Conservation-Led Marginalization:
Making Heritage in the Walled City of Lahore

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Abstract

The emerging trajectory of conservation and urban revitalization in the Walled City of Lahore is indicative of its preference for tourism. The shift in the objectives of conservation towards utilizing cultural heritage as a capital resource for negotiating meanings, representations, power, and politics promotes conservation-led marginalization. This is not limited to physical dispossession in the inner-city, but also involuntary social exclusion and the loss of access or restrictions on livelihood opportunities. The pattern of state-sanctioned attempts to render collective ownership of heritage capitalizes on the mediations with national and international institutions to authenticate their decision-making. The role of UNESCO as a status-defined marketing tool in lobbying the local heritage industry, as well as a source of global governance, is understated. The nature and conditions of 'heritage' conservation schemas require critical attention, while pivotal questions need to be addressed regarding its rhetorical deployment. The objective of the research is to explore the nature, scope, and effect of the multifaceted national and international institutional framework in the definition, production, consumption, and making of heritage.

Keywords: heritage industry, bureaucracy, international agencies, marginalization.

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Vignette

An authenticity, some continuity, and attached legacy – the popular constituents of what makes heritage revealed the Director-General of the Walled City of Lahore Authority (See Appendix 1.4). He stuttered, recalling what heritage is when I inquired in our meeting – a few attempts later, it came out as precise and adequately learned. "Heritage is what you inherit from your ancestors, from your history and what you need to pass on to the future generations." I wondered, *does that make the community the bearers of a historical treasure, dispensed with the task to preserve the national pride inserted in each heritage object – and inserted by whom? Were they to find in heritage a commonplace in the world?*

The definition seemed evasive and vague. While it sounded sufficient, coming from a public servant addressing the media, the expert opinion still reflected a disconnect with the local community. He took pleasure in listing the approval and completion of numerous conservation projects inside the historic center, ones even awarded. "UNESCO has great authenticity," he insisted. *Does it come in handy?* The international institutions validated the conservation efforts he led. The involvement of the host community superseded that of bearing the historical objects – they were participants now and if not, then subject to probable sanitization.

In attaching the 'authenticity' of the local heritage to the name of UNESCO, the Director-General disclosed the role of such reliance in the production, regulation, or management of cultural and social value and meaning. It appeared, if heritage was to be reanimated in ways that produced for it a global value, it required imported expertise that maximized the extraction of such value and promoted its universal consumption. The task of conservation, then, focused on the identification and exposition of such authenticity – often, at the cost of disruption to the existing patterns of life and the regional realities.

The short encounter with the Director-General made clear the central themes that the thesis explores. The network of political institutions has entangled the processes of conservation and heritage management. The treatment of the Walled City as a packaged product largely disengages the heritage place with the host community. Their marginalization becomes an increasingly manifest rather than a speculated phenomenon.
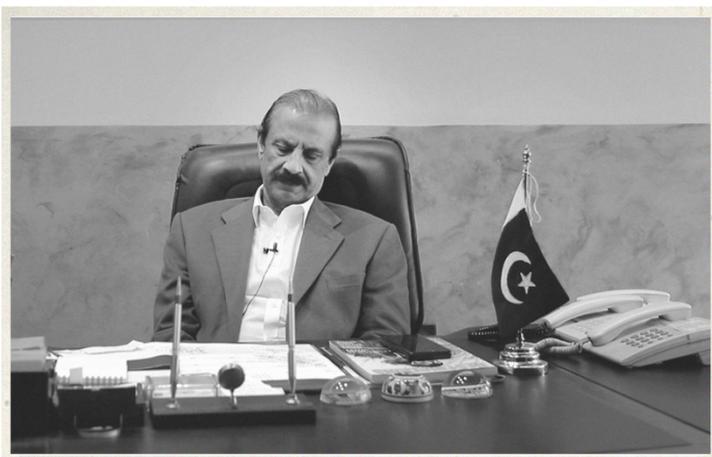

Figure 1 – The dominant discourse on heritage is often loosely applied to justify socio-political and ideological consequences. Taken during the interview in Lahore, 2020. (Source: Author)

Chapter 1: Understanding Heritage, Displacement, and the Walled City of Lahore

1.1. Displaced by Heritage

The notion that the Walled City of Lahore is increasingly characterized by decay is widespread. The popular accounts describe the dilapidating infrastructure, deteriorating building stock, traffic congestion, noise, and air pollution, visual clutter, and shortcomings in land management. The degenerative qualities are usually ascribed to the small-scale, labor-intensive enterprises and the development of local, regional, and national markets that thrive on inter-zonal and intra-zonal land-use linkages.

However, there is an underlying dichotomy between the authorities condemning the rapid commercialization and also actively reanimating the Walled City of Lahore as a market product, competing to attract tourism. This political behavior has instilled shock treatments in the inner-city, in the form of architectural cosmetics. This raises concerns regarding the disproportionate utilization of cultural heritage as cultural capital. The new transnational industry is also emergent to reap the economic value of the heritage resources, their management, and their design and place-branding. The selective themes and identities coerced through masterplans and megaprojects present the risk of marginalization for the host community while negating their regional transformations.

The notion of heritage has been long naturalized within inherently valuable materials and closely linked to the recipients of the inheritance and the ritualistic act of passing it on from generation to generation. The assumptions of the meaning and nature of heritage have largely privileged the cultural symbols of the white middle-classes, and upper-classes while making selected experts the stewards of the past. This has been termed the authorized heritage discourse or AHD (Smith 2006). Heritage has become of relevance to the nation, and is made to matter (Waterton 2013). The dominant ideologies and the 'wealthy' imagery are disseminated to appeal to global imaginaries, with tourism as central to the organization and augmentation of a range of cultural identities. The present becomes a vessel for the selection of an imagined past, while what is found becomes reserved for an imagined future. In the process, heritage management and the conservation efforts become visible as deliberate, goal-directed choices, dependent on the interpreter, the investor, and the audience the heritage product is intended for.

The thesis intends to highlight the use and misuse of heritage, which becomes a vessel for contested relations that interact at national and international levels. The idea of heritage, presumed to speak to and on behalf of its subjects, conceals the underpinning conflicts. The periodic engagement of social, political, and economic alterations within the heritage places is demarcated as peripheral.

The urban environment is commonly perceived as a vestige of past events, occupations and transforming ownerships, where the users are freer for interpretation through personal identification and attachments to the lived-in physical fabric, groups of buildings or the street network. However, when the environment involves tangible or intangible heritage, the task of cultural interpretation can be promptly claimed by a variety of users and decisionmakers. The historic 'quality' can be viewed as a unique selling proposition, where the exhibition of the lived-in historic core is superficially packaged for the heritage market. In developing tools for tourism, the most relevant cultural meanings and heritage images are implanted in the urban environment. The intervening organizations hold the warrant to frame parts of the living environment and heritage as proving obtrusive to the tourism objectives, replacing them with a stage-set imagery.

In the Walled City, the objective of planning to develop 'heritage' as an economic resource puts the conservation efforts in question; if tourism is an outcome of conservation or conservation is increasingly a product of tourism. The tourism sector has been widely recognized to sustain the

heritage stock. However, when it disaffects the depth and dynamism of the heritage places in favor of wealth accumulation, it begins to prove detrimental to the physical fabric and the host community.

The attempts to blur the distinction can be successful with the use and abuse of international organizations such as UNESCO, which bring in prominent names. The attachment of the national policy and duty with foreign investors, international aid agencies, and guiding institutes to represent national culture for both national and international consumption can be perceived as institutional collusion. The short-term nature of the political choices, aimed at quick and visible results, is embedded in long-term exclusionary results that are detrimental to the 'living' heritage of the Walled City of Lahore – found in both the indigenous specialized markets, its distinctive urban form, as well as its traditional social patterns and cultural norms.

Justification for Research

In Lahore, the fascination with and the speed of heritage development and tourism growth lack a broad-based representation of citizens and interest groups, commonly causing a rift between the community and the authorities. The urban 'product' does not have a single owner; there are many owners, users and claimants to urban space, linked or conflicting through a complexity of relations (Orbasli 2002). The understanding of the social relationships attached to and affected by the urgency to develop a market value for the Walled City of Lahore is essential in studying the question of whose heritage.

This thesis intends to draw attention to the power relations of the 'outsiders' and the 'insiders'. The former includes members of a marginalized community, the middle-income workers and largely, the urban poor. The latter includes the local, national and international authorities, foreign investors, donors, and the tourists. There is an inside-outside tension where the insider is a subject or a theme to the outsider. The 'outside' planners and decision-makers rarely recognize the deterioration and mismanagement of the living heritage as decay, while the 'inside' residents remain concerned about housing, employment, sanitation, traffic and safe places for children. The local government and national and international institutions are likely to divorce the inside with the outside by holding the outside at the forefront of historic interpretation and experiences. The research framing the behavior of the 'outside' in seeing the 'inside' population itself as bringing decay to the heritage is undertheorized and requires in-depth analysis.

The thesis also acknowledges that the inner-city has cohabited diverse groups, each with different requirements, expectations, and motivations. The conflicting and competing outlook on cultural meanings and their treatment within the 'inside' population is also influential in the political narrative of heritage. The understanding of the use and abuse of heritage can be understood better if closely linked to the varying perceptions and interests.

While UNESCO has no legal power to influence decisions regarding the Walled City of Lahore, it has ideological and cultural authority stemming from the arena of the Eurocentric discourse. The institution can function beyond objective technical expertise, as rectors of assumptions and homogenizing values placed on heritage. In-depth research of the regulation or management of cultural and social value and meaning via such institutions is pivotal in understanding what heritage can become. Moreover, dissecting their role can reveal the objectives concealed within some conservation efforts.

Aims of Research

Through the vignette of conservation-led marginalization, the aim of the thesis is to explore the political complexities in conservation management, their impact on local urbanism and the tensions implicit in the national and international imaginations of 'heritage'.

While the predominant interests of scholars, individuals, government and foreign agencies have been in the historical and architectural value of the Walled City of Lahore (Ezdi 2007), the hypothesis explores the Walled City of Lahore as a nexus of identities and their legitimization and delegitimization. The focus is on researching the potential enabling factors for such processes.

Research Questions

In the Walled City of Lahore, the primary motivation for urban conservation remains unclear. The administration has extended numerous concerns regarding the deteriorating quality of life for the residents. However, there is a disproportionate influence of political and economic motives that seldom concern social or cultural factors – the idea of progress is discernibly associated with improvements in quantitative indicators. Primarily, the thesis aims to review the complicity of national and international institutional networks in animating such processes for a wider understanding of the prevalent conservation efforts.

The problem definition leads to the main research question; what is the nature, scope, and effect of national and international agencies engaged in the definition, production, consumption, and regeneration of 'heritage'? To understand what constitutes the heritage, the characteristics of the historic urban environment, life, and local distinctiveness are to be analyzed.

The research intends to explore the on-going conservation strategies to sanitize the regional realities and to highlight the past as authentic. This factor will head the research into the sub-question; how are the national and international agencies linked to place politics, identity construction, and tourism development? Forming a basis to that is an in-depth study of the dichotomy; what are the various connections, networks, and discourses functional between the public, actors, networks, and agencies? Through this process, the research aims to identify the drivers of the socio-political marginalization of the host community.

Research Methods

The framework for this thesis is based on exploratory case study research – the primary research has been assembled through a qualitative participant observation, through on-site activities and interviews with key actors and stakeholders. The secondary sources include books, archival maps and records, research papers, and newspaper reports.

Research Methodology

The objectives of the research required an in-depth insight into the political complexities within the administrative institutions and its dialogue with the external key actors. To best explore diverse perspectives of voice and the on-ground realities of the prevailing conservation narrative, documentary filmmaking was used as an ethnographic tool. The method takes distance from being overdetermined by the secondary sources; publishing industry, journals or books that detail very carefully the approach to what it is and the best way to perceive it (Friend and Caruthers 2016). The film captures the unrefined, lived experiences of the key actors, stakeholders and interest groups, and puts forward the knowledge that has the potential to contribute to the reorientation of the conservation efforts. However, the various mediums work collectively in underlining the focused concepts and

theories – the viewer sees images and listens to the voices of the participants, while filtering this through prior knowledge, beliefs and experiences.

