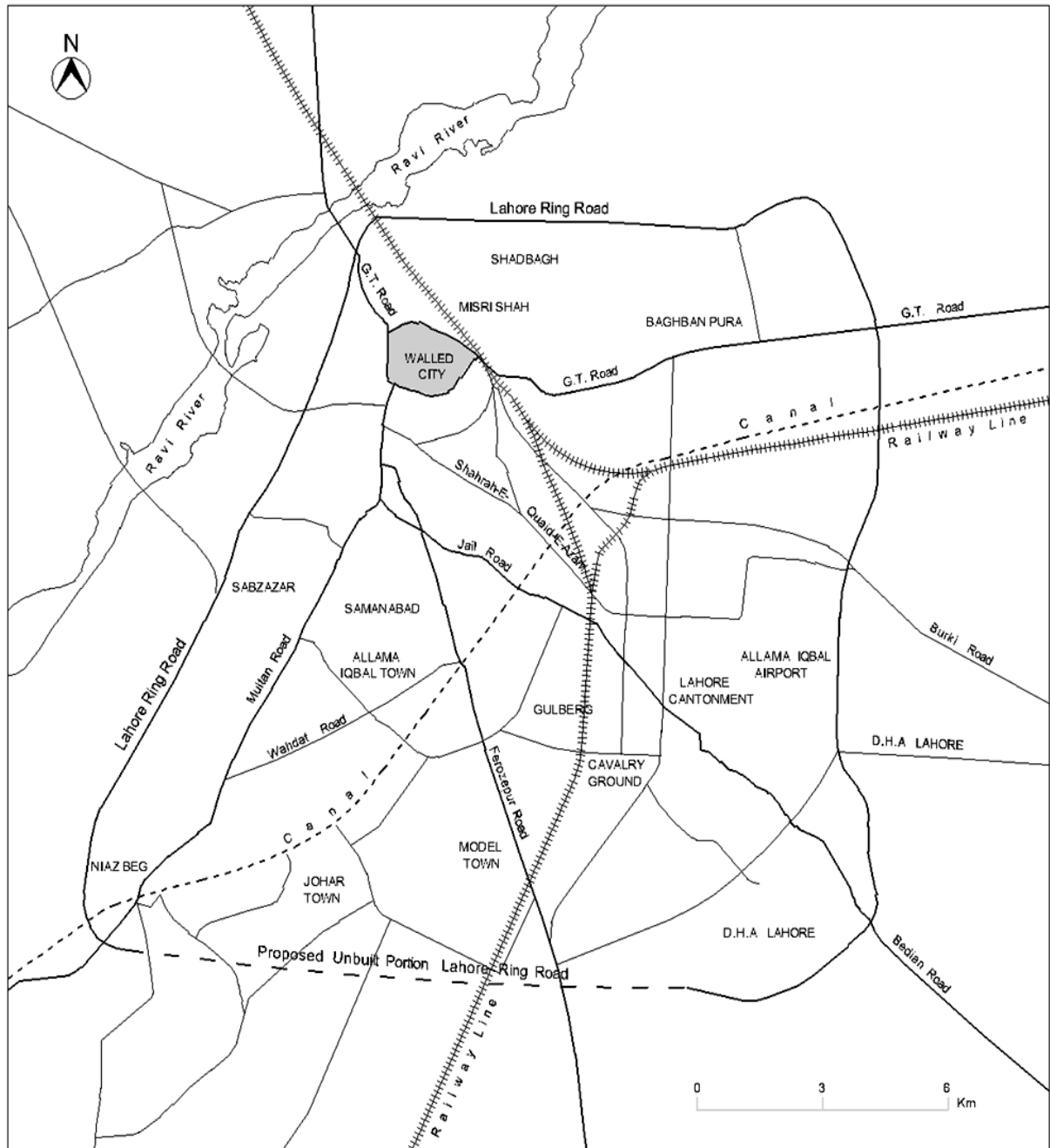


Figure 4: Location of Pathan residence inside the Walled City

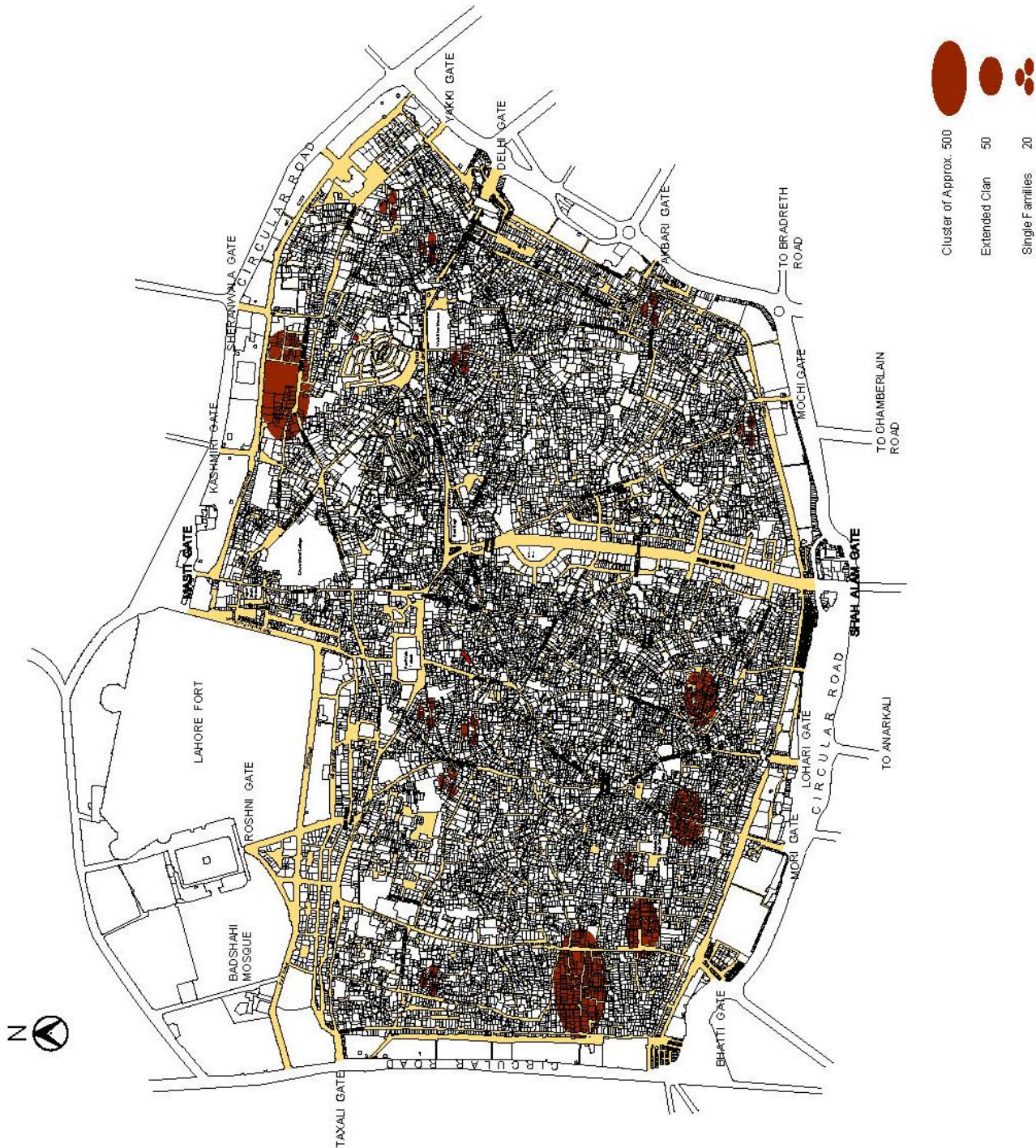


Figure 5: Pathan *Taalwallah* from Mohmand Agency; Present and 1957 portraits

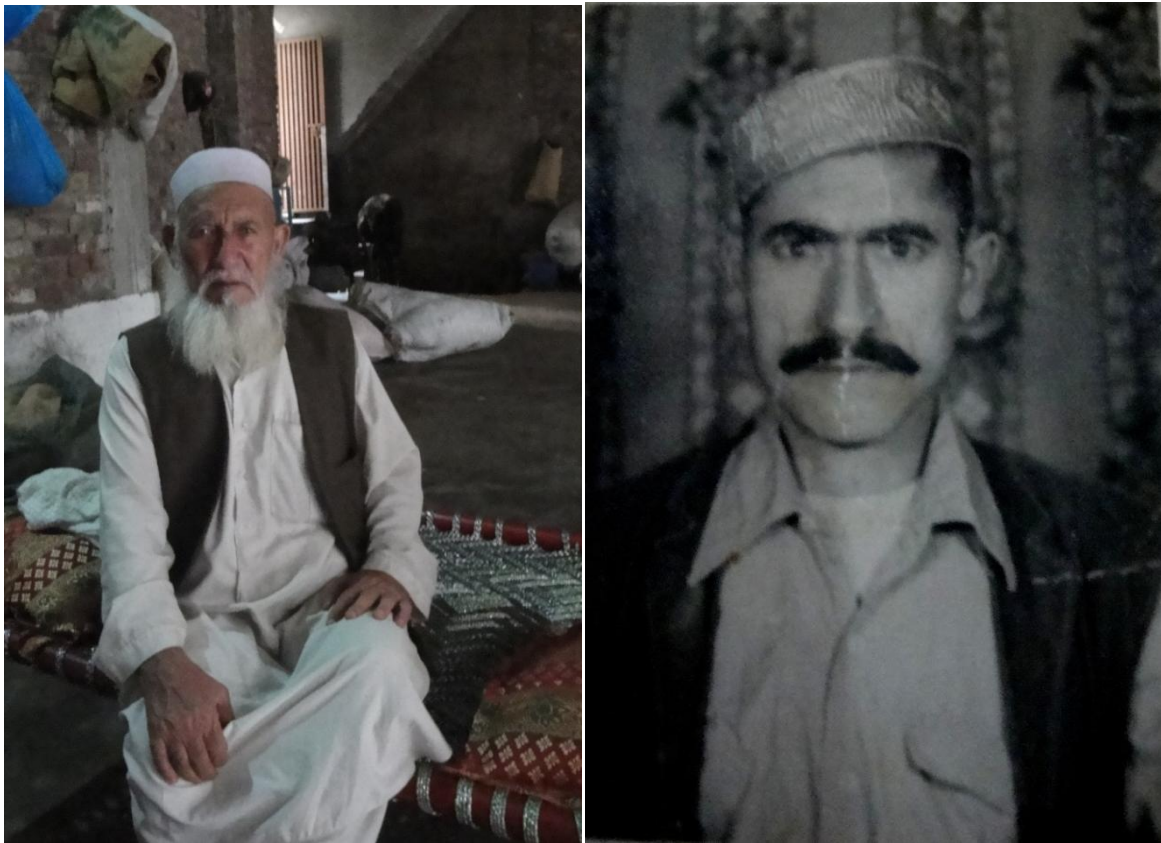


Figure 6: Two Chowkidars from Bajaur



Figure 7: Swati Tea Stall



Figure 8: Tandoorwallahs from Khyber Puktunkhawa



Figure 9: Shoe Vendors from Bajaur



Figure 10: Shaarri Junk Shops



Figure 11:



Figure 12: Vendor of Computer Accessories from Bajaur



Figure 13: Chinese speaking office employee for importer from Khyber Agency



Figure 14: A Shaarri domestic scene