In order to gain a better insight into the deconstruction of the political complexities and interpreting the drivers of the conservation-led marginalization, semi-structured interviews were conducted with consent. The semi-structure nature of interviews allowed to contextualize the interview process according to the unique experiences of each participant, opening possibilities into a broader understanding of manifold concerns and "meaning in experience" (Finley 2011). The participation selection was based on intensity sampling, defined as "information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon intensely, but not extremely" (Patton 2015). The simultaneous reference to the text and theories encouraged a deeper engagement with the concepts and allowed for highlighting the clips that best represent the focus. The documentary is not acknowledged or challenged by the position of privilege and presents an opportunity for interpretation to a wider audience. The role of non-verbal communication is an additional key in complementing the interpretation of the participants.

The first selection of participants included the diverse members of the community that exist on the inside; residents, owners of property, traders, and businessmen. The second selection included the decision-makers, analysts and members of resistance on the outside; the Director-General of the Walled City Authority, member of the Heritage Conservation Board, president of ICOMOS Pakistan, an environment lawyer, conservation and urban specialists and architects that have worked closely with the Walled City of Lahore and UNESCO.
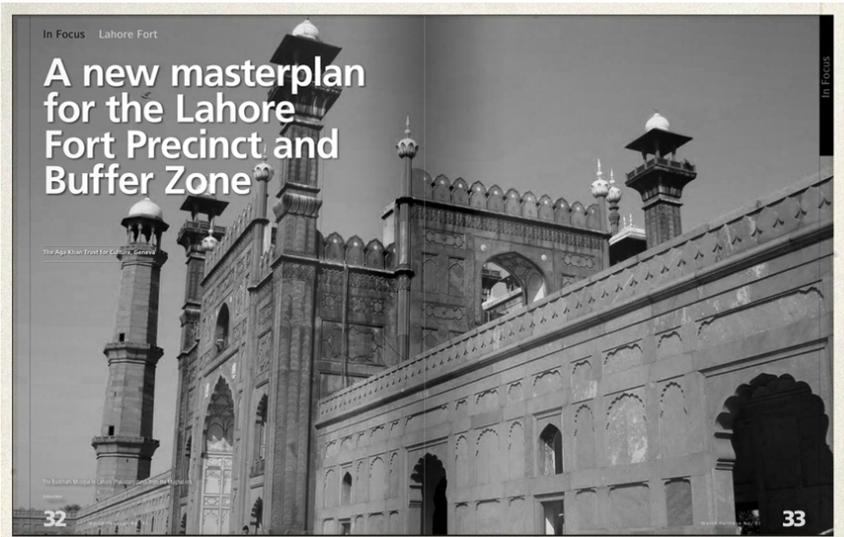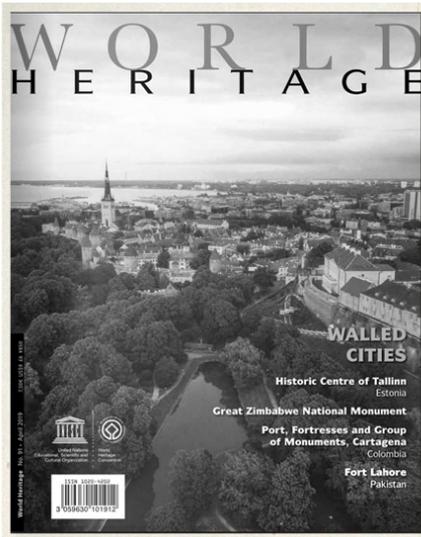
Figure 2 – Lahore Fort, World Heritage Site, featured in UNESCO World Heritage No. (91), 2019. (Source: UNESCO)

Figure 3 – The tourists at the Lahore Fort temporarily participate in the 'royalty' of the imperial past, departing into the 'other' that has been constructed. Lahore, 2020. (Source: Author)

1.2. Brief Context: The Historic Inner-City as Image of Neglect

The Walled City of Lahore, locally referred to as *Androon Shehr* or the inner-city, is a consequence of its finely grained and extremely dense urban pattern, with, and intensified by, its often nostalgically exaggerated cultural distinctiveness in modern-day Lahore (Bajwa and Smets 2013). The Walled City is the 11th-century nucleus from where the city of Lahore originated and expanded spatially in the 19th and 20th centuries, forming today its inner-city core (Ezdi 2007). The 2.5 square kilometer stretch of the dense fabric, enclosed within thirteen gates, accommodates more than 22, 000 buildings and provides shelter and employment for nearly fifteen percent of the metropolitan population (Rab 1998). The spatial organization is historic and corresponds to the old layout that has been subject to alternating periods of imperial and colonial building, devastation, and decay.

As the more prosperous population moved out of the Walled City, the patronage with the crumbling elite culture collapsed, starving the historic core of the essential minimum level of reinvestment in the built form and the neighborhood services. The replacing population primarily belongs to the urban marginal groups and rural migrants, with fewer economic and social resources to move to the metropolitan Lahore. The scarce public resources have since been largely directed towards the infrastructure development and improvement of the settlements in the higher-income territories elsewhere in Lahore. The urban transformations are closely coupled with the fall of artisan guilds, the individualization of autonomous occupations, and the loss of ethnic territoriality (Bajwa and Smets 2013).

There is a vast presence of the informal sector, which predominantly comprises of rural migrants, urban marginal groups, and artisan classes, operating within an informal support network. These interdependent channels of social and economic structures have developed as part of a 'coping mechanism' to counteract the continual failure of national policies, and the fragmentary integration with the market economy (Bajwa and Smets 2013). The informal sector fills the spatial and social vacancies in the inner-city that have been subject to administrative neglect, and therefore, include not only the informal service providers, but also trade and microenterprises as channels of self-employment. The exclusion of informality from development policies alienates their role as vital contributors to the employment rate and services in the inner-city. This behavior, and the reinforcement of tradition and memory as material representations, paralyzes the on-going regional realities, shrinking the marginalized members to mere tourist objects if needed.

The inadvertent consequences of negotiations within the state institutions, media, political parties, and national and international organizations have exhibited the Walled City as mummified antiquity. This buries broad-based initiatives to understand, improve, and sustain the spatial and physical form as that enclosing a living culture. The historic core is continually threatened by nationally and internationally instigated spatial and cultural reanimation for the development of the tourism sector, which is proving challenging for its vitality and functional centrality.

The main economic activities in the Walled City serve the industrial, commercial and service needs of the regional and national markets, with warehousing identified as the most prominent commercial feature that occupies residential properties. The complementary commercial uses include manufacturing units, transportation enterprises, retail shops, and residences for the workers. The manufacturing industry tends to occupy basements and ground floors within older building stock, with leather and synthetic shoes being the most prevalent products. The transportation enterprises on the perimeter of the inner-city include goods forwarding agencies, related storage, and space for the modes of transportation. The retail and the service sector are the most depended upon to support livelihood in the Walled City, respectively. In contrast to the stretch from the north to the south of the Walled City, the south-eastern parts have a relatively more residential character, with the demolition of building stock and construction or conversion to commercial buildings relatively lower.

Recap

The host community is the fundamental characteristic of the inner-city, which cannot be viewed merely as facilitating passive stakeholders or convenient workforces. The historic core cannot also be detached from the host community as an economic resource to fulfill for tourist demands. The inner-city has been subject to spatial, social, and economic transformations, which have been the pivotal driving forces for the present-day regional realities. The superficial packaging of the heritage products continually means the simultaneous recreation and potential replacement of the prevalent host community. Moreover, it presents an open invitation for the external decisionmakers, national or international, to partake in their reorganization.

The consensus worldview of local heritage cannot compromise and negotiate the meanings and values attached to the heritage 'properties' for the normative processes of economic restructuring and collective ownership, without fueling conflicts in social ownership and undermining individual identities. To understand the inner-city's urban transformations, the emerging conflicts in heritage management, and the conservation narratives in play, it is vital to explore the underpinning central themes in the wider context.

Chapter 2: Theories of Heritage: Production, Consumption, and Regeneration?

Heritage: A Palimpsest

There is, really, no such thing as heritage (Smith 2006). In the west, the term 'heritage' has been popularly linked to material culture, reliant on the knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in the narratives of nation and class. The concept of authorized heritage discourse (AHD) has been introduced to debate the dominating discourse as actively working to naturalize the range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of architecture. The argument follows that the authority undertaken by limited, singular expertise is representative of its disproportionate fondness for monumentality and grand scale, innate artifact or site significance tied to time depth, scientific or aesthetic expert judgment, social consensus, and nation-building.

The use of the past in the contemporary functions of heritage by varying actors has also been employed as a vignette to analyze the dissonance in heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). The argument highlights heritage as a product realized with the treatment of heritage resources. The heritage product is perceived to be culturally constructed and demand-defined, intended for the satisfaction of contemporary consumption demands. This form of heritage planning is argued to structure or plan deliberately associations with a past to develop local place identities that accrue benefits to the planners and heritage managers. 'The tourist's heritage is dissonant from the viewpoint of the resident in its selection of historic elements, in the manner and intensity of its use and in the nuances of the messages projected and received'.

The idea of 'material succession' has been recognized to aid as a tool to visually design memories that are projected into historic places. This has been referred to as the politics of memory-making (Allais 2018). The laborious assemblage of selective memories that would be most serviceable in promoting international agendas permit selective historical continuum, which could 'absorb temporal differences, order them in a hierarchy, and make strategic use of the proliferation of images'. The cultural governance underlying heritage charges it with concretizing abstract ideas and ideals, even in its destruction.

In neo-colonial nations, the reinterpretation of heritage, history and archeology has been critiqued as providing epistemological frameworks for explaining the past that is performed in the present. The relationship between morphology and imagination converges into a particular direction, where imagined palimpsests of historical memory are increasingly given material form; the strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses and heterotopias (Huyssen 2003). The absence of archeological research towards challenging received narratives, or confronting celebratory forms of nationalism, has been linked to their prevalent use to provide evocative experiences of the past (Ireland 2010).

Authenticity: Who Decides?

Authenticity has always been a key qualifying criterion for the inclusion of sites on the World Heritage list. However, it can be argued that it is also one of the most slippery concepts in heritage conservation (Labadi 2010). The term 'authenticity' has appeared in the first and the subsequent versions of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The slippery characteristic has been linked with its modification over the past thirty-five years (Labadi 2010). The concept has been long-attached to a scientific and precise notion, with degrees related to design, materials, workmanship and setting. However, its expansive characteristic over the years has posed questions regarding the actual interpretation and representation of the concept within different geographical locations and by different state parties. It is argued that the nomination dossiers

have had a reputation of representing a hyperreality in following and reproducing a definition from the Guidelines, which in attempting to represent a truth, conceals that there is none (Labadi 2010).

The discursive and exclusionary nature of authenticity has caused the notion to be widely challenged in the West. 'There is, really, no such thing as heritage' (Smith 2006). The dismissal arises from the concept of authorized heritage discourse (AHD). The hypothesis has been developed, under which heritage is defined as a social construction and a form of social control. AHD's critique on the Eurocentric nature of discourse highlighted authenticity as a task constantly involved in the legitimization and delegitimization of identities (Smith 2006).

However, the cultural and aesthetic appreciation applicable to heritage and its authenticity can be different in the Global South than in the West. In countries like Pakistan, the inapt characteristics of authenticity and conservation management, passed on from the West, are recognized to fall into dangerous hands i.e. the architects and planners as experts. The harm being done to the sites by their actions due to a lack of contextual knowledge or motivation is deemed worse than natural deterioration (Cheema 1993).

In the cities of developing countries, it is simply not economically possible to retain an entire stock of urban heritage and the national or local budgets rarely stretch to urban conservation (Assi 2008). The motive of the local government to list the historic building stock on the protection list becomes a cause for quick and visible actions, like recreating or even inventing history. In such a case, immature strategies are likely to be implemented that risk a misrepresentation and misuse of authenticity to push long-term exclusionary results. The goal of conservation is no longer a well-organized urban environment, but a well-exhibited. The attachment of a market-value with the notion of authenticity adjusts heritage and its authenticity to become largely consumer-driven (Larkham 1990).

The Historic Core as a Brand?

The tensions between neighborhood placemaking and urban entrepreneurialism have been highlighted through the concept of neighborhood branding. The practice that is otherwise used as a tool to regain the appeal and safe environment of local areas in derelict conditions is discussed 'as part of governmental strategies to intervene in the urban political economic arena' (Masuda and Bookman 2016). The premise of the notion in the low-income historic cores with commodifiable architectural heritage has been the dispossession of urban space from its inhabitants. The neighborhood branding is identified as part of state-led revitalization projects. The rhetorical surface of revitalization is seen as a concealment, censoring real conflicts over who has the right to appropriate these districts.

The notion of heritage as a brand or product being treated for the commodification in the contemporary market has been widely discussed. As with a product for mass consumption, the product of heritage must also be simplified for the existing experience, expectations and historical understanding of a visitor that has limited local knowledge and a definite expectation of what heritage should look like (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). This concept separates heritage into two kinds of products; homogenous and heterogenous. The homogenous heritage satisfies a global, homogenous market, but dissatisfies the excluded actors. On the other hand, heterogenous satisfies the varying actors, but does not harmonize with the development of other markets of heritage – particularly, those of political and social identities, and state-building.

The development of heritage for touristic consumption bears the inevitable neglect and decay of the historic cores. Unless the disparities in interests are minimized, the sustenance of those embedded in the heritage can be difficult. The heritage product and its projection of the community as empty

vessels or carriers of superficial meanings can put their lives at risk when it reaches its 'sell by' date. Although a monument may be safeguarded, the surrounding environment is often not (Orbasli 2002). The historic cores are finite sources and face the imminent danger of being consumed and discarded by tourism. Therefore, holding accruing no long-term benefits.

Redevelopment: For Whom?

The disproportionate influence of political and economic motives on socio-cultural factors has been a known debate in the cities of developing and developed countries. The concept of urban transformations in different historic cores has come to light over a spectrum of actions; revitalization, regeneration, renewal, rehabilitation, and upgrading (Ezdi 2007). Although the terms are reciprocally used in urban literature, there is a difference of approach to decision-making in each (Al Saheb 2003).

While revitalization and regeneration are concerned with restoring urban functions and economic life, urban renewal is concerned with the clearance and reconstruction of the urban fabric of cities, and rehabilitation is rooted in process of a gradual physical or spatial, economic, and social transformation that responds to well-defined needs and priorities (Ezdi 2007).

The way the initiatives are conceptualized and implemented is closely associated with how the urban degeneration and revitalization are perceived as opposite by those responsible for planning, managing and implementing initiatives to reverse the process of the identified decay (Acioly 1999). The experiences in Europe and North America have proven different from South Asia. In Europe and North America, the trend is to increase housing and building and population densities. The real estate developers are increasingly getting involved in these opportunities and elaborating partnerships with both public and private sector agents (Acioly 1999). In South Asia, the policy frameworks proposed have suggested reducing and reorienting external pressures on the historic cores, in order to ease interior reorganization and protect weaker functions from being over-powered by more aggressive forces (R. H. Ali 1990).

The recognition of historic quarters for preserving some of their qualities or rehabilitating them is a very new concept for many cash-starved governments and local authorities (Orbasli 2002). The ad-hoc organization of land-use, lack of political will and shortcomings in the bureaucracy, the institute of collusion, informal ownership structures, and the rise in commercialization and decline in residential portions are characteristic of such historic cores.

The given priorities make visible the different contexts and the treatment they are likely to receive. There is an evident inclination towards political and architectural values. The concerns are often dealt with through eviction, demolition, and disruption to the existing patterns of life and the informal economy (Orbasli 2002). The theoretical expansion on the concepts of urban transformations are seldom seen implemented in the cities of developing countries and are disoriented in the institutional complexities responsible for the conservation planning and management. If the causes for degradation have not been understood, their removal and subsequent rehabilitation cannot take place (Hasan 1990).

It is widely debated that the investment in the material and the social environment has to be economically profitable under capitalist conditions. The material environment is a prerequisite in production and consumption, so land and land-use become significant tools in the economic organization of societies. The imagining of a city through the organization of spectacular urban space is a mechanism attracting capital and people, in a period of intense inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism (D. Harvey 1989). The concept of the spatial division of consumption, by David Harvey, outlines the coalitions that are forged into the land-use strategies, in the times of recession, unemployment, and high cost of credit. 'Landlords and property owners, developers and financiers,

and urban governments desperate to enhance their tax base can be joined workers equally desperate for jobs in promoting new amusement options…' This involves the formation of an 'urban-based class alliance' from public-private partnership, in support for conspicuous consumption and cultural innovation, at the expense of the social wage of the poor (D. Harvey 2004).

In Pakistan, little or no money is extracted from the government funds. To quickly receive the state's approval on projects, the municipality in the historic core deploys the private sector as a financial resource. This has been defined as a notable selling point of conservation objectives (R. Ali 2020). The involvement of the private sector is motivated by potential profit, and tourism is often the carrot that makes conservation of the building stock attractive and profitable to the private investor. This does not only undermine the power of the establishment but can make visible an inside-outside dichotomy. As the needs are met by the outside investor, the benefits are transferred out of the locality. Moreover, the outsider is permitted to enter the decision-making process by holding the purse strings (Orbasli 2002).

The Actors: Informal Sector

If there is an evident gap between the decision-making and the ground-realities, it is the failure of the state policies that proves conducive to the evolving decay and informality. In the historic cores of developing countries, the political and cultural alienation of large sections of the population has been linked to the parallel development of an informal sector, serviced by a class of intermediaries and entrepreneurs (Bajwa and Smets 2013). Largely, it is seen as a reaction to the limited capacity of the traditional, family-centered reciprocity and solidarity, and ethnic networks to respond to housing needs, income generation opportunities, infrastructure development, and health and education needs. This behavior has been concurrent with new social ties and their commonality and has been recognized as a coping mechanism to fight exploitative conditions (Bajwa and Smets 2013). The social anarchy is linked to the vast demand-supply gap in the provision of fundamental resources.

The role of the informal sector as sources of employment and economic activity has been acknowledged as integral to the cities of developing countries (Orbasli 2002). If cities are considered the motor of development, the inner-cities should be regarded as a pivotal constituent of this engine (Jr. 1999). The International Labor Organization introduced the term 'informal sector' as units engaged in the production of goods and services with a primary objective of generating employment and incomes to the persons concerned. The informal sector has been highlighted as the most important part of the private sector, contributing to roughly one-fourth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of developing countries, making it second only to agriculture and employing approximately fifty-eight percent of the non-agricultural labor force (Dijk and Pieter 2001).

However, the collusive relationship between the informal sector and the authorities has been scrutinized in Pakistan, where the informal sector operates through a powerful nexus with bureaucrats and politicians (Hasan 1998). The informal sector has been long-attached with informal governance, which further weakens the state institutions or makes them redundant. The relationship has been widely highlighted as one being intentionally maintained – essentially, by the state to facilitate flexibility in its interventions and speculative objectives (Roy 2009). The informality, unlike illegality, refers to a gray area where there is limited or no clarity on a course of action from the perspective of the administrative authority. This concept has also been referred to as a characteristic of the 'political society' that holds a site of negotiation and contestation with its informal population groups (Chatterjee 2004).

International Aid: Urban Restructuring

In developing economies, the appeal of tourism developments appears as a rapid tool of generating hard currency and creating employment (Robinson 2001), whereas urban heritage is being chosen as the new tourism product. In discussing the global economic restructuring, it is debated that the world has universally entered a neoliberal moment, 'anchored by more conservative politics and excessive economic liberalization and restructuring' (Daher 2006). This moment has been associated with a withdrawal of the state from welfare programs, the governance of multinational corporation politics, and the restructuring of international aid from the developed to the developing nations in the form of structural adjustments and 'policy instead of project-oriented aid'. The argument maintains that this gradual shift, from internationalism to globalism, is coupled with a more flexible organization of production, higher mobility of capital and people, escalated competition between places, and vaster social and cultural fragmentation (Judd and Fainstein 1999).

In relation to tourism development and the drafting of national tourism policies, it is widely recognized that such a shift largely involves considerable international aid from donor agencies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, which 'focus on the basis of one dollar one vote' (Hasan 2009), and United Nations (UN). The collective effort of these organizations, and others like the World Trade Organization (WTO), to promote a free market economy has led to the free movement of capital across national borders, seeking investment wherever it can multiply. In developing nations that did not have the means to respond 'positively' to the free market have experienced elevated poverty and a wider rich-poor divide (Hasan 2009). The competitive global market is coercing such nations into lowering socio-economic conditions pursuit of competitiveness (Daher 2007). The adoption of a 'modernist' paradigm, favoring the formal tourism sector, also pushes the exclusion of the informal tourism sector while bearing the cost of high initial capital cost and 'leakage to outside economies characteristic of the formal sector'. The lack of national tourism strategies to facilitate small-to-medium size tourism developments discards the opportunities for community development, while being continually directed under multi-national capital and large investments, and foreign aid endeavors.

Despite the 'sustainably-directed' goals, regional development, economic planning, and public investment remains predominantly wedded to aestheticism, collective memory, and culture history. In the presence of international and regional development bureaucracies, it is questioned that if 'heritage' is to be utilized for modernization, can it still be considered heritage or does it become an investment strategy for raising property values or creating income-generating cultural tourism destinations with uncertain social results? (Silberman 2011). While discussing the penetration of cultural exhibitionism into the non-Western, developing nations, Mike Robinson in *Tourism Encounters: Inter- and Intra-Cultural Conflicts and the World's Largest Industry* maintains:

> Against the backdrop of a First World-Third World development gap and a pervasive imperialist legacy, it is tempting to write off the commodification of cultures as some kind of tacit acceptance of established global power relations and the dominant social paradigm within which international tourism sits. At the same time [,] it is too easy to ignore the involvement of host communities in the commodification of their own cultural traditions in legitimate attempts to secure economic advantages. (Robinson 2001)

The economic and nationalistic goals of politically negotiating 'cultural capital' can be a source of intra-cultural conflicts as it increasingly conceals the damage to and marginalization of a vast pool of locals. The opportunism of politicians and planners results in the making and remaking of heritage products, where the people intertwined with it are utilized as tourist objects. In such an economic paradigm, the role of the informal sector is shrunken to nothing more than their deployment as organized tourist attractions.

The Sustainability Dilemma

In recent years, 'sustainable development' has risen as a buzzword in the new paradigm of development, used by governmental and non-governmental organizations. As a concept embedded in the eco-environmental world, sustainability has moved the focus from conservation to utilization (Winter and Daly 2012). In the discussion involving the sustainability narrative in Asia, it is argued that the ubiquitous discourse on 'sustainable development' has explicitly pushed conservation closer to modernity and capitalist wealth creation, powerfully solidifying the word 'as a progressive addition to the vocabulary of modernization and development'. The term is synonymous with its malleable qualities, which allow it to be loosely applied across a multitude of contexts and agendas, with a slippage in accountability that has allowed a wide variety of agendas and outcomes to be articulated and justified within a broadly defined set of aims. The notion of sustainability in the arena of heritage becomes referential to the past, as much as to the future-oriented projects. In the context of cultural sustainability, it intends to safeguard the traditions and material forms handed down from the 'ancestors', while also enabling the concerns for conservation and environmental care to be discussed and treated as integral to wider 'progress-oriented' goals. In its loose and universalizing nature, it reconciles, aligns, and harmonizes agendas previously regarded as conflicting. Therefore, the argument maintains that the balance in what is emphasized has shifted to facilitate global capital.

In taking the example of World Bank or Asian Development Bank, the argument outlines that the basis of the cultural tourism initiatives is founded on the premise of mutually compatible goals, where 'socio-economic development both sustains and is sustained by a program targeting environment and cultural conservation'. The debate contends that tourism anchors the conservation-development relationship, as an industry that overlaps multiple sectors and creates complex public-private sector exchanges. Additionally, the on-going commitment to 'masterplans' and 'megaprojects' sets in motion a 'performative force' whereby the cultural heritage has a 'social imperative to perform'.