Figure 15: A Shaarri boy (right) from Mori Gate



Figure 16: A Shaarri family entertaining guests



Figure 17: A Mohmand *Taalwallah* with his children



Figure 18: A Shaarri female scavenger in Pakistan Market



Figure 19: Shaarri chilgoza shelling females outside Mori gate.



Figure 20: A Mohmand housewife



Figure 21: Shaarri woman showing blisters from shelling chilgozas.



Figure 22: Shaarri women in the bazaar.



Figure 23: Residence of single men inside Sheranwala gate



Figure 24: Evacuee Trust property, residence shared by Shaarris and locals



Figure 25: Two Mohmand houses



Figure 26:



Figure 27: Interior of Shaarri home



Figure 28: Interior of a Mohmand home



Figure 29: Interior of a Shaarri home.



Figure 30: Room with dowry furniture of a Shaarri daughter-in-law



Figure 31: House of third generation Walled City Mohmand *taalwallah*'s.

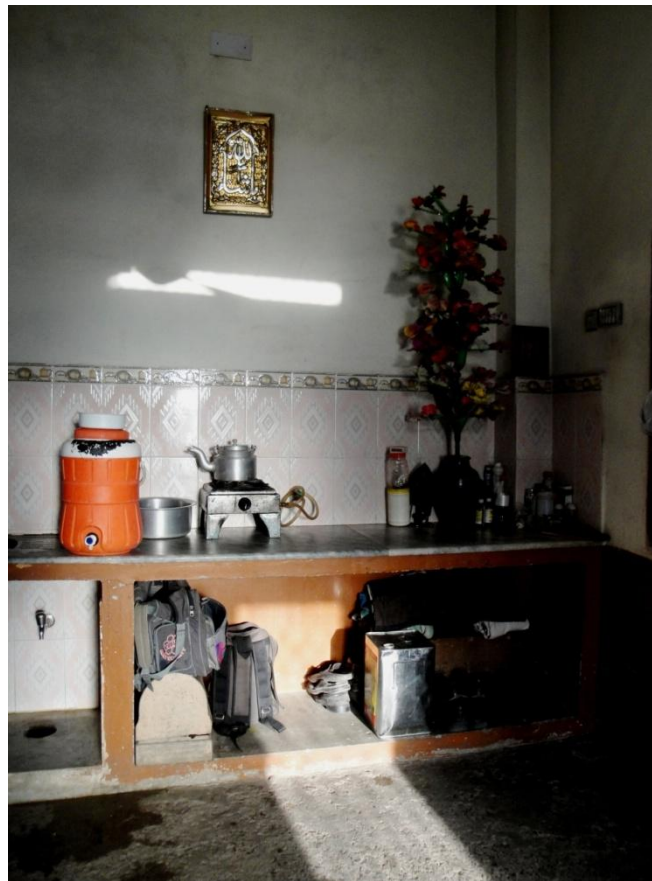


Figure 32: Wall décor with 'model home' pictures in a Mohmand home.



Figure 33: Shops catering to Pathan female clothing inside Dehli gate.



Figure 34: Motorised delivery inside bazaars of Walled City



Figure 35: 'Food Street' on Fort road



Figure 36: Public Private Partnership, cosmetic firm paying for school signage.