The popular precedents set for sustainable development appear to be equity, participation, and decentralization (Lélé 1991). The critique of the concept is also embedded in the growing consensus that fundamental problems in developing countries arise from a lack of development, and to fight the environmental degradation it causes, economic development must be sustained. The focus shifts to achieving environmental quality and economic development, which appear mutually reinforcing. This process turns to 'local participation' for the development paradigm to be successful, fueling the phrase 'sustainable and equitable development'. Here, the assumption is rooted in suggesting that participation and decentralization are synonymous, and substitutes for equity and social justice. Therefore, the notion becomes a justification for exchanges that underpin indicators of economic profit:

> SD has become a bundle of neat fixes: technological changes that make industrial production processes less polluting and less resource intensive and yet more productive and profitable, economic policy changes that incorporate environmental considerations and yet achieve greater economic growth, procedural changes that use local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) so as to ensure grassroots participation […] In short, SD is a 'metafix' that will unite everybody from the profit-minded industrialist and risk-minimizing subsistence farmer to the equity seeking social worker, […] the growth maximizing policy maker, the goal oriented bureaucrat, and therefore, the vote counting politician. (Lélé 1991)

In a similar manner, revitalization, reinvention, and consumption of 'heritage' finds its urban footing in development agendas that move across national borders and seek investment wherever it can reproduce. The shift to tourism economies and 'sustained' wealth accumulation disseminates uneven levels of development, not only transforming and remaking cultural forms 'inherited' from the past,

but also proving determinantal to the population knotted with these cultural environments. These bearers of the cultural 'assets' are turned into 'resources' for capital accumulation themselves, and are disposed as means for extraction by the state and the development agencies. The safeguarding of heritage, within a paradigm of societal and economic progress, paralyzes the present in the cumulative contestation and creation of the past and the future.

Neocolonial Governance

The multifaceted process through which nations, heritage, and images are defined, produced, and constructed originates with the circulation of dominant, popular, elitist, and geopolitical discursive practices (Daher 2007). The colonial period is considered a marked moment when 'modernity' and societal progress became indicators of success, contrasted with 'tradition' that was represented as static, anti-progress, non-scientific, and non-individualistic. The legacy of colonial-era knowledge practices, especially in the field of archaeology, have been debated to have diluted the awareness and knowledge of the past, the periods of its transformation, and the role it played in the lives of communities that passed. The past and the present came to be segregated into categories of 'then' and 'now', negating any other interpretations of the past capable of addressing significant moments of discontinuities and transformations.

The concept of 'colonialism' and 'coloniality' (Castro-Gómez 2002) expands on the reproduction of colonial imaginaries in the present-day. The argument makes a distinction between colonialism and coloniality, applying Foucault's account of disciplinary power whereby no power is exercised without the extraction, appropriation, distribution, or retention of knowledge (Foucault 1980). Where colonialism refers to a historical period in which territorial 'domains' were subject to a powerful core through a series of knowledge and power relations, coloniality indicates 'a technology of power that persists today, founded on the knowledge of the other' (Castro-Gómez 2002). The latter concept departs from placing the traditional and modern in chronological order, in which the traditional is synonymous with underdevelopment, while modernization with industrialization. The argument maintains that coloniality is not modernity's 'past' but its 'other face' and therefore, leads to an indirect form of colonial domination and imperialism.

The structure of power continues to be organized on and around the colonial axis, where large transnational corporations have effectually surpassed the jurisdiction and authority of nation-states (Hardt and Negri 2000). The unity of the single governments has been disrupted and invested in a series of separate bodies, such as banks and international organisms of planning, which unify for legitimacy to the transnational level of power. These institutions, organizations, and modes of governance possess the power to act as mediators and interpreters in the heritage performance, choreographing selective movements and knowledge productions (Staiff, Watson and Bushell 2013).

Urban Realities: Decay

In the developing countries, the decaying historic cores have been widely characterized by a gradual shift in their spatial morphology and social dimensions, with related consequences for urban services and debt-ridden national economies (Orbasli 2002). The theme of urban decline and decay has been identified with zones of old residential or mixed development, which owing to physical obsolescence, socio-economic change, and the accompanying out-migration of well-to-do people and firms, have remained starved of the resources necessary to maintain an essential minimum level of reinvestment in the built form and neighborhood services (Verma 1990).

The debate on urban decay has varied from context to context; from a developing country to a developed country. The cities of the developing world are in a different stage of urban growth and governance that differs considerably from those of the developed world – while the cities of

developing countries experience rapid urbanization and rural-urban migration, the cities of the developed world are de-industrializing and shrinking (Ezdi 2007)

The constraints that have posed urban decay in the developing countries are understood as an adoption of a modernist paradigm from the developed world, which could not cope with the population explosion and the significant influx of rural migrants (Hasan 2004). This phenomenon has been associated with the inadequacy of the renewal efforts in the South Asian premise, highlighting gaps in the formal planning and its preoccupation with 'manifest' symptoms of decay as opposed to a cause-based approach (Verma 1990). The manifest symptoms concern surface challenges such as dilapidating structures, infrastructural inadequacies, and traffic congestion, whereas cause-based approaches include reassessing the gaps in the management, functions, and maintenance.

In some contexts of the developing world, the physical, social and economic decay in the historic core can arise with characteristics such as social unrest, devaluation of real estate properties, and a decrease in economic activity due to the departure of small businesses, petty industries, and manufacturers to more prosperous areas where development opportunities exist due to better services and infrastructure, accessibility, and customers (Acioly 1999). However, this is not the case in the Walled City of Lahore. The shift in the profile of inhabitants, caused by social mobility, and a hike in sub-renting, high-population densities, limited financial resources, and institutional inefficiencies are the more common characteristics (Ezdi 2007).

Inside-Outside Tension: Conflicts between Community and Local Government

The perceived value of space to its various users has been identified as a significant measure for the meaning of a place, which corresponds to its latent functions. The 'heritage' has been defined as the living context within and around the built form in the historic cores. Therefore, the efficient maintenance of any heritage is linked intrinsically with the preservation of the meanings that the built forms intend to transmit to future generations. The elimination of some of the meanings would depreciate the heritage value (Shehayeb and Sedky 2010).

The concept of 'vandalism' has been introduced, developing the argument that any intervention, use, or perception can either contribute to or detract from the heritage of a place (Shehayeb and Sedky 2010). The hypothesis suggests a conflict of perceived values. The everyday users of the place are vested in maximizing those values that concern their daily life, such as social, economic, psychological, and cultural values. These users are prone to use inappropriate means at hand to minimize the aesthetic and historic value of the place; the two values where they lack awareness. The planners and designers focus exclusively on the aesthetic and historic values of the place and negate the other set of values as encroachments and acts of vandalism. In this process, the meaning of the place and heritage is diminished (Shehayeb and Sedky 2010).

In this context, the inside is defined as the users of the historic core and the outside as the decision-makers that play a significant role in navigating the lives of the users. The users have been commonly classified as passive recipients of an environment that is conceived, executed, managed and evaluated by the outside; the public or private sector, landowners and developers with professional expertise (Paul Jenkins 2009).

There can be significant differences between the perception and attitude of the inside and the outside towards the impact of aesthetic rejuvenation and conservation developments. The active representation and participation of the inside in the political and administrative system is linked to optimizing the development potential of the historic core that concerns the outside. Therefore, 'good governance' is highlighted as a key to a balanced paradigm, as it provides the means through which the citizens reach an agreement on how to meet the multiple goals (Satterthwaite 1997).

However, the processes and the tools for participation are different in South Asia than in the West. In the West, the urban and local authorities possess far more resources, a better-trained staff, and a more assured source of capital investment, while in the South, public consultation and participation are still in the elementary stages and stand at risk of an imbalance of power from the government. In the South, the planning and decision-making are generally undertaken by narrow, non-representative interest groups such as politicians, government planners and foreign consultants (Vandal 2006).

In the case of Pakistan, the meaning of community participation means that the community is required to participate in a government program on government terms (Hasan 1996). The government-community relationships are dominated by the state culture, which is against community participation as it deprives it of both political and financial power. The significance of a system of consultation between the inside and the outside is underlined by independent development professionals, in order to avoid the failures of the past. The wealth of information, knowledge and practical experience available with the academic institutions, professionals, organized community networks and the non-profit organizations will form the basis for such a system of consultation (Hasan 2006).

Revisiting Uses of Heritage

The themes underlying the research largely connect the role of different actors, networks, and national and international agencies with the definition and re-definition of heritage. The theories on intellectual colonization, and the nation-state's claim of modernity, articulate the stages leading up to the moment of transnational neoliberalism in the present-day. The exploration of the potential role of the informal sector, parallel to the tensions implicit in the economic and nationalistic goals, disclose and clarify the selective treatment of historic environments and the 'costs' it incurs. The integration of politically-driven negotiations highlights the intra-cultural conflicts, upheld within an inside-outside dichotomy. These phenomena, it is underlined, establish their premise within the reinvention or making of contemporary heritage functions. Hence, the ideological framework of the thesis is pertinent to the analysis, as it makes visible the convoluted ways in which conservation-led marginalization can manifest and attempts to trace its wider origins and enabling mechanisms.

2.1. Lessons to Learn: Relevant Case Studies

Hampi UNESCO Site, India

The mutual account of pre-partition and colonial history has led to comparable experiences in parts of India, where the poor that are marginalized by bureaucracy and state capitalism rise with entrepreneurial strategies or tactical operations (Roy 2009). The 'spatial cleansing' of such coping population occurred in Hampi World Heritage Site, in 2011, with the UNESCO status constraining and evicting people living and working within the informal tourism sector. The stigmatization of the informal functionality as 'illegal squatters' came from the archeological, tourism, religious and monitoring experts, which put themselves in a position of guardians of the site's conceptual order (Bloch 2017).

Hampi, the formal 14th-century capital of the Hindu Vijayanagar Empire in southern India, was designated as a World Heritage Site in 1986. The popularization on the international market instigated a shift within the population, from the less profitable agricultural sector to the tourism sector. The commercial activities were centered in a one-kilometer long bazaar, facing the Virupaksha temple, which was popularly perceived as a living sanctuary, attracting domestic pilgrims from the neighborhood and beyond. The bazaar, which originally formed the 'physical, spiritual and mythological core' of the medieval village's living culture, was lined on both sides by colonnaded stone pavilions, adapted both for residential and commercial purposes (Bloch 2017).

In 2010, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) assumed control Virupaksha Temple and Hampi Bazaar and declared the entire Hampi population to be squatters without any rights, and their stalls, shops, restaurants, and dwellings were deemed illegal encroachments, even those that had been there for generations (Fritz and Michell 2012). In collaboration with the local authority, the ASI targeted the bazaar under a series of demolishing episodes. The first incident occurred in 2011, and it was only a day prior to the bulldozing of modern structures, additions, and extensions constructed by the villagers over and around the ruins, the residents were handed notices. The initial clearance resulted in more than two hundred people losing their properties and livelihoods, whereas the subsequent attempts caused for the erasure of nearly two thirds of the village population. Following the eviction, most displaced residents and the commercial actors, with the support of an external NGO, resettled a few kilometers from Hampi, while those unable to rent properties set up a shack encampment on a patch of land on the outskirts or remained in the last quarter left, where the fear that relocation is imminent prevails (Bloch 2017).

Prior to 2010, the bazaar was unprotected and subject to neglect, and open to illegal encroachment and inhabitation. Following 2011, with the assumed control of the Architectural Survey of India and the inscription on the World Heritage List, it became subject to a new kind of 'protection' – cleared of all encumbrances, like the previous inhabitants, it set the ruins in pleasant garden compounds, enclosed by walls and gates (Fritz and Michell 2012).

The internalized paradigm of modernity in the postcolonial states has been discussed to reflect in the policies surrounding the spatial sanitization and civilization of trade in Hampi. The presence of regimentation and aesthetic domination arise to adjust to their own imaginations of 'the west' and result in rationalizing the images of 'oriental disorder' (E. W. Said 1979) to cater to the 'tourism imaginaries' (Salazar 2012). Those incapable of understanding the concept of material heritage are inept in treating it in a 'proper manner' – the dominant discourse perceives them as 'uncivilized' (Bloch 2017).

The case of Hampi indicates the interplay of national and international imaginations and the authoritative control organized around it. Although UNESCO requested to maintain the requirements of the values the State Party defined, while pushing 'effective and positive solutions' for the relocation, it legitimized the conditions for such decision-making at the local level. The replacement of the 'old disorder' with a 'capitalist order' called for a symmetrically organized and tidily arranged space for the exhibition of an archaeological frozen past. The ASI's vision of the site entailed a clear segregation between the monuments and the people, and the residential and the commercial space.

Historic Cairo UNESCO site, Egypt

The 10th-century Historic Cairo, Egypt, is being treated as an archaeological vessel for tourist consumption, whereas its character lies in its integration with and contribution to the city system. In a similar manner to the Walled City of Lahore, the spatial organization of the historic districts is embedded in their traditional layout but has been subject to imperial occupations, expansion, and present-day rapid urbanization. The social profile shifted with the influx of low-income members of the marginalized community and the rural migrants. However, the continuation of traditional social patterns within the local communities have created a sense of attachment through work and residential zones (Hakeh 2018).

The Historic Cairo was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 1979. The inscription placed the sites as immediate targets for international tour operators that were interested in capitalizing on this status-defined marketing tool. This event coincided with the politically motivated 'open-door' policy that allowed a large influx of foreign tourists to Egypt, which had not occurred before (Nasser 2007).

Following the placement on the international platform, Historic Cairo underwent several studies and urban conservation and rehabilitation projects, nationally and internationally.

The prominent project, UNDP Rehabilitation of Historic Cairo (1980), employed a top-down approach that intended to preserve the heritage corridor and rebrand the image for tourism, as there is an increasing reliance of operational funding on the tourist revenues (Cochrane 2006). The Al-Azhar Park Project, by AKTC, was recognized as a basis for public and private investment in the former historic district and its neighborhood that had deteriorated into a landfill, Bab Al Wazir in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar. However, the locals referred to them as 'the demolition gang' after the scheme dictated the removal of the textile shops surrounding the Al-Ghuri Religious Complex as it threatened the ambiance of the building (Sedky 2009). The textile merchants had been embedded in the Historic Cairo since the 10th-century, over four centuries before the Ghuri Complex itself was built (Shehayeb and Sedky 2010). The Ministry of Culture, Egypt, intended to do similar in the revitalization proposal for the Ayyubid Complex, where the 'vista' was disrupted by brass and copperware shops, whose trade had been connected with the metalwork industry in close proximity. The new proposal envisaged five-star hotels, boutiques and polished vistas, with tourism as the prime motive (Sedky 2009).

The crippling corporation and widening gaps between the state and the community have been widely based in mistrust, which has been backed up by an absence of transparency, insensitive policies, and legislation directed to political rather than community benefit. 'In general, if there is a common goal that is pursued by main actors in area conservation in historic Cairo, it is instilling a civilized look and a polished environment'. The projects undertaken had a visible impact on restoring selective architectural building stock for showcase value, but lacked a symptom-based approach to deal with the continuous influx of workers, unemployment, loss in the residential population and the shift towards commercial-industrial zones. The development of tourism becoming Cairo's exclusive economy places tremendous pressure on landowners, craftsmen and retailers who are to cater for the demand in tourism (Nasser 2007).

The Abdali Project, Amman, Jordon

Jordan, like Lebanon, has experienced a shift in state efforts, with the growing appeal of heritage tourism to achieve economic restructuring from a manufacturing to service-sector base. The formal state discursive shifts are steadily moving away from regional politics (e.g. emphasis on Arab nationalism and unity) and elaborate social agendas (e.g. agriculture, health care, education), into adopting neoliberal agendas of privatization and a rentier state where most vital assets and sectors had been rented or sold to the outside (e.g. water, telecommunication, power) (Daher 2007). The neo-liberal corporate visions, encouraging international investment, and functions, histories, and itineraries in favor of the 'first-class' tourism developments and real-estate ventures, have been leading to urban geographies of inequality and exclusion, and spatial displacement of 'second-class' citizens.

The Abdali Project, Amman, created a 'New Downtown for Amman', only 1.5 kilometers away from the original downtown, as a central business, tourism, and residential hub. The newly inserted functions included the American University of Amman, I.T park, medical tourism, and various high-end commercial activities, in addition to a newly created civic 'secular' plaza bounded by the State Mosque, the parliament, and the law courts (Daher 2007). The prominent feature of the project was the Ammani Street, a shopping street modeled to replicate the urban heritage 'experience' in the original downtown. The only interface and source of information about the project financed by multi-national real-estate companies were the billboards promoting the proposal visuals on the construction site.

The prime urban land made available for investment formed a greater part of the state subsidy, while other forms included tax exemptions, infrastructure provision, and elimination of all barriers and red tape. In addition to these, special building regulations were made possible for the particular development. The Abdali Investment Company (AIC) included two main investors, Mawared and Solidere, who acted as the exclusive stakeholders, barring other companies or individuals from buying shares. 'Mawared and Solidere are producing millions of dollars' worth of billboards, short videos, websites, TV and newspaper ads with high-quality graphics and design to market and sell the cities and their new projects' (Daher 2007).

The Abdali Project produced gated communities, which were isolated from the rest of the city's participants and facilitated by the privatization of planning. It reflected the phenomenon of selective urban restructuring, and the production of a new 'privatized public space'. There was a symbolic replacement of the prevalent civic and urban symbols, to create new physical, social, and cultural boundaries. The original downtown was due to suffer fierce competition from the flagship project, with its already disintegrating urban fabric as a result of a lack of economic vitality. Moreover, the transfer of design and political control from the local government and the citizens to large corporations and the design professionals they hire meant new forms of urban governance from new regulating bodies.

The pastiche replica in the Ammani Street represented the reduction of the complexity of the original downtown, with its years of spatial, social, and economic evolution, into a 'Disneyfied' moment (Daher 2007). The attention to a staged city, as opposed to the lived city, reflected the emergent competition for inward business and tourism investments in the city. The 'cosmetic' treatment of the building stock in the historic urban tissue of Amman disregarded any serious endeavors to address the establishment of heritage tools, systems, or practices that ensure the continuity of urban regeneration and community involvement in the long-run.

Historic Tripoli, Lebanon

In the case of Lebanon, national tourism development and restructuring of national tourism policies has received abundant international aid. The donor agencies, particularly, involved the World Bank, and JICA. Their role expanded to encouraging a shift towards excessive and uncontrolled privatization, which largely went 'unaccountable, uninvolved, and faceless' (Daher 2007).

In the beginning of 1990s, with the end of the civil war, Lebanon underwent a post-war reconstruction boom. The reconstruction of the severely war-damaged historic city center led as a symbol for the new age that followed. World Bank initiated several heritage management and urban tourism development schemes in the smaller towns, such as Tripoli. The historic town intended to diversify its economic base by locating its cultural and localized distinctive heritage as part of tourism consumption.

The World Bank CHUD Project initiated with the objective to protect, rehabilitate, and revitalize the historical and cultural heritage resources of five selected peripheral cities, including Tripoli. The initiative received criticism from the local actors, academicians, specialists, members of NGOS, and experts, who indicated that even if the proposal is comprehensive, the implementation reflects a weaker scenario; it is a reduction to modest outcomes centering on the beautification of open space and public properties. Furthermore, it was argued that the project lacks strong sustainability indicators as the local municipalities and other actors are not fully involved. The project acted as a 'shock treatment' and a one-time intervention, with no long-term considerations. Moreover, the coordination between the municipality and the local government reflected an evident authoritarianism of the latter. A local anthropologist commented, 'The same way we are sold the fast food meal, we are sold the World Bank Project' (Daher 2007).

The significant funding levels, a great portion of which is accumulated as foreign debts, relies heavily on physical regeneration of tourist prototypes and rarely on grass-roots community development, such as the organization of the entrepreneurial actors. The particularly homogenous vocabulary of heritage revitalization, often, discounts the environment setting, local traditions, with the nuances of local culture and ethnic differences.

The local initiatives in parts of Tripoli proved to be well-received by the local community due to their involvement in the process. These include the renovation work in Suq Bazirkan (grain market), Suq al Dahab (gold market), and Suq al Haraj (auction market). These projects employed local capabilities, and minimum funding that was directly channeled to the conservation of the old city. In the case of the World Bank Project, the funds were to be channeled through complex donor agencies' tendering procedures, dense methodologies, and through an intricate network of agents, government officials and central agencies, and heritage experts.

Recurring Heritage: Tracing the Patterns

The case studies explore the systematic erasure of the living presence of communities in historic cores of the developing nations and the extrication of heritage from them under the regulated, organized, and regimented conditions of global heritage management. The attempts to clarify boundaries between the past and the present, the traditional and the modern, and the material and the social have insinuated a position of 'stewardship' that is reserved for selective stakeholders and decisionmakers, presenting itself as increasingly universal in the globalized world.

In the case of Hampi, India, the marked shift towards the tourism sector called for the formalization of the economy and the stigmatization of the informal sector. The site was subjugated to neglect by the state who permitted the informality, until a desire for economic development caused for the invention of new 'safeguarding' motives. The institutionalization of nationhood narratives in the distant, antiquarian, and ancient pasts reflected neo-coloniality, with adherence to transnational bodies and their produced knowledge. The case of Cairo, Egypt, highlights the disruption in the regional realities of the marginalized members that did not prove contributory to the envisioned expansion of the tourism sector. In both cases, there are similarities in touchstones that attach the economic well-being with that of the population, as long as the results can be catalogued as 'successful' projects. The organized and sanitized vistas, facades of public properties, and open spaces become indicators of disciplined conservation, lacking symptom-based approaches that can alleviate grassroots conditions.

In the case of Jordan and Lebanon, the role of international donors in urban restructuring and the reformation of national policies is evident, which have proven to lead to urban geographies of disparity, exclusion, and spatial displacement of the urban poor. In the visible neoliberal schemas, the competition for inward business and tourism investments has been largely related to the physical regeneration of tourist prototypes. In these cases, the treatment of material heritage is suggestive of an emergent homogenized vocabulary of conservation and urban revitalization, where economic development is at the center and the periphery. However, the replication of the urban heritage experience, as in the case of Jordan, is manifesting in the Walled City of Lahore in different ways; the pastiche is being applied within the inner-city, creating spectacular pockets of heritage performances. The wider accounts aid the research premise of tracing the nature, scope, and effect of national and international agencies, and imaginaries, engaged in the definition, production, consumption, and making of heritage.

Chapter 3: The Regional Realities: Readjustments in the Adjusted City

The physical, demographic, and administrative patterns prevalent in the inner-city have been readjusted over time, underpinned by varying degrees of political motives. These changes have been closely interlinked within the nation-wide context. To understand the implications of the present-day engagements with heritage, the connections with the transforming regional realities in the inner-city are to be understood. Within the broader backdrop, the trajectory makes visible the inherent conflicts present between the national and international imaginaries, the neighborhood branding for tourism, and the aspirations of the host community.

Pakistan

Pakistan is strategically located in South Asia, with four immediate neighbors; it is bounded on the north-east by China, on the east by India, and the west by Iran and Afghanistan. The disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir lies on the northeast tip of the country. Pakistan is a federation of four provinces. These provinces are Sindh, Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province) and Baluchistan. In addition, there are also federally and provincially administered areas such as the capital city of Islamabad (or the Islamabad Capital Territory) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) as well as the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA). The significant rivers in Pakistan are the Indus and its four tributaries; the Ravi, Chenab, Sutlej, and Jhelum.

Pakistan has an elected national assembly, which is the lower house of parliament, and a senate that constitutes the upper house. Moreover, each province has an elected provincial assembly. FATA and Islamabad are represented in the national assembly but have no representative government of their own (Hasan 2002).

Pakistan contains 2.3 percent of the world's population, which makes it the seventh most populist country in the world. It is urbanizing at an annual rate of 3 percent – the fastest pace in South Asia. The current estimated population is 150 million, with per capita income of USD 720 and an average family size of 6.6 people (Ezdi 2007). There are two major drivers of rapid urbanization in Pakistan; the natural increase in the general population and the rural to urban migration (Kugelman 2014). Although, the per capita income has consistently increased about three times in approximately sixty years, poverty remains endemic with almost 23 percent of the population remaining below the poverty level (M. A. Qadeer 2014).

Across Pakistan, the expanding urban space continues to transform the socio-economic conditions. Agriculture's share in the gross domestic product (GDP) has decreased, while the services and construction sectors have become the pivotal contributors to both GDP and employment (M. A. Qadeer 2014). However, the urban spaces, in cities and the rural areas, are subject to immense shortfalls – housing shortages, sewage disposal, water supply, electricity, traffic, crime and disease are the key attributes of the poor conditions. The major driver recognized is the 'self-serving' urban governance; an archaic land management system, the appropriation of public and collective goods for private use by the city officials, and a moral order based on clan loyalties (Kugelman 2014).

Lahore

Lahore is the second-largest city in Pakistan, after Karachi, with a projected population of an estimated 11 million. The city is located on the left bank of the river Ravi, on mildly sloping terrain, which is approximately 225 meters above the main sea level. It is where the historical route from the Khyber Pass to Delhi crosses the river Ravi (P. L. Qureshi 1979). The Lahore Metropolitan area spans over 2, 300 square kilometers, of which the Walled City of Lahore occupies 2.5 square kilometers. It

is bounded on the north and west by Sheikhupura District, on the south by Kasur District and on the east by India.

In Lahore, the urban population growth rate is 3.2 percent, expanding southwards in the mode of 'sprawl' that caters to low-density gated residential communities (Ezdi 2007). The southward expansion is due to the presence of the river Ravi on the northwest and the flood plain that acts as a barrier to further development towards the north. The population densities vary from over 1, 500 persons per hectare to 37 persons per hectare. The average density is of 208 persons per hectare. In a socio-cultural hierarchy, three characteristic class lines can be distinguished. The upper-class, including large storekeepers, landlords, and industrialists, hold the highest political positions. The middle-class, including the small, emergent and heterogenous, occupy mid-level professional, professional and bureaucratic positions. The lower-class predominantly includes recent migrants, urban dwellers living in slums or illegal settlements, with more prominent economic and cultural variations in the quality of life (P. L. Qureshi 1979).

Lahore, being the capital of the Province of Punjab, is the second most important commercial center of the country. The types and patterns of commercial activity range from the major, district, local, and specialized shopping centers, that are more heterogenous, to wholesale, retail, and mixed markets that tend towards specialization. (P. L. Qureshi 1979). The commercial and industrial activities form the economic backbone of the present-day Lahore.
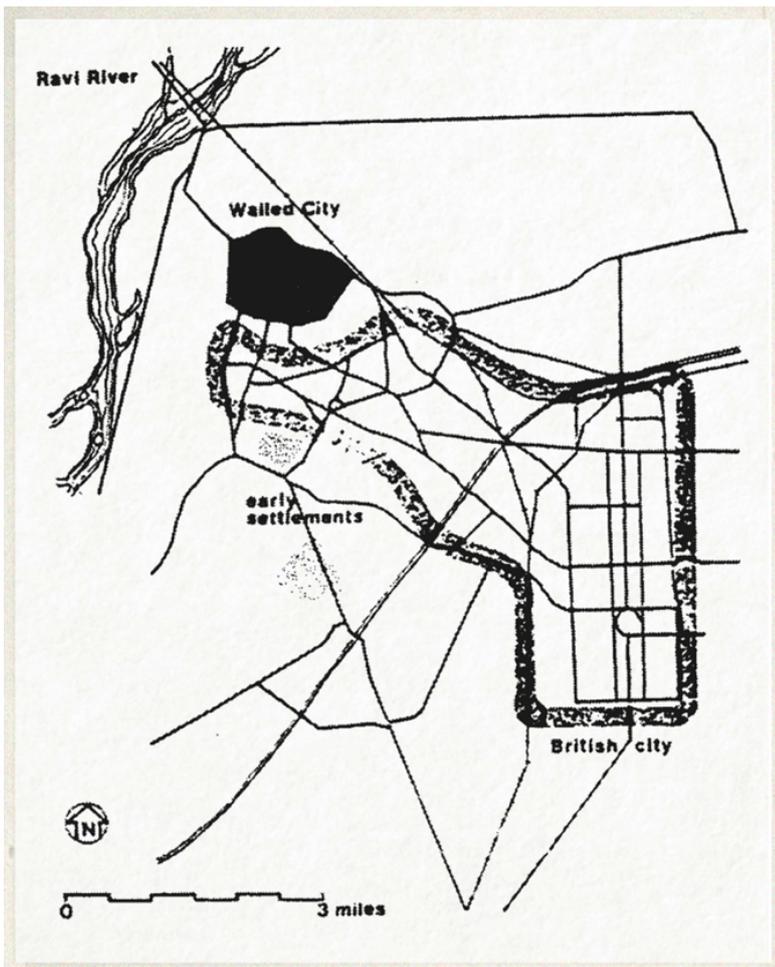

Figure 4 – The Walled City of Lahore covers 2.5 square kilometers of Lahore, the total of which is 2, 300 square kilometers. 1998. (Source: Samia Rab)

Study Area: The Walled City of Lahore

The 11th-century Walled City of Lahore is directly linked with the origins of Lahore and the locality remains one of its oldest settlements. It has supported constant habitation for nearly 2, 000 years (Nadir 2013). The earliest archaeological evidence records that the first settlement was founded between the 1st and the 7th century A.D., where the Lahore Fort is located today.

The Walled City of Lahore spans over 2.5 square kilometers and is situated on the northwestern periphery of the greater Lahore. It occupies two mounds in the valley of the river Ravi, surrounded by the Circular Garden and the Circular Road that gives access to the thirteen historical entrances of the Walled City. It is no longer limited within a fortification – however, its name remains an historic reference to the area enclosed within the walls, popularly known in Urdu and Punjabi as *Androon Shehr* (inner-city). The dense structure accommodates more than 22, 000 buildings.

Formerly, the inner-city was administratively under the division of Ravi Town. Under the WCL Act 2012, the Walled City of Lahore Authority, headed by a Director-General, was created and remains the appointed autonomous body for the regulation and management of the functions of the entire Walled City of Lahore. It is also the planning and building control organization for the inner-city. Their vital source of income spreads over the earnings from the sale of tickets, souvenirs, and rents (CDPR 2019).

Under the WCLA Act 2012, the Zones of Special Value was created as a category to mark parts of the historic core that possess 'special architectural or historic interest or appearance' that is worthy of preservation, enhancement, or development. It is approximately 57 hectares of land, including Minar-e-Pakistan, the Greater Iqbal Park, Lahore Fort, Hazuri Bagh (Park) and the Badshahi Mosque, the Samadhi of Ranjit Singh and of Guru Arjun, and Maryam Zamani Mosque amongst others. In the same recent appeal, it was proposed that the World Heritage status extends over other parts of the Zone, in addition to Lahore Fort.

The population the inner-city envelops has been in a state of flux throughout its existence, accompanied by in-and-out migrations, with more recent expansions in the non-residential land-use resulting in a decline; 260, 000 in 1980 to 160, 784 in 2013. The average density of persons per square kilometer is approximately 63, 029 (Nadir 2013). The majority of the remaining residential population belongs to the lower-middle and working class with a relatively poor education. While the population decline has been characteristic of the inner-city, it continues to remain one of the most densely populated areas of Lahore.

The inner-city includes three regional wholesale markets, small-scale manufacturing units, craft shops, and remaining high-density residential pockets. The land-use is a mixture of commercial, residential, warehousing, manufacturing, and circulation functions. The commercial proliferation dominates the eastern and southern parts, while the residential character remains higher in the southeastern and western parts. The northern, eastern, and southern periphery of the Walled City is functioning as a freight terminus to facilitate the loading and unloading of commercial goods. The goods-forwarding agencies are located clockwise from the north to the south of the Walled City (AKCSP 2018). The regional markets are frequented by traders, vendors, hawkers, porters, temporary migrant labor, and shoppers.

The northwest of the Walled City is endowed with the World Heritage Site, Lahore Fort, and the historic Badshahi Mosque. The southwest periphery of the Circular Road retains the 11th-century Data Darbar, which is a popular religious site visited by thousands of pilgrims daily (Ezdi 2007). In the northwest periphery, the national monument, Minar-e-Pakistan, is located.

The Walled City of Lahore has been described as a traditional 'Islamic' preindustrial city, and an inhabited monument (K. K. Mumtaz 1980). Of its nearly 22, 000 buildings, 2, 000 are considered of significant merit, of which 383 are of 'high' architectural merit and in need for conservation (WCL 2016). The widely recognized monuments have originated from imperial occupation and patronage – particularly, from the Mughals who 'embellished the city with monuments' (Glover 2008). Lahore Fort is a prominent monument from the Mughal period, which was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1981, coupled with Shalimar Gardens located outside the Walled City. There have been recent plans to appeal to UNESCO to separate the two monuments, nominating each as a World Heritage Site in its own right (AKCSP 2018).
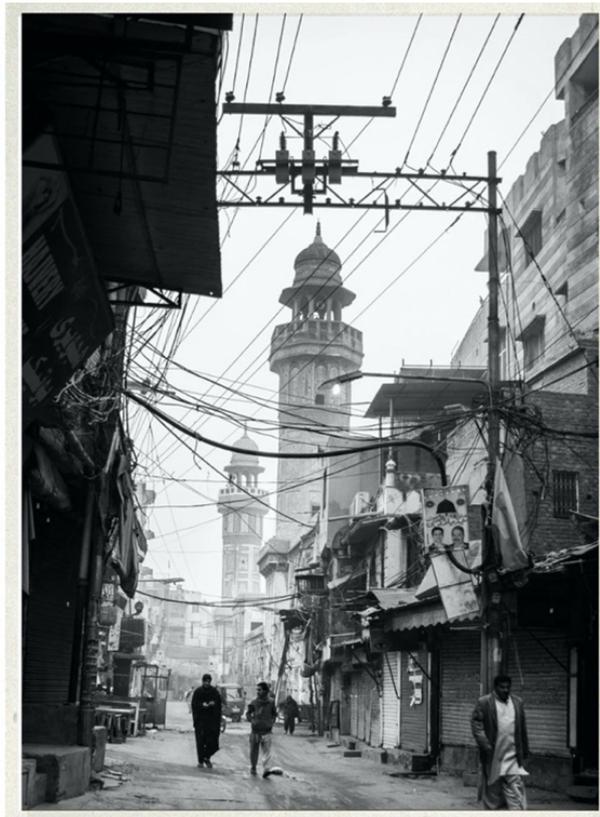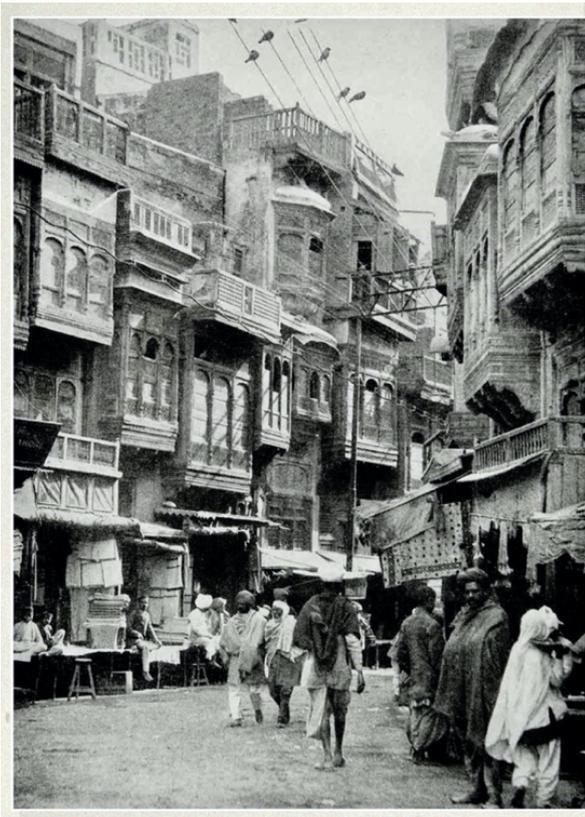
Figure 5 – A typical view of an inner-city street, pre-partition (left), and post-partition (right). Taken in 1921 and 2017, respectively. (Sources: Maynard Owen Williams and Anam Saeed)

Figure 6 – The Azam Cloth Market in the inner-city has engulfed large sections for commercial use. In the post-partition period, the urban development schemes incompatible with the physical environment activated this incremental and organic spread. Lahore, 2020. (Source: Author)

3.1. Emerging Encounters: A City of Many, Reserved for Less

The inner-city has been subjugated to varying degrees of political and cultural sovereignty, and in the decades of alterations, disruptions, and destructions, it has solidified a web of networks that persist today. The series of reformations in ideologies and cultural life have affected the treatment of the inner-city and the use of material heritage. The domination of one ideology has remained at the cost of another embedded in the urban fabric, bringing in a constant state of inclusion, exclusion, and 'inclusion-out-of-exclusion' where this form of inevitable and involuntary inclusion in the inner-city is an outcome of spatial and social exclusion from everywhere else (Bajwa and Smets 2013).

Shaping the City

The surviving built form of the Walled City of Lahore has been subject to the Mughal Period, the brief Sikh Rule, and the British Empire. However, it was during the Mughal Period (1524-1752) when the maximum development and expansion of the inner-city took place, including its fortification and the construction of the Badshahi Mosque. The Walled City of Lahore, together with the inner-cities of Delhi and Agra, represented the urban cultural center of the highest order of the Mughal times (Bajwa and Smets 2013). The hierarchies of political power, social strata, caste, and calling were evidently characterized in its physical structure.

The inner-city had defensive walls until the annexation of Punjab by the British, whose first proclamation required de-fortification and the demolition of the walls. The moat was filled in with the resulting rubble and turned into a garden that surrounds the Walled City of Lahore, to date. The colonial period 'triggered the transition of Lahore from a pre-modern settlement of trading communities to accommodate more expanded functions and social structures' (Bajwa and Smets 2013). There was an evident neglect and spatial segregation in the inner-city, as the colonists did not operate from within and had their central state apparatus outside the subcontinent. Outside of the Walled City, infrastructural development continued in the form of new roads, railway links, the civil station, and the new residential settlement for the British civilians, and the cantonment for the army.

This period was followed by the partition of India, which led to communal riots and fire, destroying parts of the Walled City. The major development schemes that followed practiced infill renewal that paved way for discordant building additions, dense commercial activity and infrastructure for motorized heavy traffic (Menezes, Mumtaz and Khan 1983). This resulted in an established pattern of aggressive speculative demolition and rebuilding at the expense of the residential urban fabric (Khan 2015).

The Walled City's spatial plan is based on well-defined domestic and community territories for ethnic and trade groups (Ezdi 2007). The everyday toponyms have classified the spatial organization into localized domains of privacy; bazaar, *mohallah, guzar* and *koochas.* The bazaar is a spatial category that refers to a frequently used public route, which is lined with 2-5 storied buildings, having fronts ranging from as narrow as 2 meters for shop-houses to 5-6 meters for courtyard houses, and over 20 meters for *havelis* (mansions). A *mohallah* is a category representing a relatively quieter, densely packed quarter that borders one or more bazaars, while a *guzar* is a cluster of many *mohallas* together (Bajwa and Smets 2013) The *koochas* are the cul-de-sacs. The names used for several bazaars, lanes and neighborhoods refer either to merchandise, occupations, or professional services.

However, the present layout can be presented as an archetypal example of spontaneous and unplanned developments (P. L. Qureshi 1979). The street volumes are depleting with ad-hoc extensions of buildings at various floor levels, and where there are ample street spaces available, new structures are constructed. The numerous stalls, and the haphazard parking of abundant motorized and non-motorized modes of transportation add to the spatial congestion. The new building typology that has

become prevalent is the 'plaza', which contains warehouses and manufacturing outlets that stand in stark contrast to the monuments, *havelis*, and other traditional building stock (Khan 2015).

Economic via Urban

The Walled City of Lahore encloses a multitude of differentiated activities, with concentrated commercial activity being the most prominent of these. It is a pivotal marketing center, locally and nationally. The inner-city hosts some of the major regional markets of Lahore, which specialize in various commodities like leather, plastics, glass, jewelry, cloth, grains, and spices, truck and automobile parts, and the red-light district (Menezes, Mumtaz and Khan 1983). While the key contributions to Lahore include the supply of processed goods through small-scale industrial manufacturing and production, the provision of storage space for these goods, and infrastructure for the transport of these goods into and out of Lahore, the inner-city also takes lead in its provision of cheap manpower (Ezdi 2007).

The varying components of the economic zone are inter-reliant and inter-supportive. The wholesale markets function close to the complementary goods transport companies. Similarly, the positioning of banks is such to aid large monetary transactions in the commercial zones. The transportation nodes, formal and informal, back touristic mobility, while their proximity to intra-city roads supplements the ease of wholesale and retail trade.

The Walled City of Lahore is surrounded by a major vehicular artery known as the Circular Road. The spaces on the periphery of the thirteen gates lining the inner-city act as transportation interchanges, where the goods are unloaded from trucks onto horse, bullock, or pushcarts and carried into the interior spaces.

Outsiders as Insiders

The social composition of the Walled City sustained significant alterations after the partition of India, with the departure of rich Hindus and Sikhs, and the arrival of the poor rural Muslims. The elite found the city that had developed outside the walls more appropriate to meet their spatial demands, and social and economic interests (Bajwa and Smets 2013). The quarters that were once inhabited by the intellectuals, entrepreneurs, merchant classes, and the affluent sections of the population that trickled out to housing schemes in the suburbs, became subject to mass rural-urban migrations.

The majority of the population today are rural migrants, members of urban marginal groups, and artisan classes. The larger portion is employed in commerce or as white-collar workers within the Walled City or within a mile radius, especially to the south (Menezes, Mumtaz and Khan 1983), while the artisan classes and other skilled craftsmen are employed in the workshops and the small-scale industries that are scattered over the inner-city.

Mafias: Which Kind?

There is a rapid consumption of land for commercial development through a powerful politician-bureaucrat-developer nexus, which weakens the state institutions or makes them redundant (Hasan 1998). The politicians, criminals, property dealers, and corrupt local officials collude for the outright occupation of land by force, or with more organized means such as the filing of baseless civil cases claiming ownership rights to a property. With the, often, slow and inefficient process of civil litigation, the rightful owners of the property can either fight the case in court and lose their ability to sell it during the pendency of the civil suit, or pay a sum of money to the blackmailers in order for the case to be withdrawn (Lau 2018). These property dealers and market traders are commonly referred to as the 'land mafia'.

The land mafia also deliberately ensure that the property is degenerating and is of no value, so they can buy it cheap, and then systematically buy the whole block to pull it down and build commercial plazas. As the lower-income property owners are unable to manage the repairs on their own, they sell their properties to them. If the administration fines the dealers and traders in the magistrate's court, they bribe them; when they go to seal the premises, they take out Kalashnikovs; if their officer goes, he gets life threats (K. K. Mumtaz 2015). The use of low-wage, low-skill abundant labor resources of the Walled City, becomes a vital tool to capitalize on the illegal occupation of state land, previously acquired with the support of corrupt officials, and the forced evacuation of poor owners, tenants, and residents. The residents are alienated from the state structures and institutions, and the economic and political marginalization results in their impoverishment.

The second connotation attached to the term 'mafia' is the informal sector, which is understood so exclusively from the viewpoint of the state. Not identical to the mafia, but popularized as it, these are the new rural migrants and artisan classes that find economic opportunities in providing the services required in the new informal conditions (Bajwa and Smets 2013). These middlemen networks do not allow the institutionalization of the day-to-day transactions, and the exchange of goods. However, these informal networks are the main providers of housing, transport, electricity, and solid waste management. They are not only limited to service provision, but also support trade and micro-enterprises (Ezdi 2007). The so-called 'mafia' disrupts the connection of the inner-city population with the formality outside it, yet also acts as an essential channel for employment opportunities for the urban poor subject to state neglect. The informal sector is an unregistered setup working with cash and is outside the tax-net. Therefore, it is considered a burden on the state and is subject to contestation.

Figure 7 – Also referred to as plaza mafias, these individuals collude with the political players in seeking illegal building approvals. The dilapidated buildings are constructed over for commercial expansions. Lahore, 2020. (Source: Author)
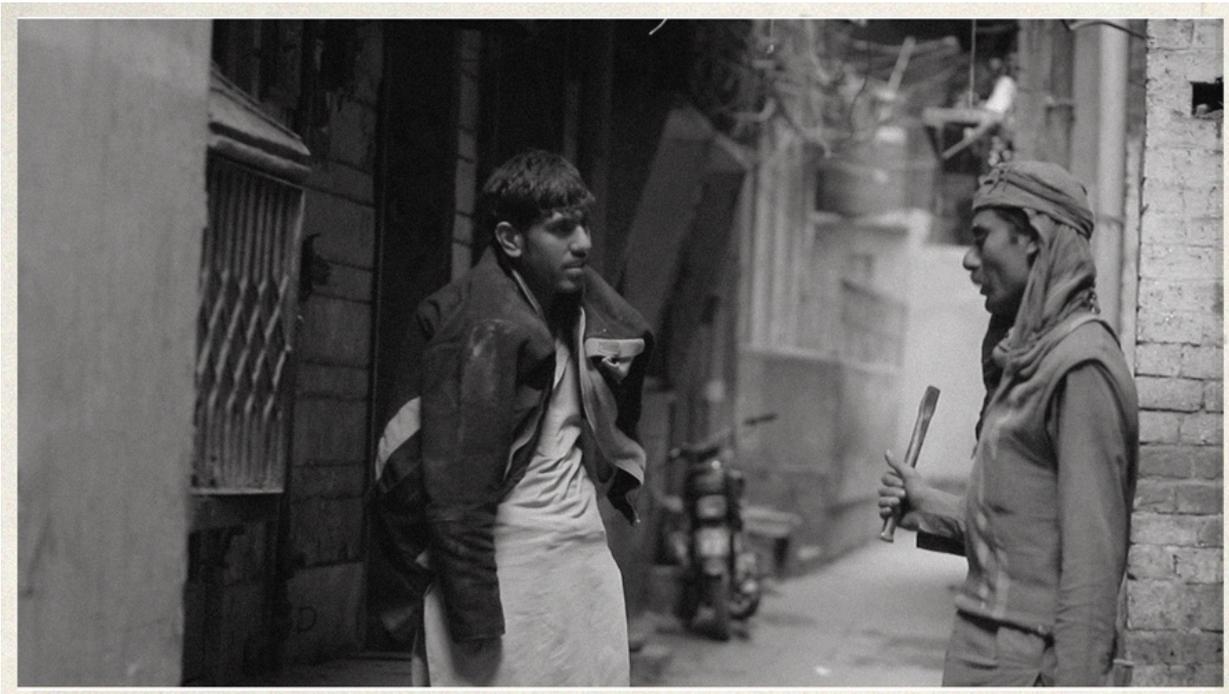

Figure 8 – The informal sector is also the primary source of employment in the inner-city. Lahore, 2020. (Source: Author)

Revisiting: The Flow of Meanings, Peoples, and Goods

The inner-city is a host region, hosting numerous encounters between a network of social relationships. The expansive meanings and values found in heritage run parallel to the flow of people and goods. The undeniably complex processes that connect the host community to the inner-city have matured over time, opening avenues for newer forms of inclusion and exclusion. The extensive influence that these developments have had, and continue to have, on the inner-city is to be taken into consideration, as the functions cannot be ostensibly divorced from the region without consistent, cohesive, and complementary methods. The conventional approaches to heritage management and urban revitalization that establish antagonism for some members of the inner-city as obstructions to progress and modernization, encourage decision-making whose beneficiaries reside elsewhere.

There is another underpinning conflict that emerges within the inner-city via its merging interlinks with the diversifying functions. This is manifest in the tensions that become implicit between the 'inhabitants' and the 'users' where the latter increasingly contests for more access to and ownership of the inner-city spaces. However, the interdependency in the community circuits, especially through the informal provision of services, has strengthened to the extent that a divide, in the absence of state interventions, will make the urban poor poorer. The neglect in the inner-city has been a historically constituted phenomenon. However, the aggressive speculative demolition and remaking of the spatial formations after independence planted the seed for alternating functions and social structures, while still maintaining the levels of neglect towards the transforming host community. The role of the intervening organizations and their imaginaries have largely impacted the local urbanism, which has activated inter-cultural and intra-cultural conflicts in the inner-city.

3.2. Evolution of the Conservation Narrative

The heritage in the inner-city, which has accumulated over a period of imperial rule and colonial occupation, has also been subject to various ideologies, destruction, disruption, and alterations. These periods of control are involved in the making of heritage, through its reorganization, production, and consumption. The evolution of the conservation practices, heritage management, and urban revitalization has displayed varying socio-political interests, where some have significantly added to the elaborate 'decay' to the quality of life for the inner-city population.

Colonial Appropriation and Isolation

The colonial appropriation of the Walled City, which was intentionally exhibited as mummified heritage, led to a new meaning ascribed to the antiquity. The local people were understood as unlearned, with no regard for their past, and an inability to deal with their built environment. In colonial perception, the inner-city was a chaotic accumulation of narrow and torturous streets, with tall houses that seemed a potential hotbed of disease and social instability, and especially, difficult to observe and fathom (Glover 2008). The spatial imagery did not match their Victorian sensibilities, which they were dedicated to developing in the countryside.

The care and maintenance of antiquities was subject to institutionalization through the establishment of the Department of Archaeology, the enactment of the Ancient Monument Preservation Act, and the substantiation of the conservation principles through the Act and Sir John Marshall's Conservation Manual (Bajwa and Smets 2013). The surveys conducted, and the documentation and conservation practices undertaken intended to politicize colonial policies, while establishing a foothold (Cheema 1993). The selective appropriation of chosen monuments reflected their cultural gaze, and the employment of antiquities to enhance the imperial image. The colonial control exerted itself, administratively, by recording, exhibiting, ordering, representing, and reinforcing the desired

meanings. The early excavations were conducted by the colonial army officers and not trained conservationists.

The industrial culture that came with the colonial control became basis for actions that caused morphological, typological, and technological discontinuities that alienated the inner-city with its ordinary, everyday character. The lack of political will to understand the non-industrialized, native culture of the inner-city resulted in the detachment and extraction of the historical artefacts and tangible objects from their environmental, physical, social, and cultural contexts. The declaration of several monuments as antiquarian objects further separated them from their lifeline of cultural continuity (Cheema 1993). Thus, art, architecture, and even history were recreated, decontextualized, and divested of the relevance they might have previously held to their background and to the people who produced them (Bajwa and Smets 2013).

The Coming of Age: Nationhood

In 1947, the independence of Pakistan from the British colony fueled spatial and demographic transformations. The urban fabric of the Walled City underwent colossal destruction from inter-communal riots and fire, as well as faced pressures from the refugee migration; the vacated residences of the affluent Hindu and Sikhs were occupied by the poor refugee families from India. Their densities increased markedly within a few months, owing to the subdivision of large homes and the occupation of open areas for make-shift residential accommodation. The historic religious and communal building stock was also occupied and turned into residential accommodation. This event marked the beginning of the environmental dilapidation of the inner-city and the destruction of its cultural heritage, both in physical and social terms (Hasan 2002).

The historic core, especially, became subject to the local indigenous markets when the partition triggered an inter-communal strife. Major parts of the Walled City were destroyed, which resulted in sequential urban development schemes by the Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT) and the Municipal Corporation Lahore (MCL). The most critical, large-scale urban interventions were the Shah Alami, Azam and Pakistan Cloth Market, which resulted in the fatal expansion of the business districts into the inner-city. This added to the incremental and organic growth. Moreover, the insurgence of post-industrial goods and services proved incompatible with the physical environment, as they had to be dealt with at the cost of pre-industrial commodities (K. K. Mumtaz 1980).

The majority of the monuments and sites were looked after by the Departments of Archaeology, and Auqaf. The Department of Archaeology was a continuation of the colonial administrative setup, the Archaeological Survey of India (Cheema 1993). The primary focus was on the conservation and preservation of the prominent historical monuments and museums, while the larger areas of the districts remained neglected (F. Qureshi 1994). The Auqaf Department was in charge of the Muslim religious monuments, while the Hindu monuments were overseen by the Evacuee Property Trust Board. The neglect that proved conservation efforts to be inefficient, and with limited impact, grew from social, economic, and political issues. These include a lack of administrative coordination, and awareness at the government policy level and public level, underemployment of trained personnel, under-allocation or misallocation of funds, irreversible damage from over-restoration, rapid urbanization, pollution, and natural disasters.

The most prominent public sector project that planned on upgrading the inner-city, with a site-and-services component that intended to deal with the new growth and management improvements, was the World Bank funded, LUDTS. The Walled City Upgrading Study, part of LUDTS, attempted to identify means of dealing with conservation as an integral part of neighborhood upgrading, redevelopment, and urban renewal proposals (Rab 1998). The Conservation Plan, which came after the prior recommendations, acknowledged the economic driving forces and focused on reducing and

rechanneling the outside pressures on the inner-city (R. H. Ali 1990). With the listing of the Lahore Fort on the World Heritage List in 1981, the Walled City attracted attention of the international development agencies (Rab 1998), as well.

However, with the mushrooming urban population in Lahore, the government showed reluctance in the comprehensive management of material and cultural heritage (Menezes, Mumtaz and Khan 1983). The increased competition for government funds and the cost inferred in the large-scale renewal efforts became an important cause for neglect in the inner-city. Moreover, with the shortage in appropriate resources, and technical and administrative personnel, the politicians, administrators, and planners became nervous in dealing with such areas. 'The financial and political uncertainties of embarking on a major improvement program' acted as a deterrent. There was another issue prevalent, which was the assumption that the host community will benefit from the trickle-down effects of interventions in the inner-city, which were planned to be operated on voluntary funds. The general attitude, and efforts to counteract that behavior, can be seen in the order of various government studies and projects that have taken place in the nation-state.

3.4. From Efforts of Conservation to its Effective Selling: Major Government Interventions

The efforts of conservation and urban revitalization have treated the inner-city in many ways; while it has been initially perceived as a 'troubled and chaotic' part of the metropolitan city, there have also been suggestions of alternative approaches such as neighborhood upgrading, redevelopment, and renewal efforts that are complementary and not competing in the inner-city. The focus has also seen a significant shift, with the increased participation of transnational organizations and economic restructuring to promote the tourism sector. The public-private partnerships function in collaboration with the national government, private donors, and a variety of non-governmental bodies, bringing to light the governance through global structures and financing of heritage.

Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study (LUDTS)

From 1979-1981, the Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study (LUDTS) was undertaken. The study was divided in four parts, dealing with urban planning strategies, and infrastructure and land development. The Volume Four of LUDTS, the Walled City Upgrading Study, presented approaches that intended to 'combine government's responsibilities and resources with a coordinated institutional effort and investment from local, national, international, and bi-lateral agency funds' (Menezes, Mumtaz and Khan 1983). The main focus remained on receiving conservation as a pivotal part of neighborhood upgrading, redevelopment, and urban renewal proposals, with emphasis on the provision and management of land, basic housing, social infrastructure, utilities.

The Conservation Plan

In 1986, the Conservation Plan was outlined, the preparation of which was made on the condition of the first World Bank credit. The PEPAC team, a local public-sector architectural firm, conducted surveys and studies, preparing an inventory of buildings of architectural, cultural, and historical merit. The key recommendations included the classification of 1, 400 buildings worthy of protection, specific policy measures, traffic improvement and management program, elaborate studies and urban planning activities, and the identification of potential projects (Rab 1998). The main focus surrounded the preservation of the Walled City's manifold assets by re-establishing its 'interior balance as a living community' (R. H. Ali 1990).

Sustainable Development of the Walled City of Lahore Project (SDWCLP)

In 2006, the Sustainable Development of the Walled City of Lahore Project (SDWCLP) emerged, funded by the World Bank, with a keen focus on developing cultural tourism. This was accompanied with plans for restaurants, hotels, tourist transportation, and handicraft boutiques. The project involved the implementation of the Pilot Project, which included the creation of a heritage trail 'to showcase methods and the benefits of the conservation of cultural assets, and their productive use and reuse' (Roquet, et al. 2017). The rehabilitation included façade and street improvements, conforming to Mughal-era forms, with the provision of new municipal infrastructure and services.

Public-Private Partnership (PPP)

In 2007, a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) Framework Agreement was implemented between the Punjab Government and AKTC-AKCSP to primarily provide self-funded technical assistance for the preparation of the Pilot Project, Shahi Guzargah (Royal Trail). The surveys conducted gathered physical and socio-economic baseline data. The key objective remained the documentation of residential buildings, while neighborhoods became targets for uplifting. In partnership, the Master Conservation Re-Development Plan 2021 was prepared, as well.

The Walled City of Lahore Authority (WCLA)

Under the Walled City of Lahore Act 2012, the Walled City of Lahore Authority (WCLA) was created by the Punjab Government by upgrading the SDWCLP Project administration to a municipal authority. It is headed by a Director-General, for the regulation, development, protection, and conservation of the entire inner-city. According to Section 7 of the Act, it entails the following major tasks; to implement and execute planning instruments, prepare and execute schemes, to identify, record, assess, and authenticate heritage value, to establish, maintain, and periodically revise planning controls and building regulations, to regulate the transfer of properties, promote culture and investment, regulate the use of public spaces, to prepare and implement schemes for solid waste disposal, transportation, and traffic, health and education facilities, to issue interim development orders for dilapidated structures at risk, and other functions incidental to the above tasks (Punjab 2012).

In the present-day, the role of WCLA is pivotal in engaging with the cultural landscape and the cultural evolution of the host community, in the backdrop of neoliberal ideologies where economic relationships are central. The considerable chunks of the inner-city reserved for tourism investment and transnational penetration speak of its systematic participation in globalization. While it is acknowledged that the conservation work done under WCLA has been more community-centric than the Department of Archaeology, what is understated are the conditions and exchanges that have made such transformations take effect. The prevalent motives underlying the incursion of tourism seek immersion in a different culture, where heritage is to be reinvented as a transnational product. These processes appear to be pushing the inner-city into an imbalance, where the host community might have to increasingly 'compete' with heritage to claim their place.

Chapter 4: Heritage Defined, and Re-Defined

The meanings attached to 'heritage' have been subject to intellectual colonization, nationalist reclamation, and urban 'modernization'. In the process, heritage is being constructed and redefined as a vessel for transnational neoliberalism. To understand the present-day urban transformations in the Walled City and their links to tourism, there is a need to reflect on the role of different actors, networks, and national and international agencies in defining and re-defining heritage through the different periods.

4.1. Intellectual Colonization and Nationalist Reclamation

The colonial scheme of building conventions and spatial practices was not only to serve as a model to borrow clues from and to be emulated by the local subjects, but also to redefine the idea of urbanity that was worthwhile to identify with (Bajwa and Smets 2013). Heritage in the Walled City was received as re-adaptable territory, or antiquities to strengthen imperial imagery. The relationship was that of an observer to an object, repelled at the lingering trace of the 'local' in the inadequate spatial organization. The native culture was represented in the material environments, which became a 'condition' enabling the continuation of old forms of life (Glover 2008). Hence, their systematic rebuilding, reorganization, and appropriation became means to alienate and recreate the social relations, values, and meanings about the past and the present.

The colonial state became custodians of land and rights of indigenous peoples in India, with the institutionalization of heritage and history. The framework of heritage legislation, often circulated between colonial networks as grounds of experimentation, revealed the colonial prejudice and the beginning of state-driven conservation practices. The notion of 'material succession' (Allais 2018), and the politics of memory-making become evident in Lord Curzon's speech, the Viceroy of India, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1900. He asserts that the monuments do not 'represent an indigenous genius or an Indian style' and are 'exotics, imported into this country in the train of conquerors'. The speech clarifies the cultural governance administered over heritage, in custody of a ruling power:

> India is covered with visible records of vanished dynasties, of forgotten monarchs, of persecuted and sometimes dishonored creeds. These monuments are […] in British territory, and on soil belonging to Government. Many of them are in out-of-the-way places, and are liable to the combined ravages of […] very often a local and ignorant population [...] All these circumstances explain the peculiar responsibility that rests upon Government in India […] They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past, and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, the art of a perished age […] Indeed, a race like our own, who are themselves foreigners are in a sense better fitted to guard, with a dispassionate and imperial zeal, relics of different ages […] [A] curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are only slowly beginning to lift the corners [for] displaying that tolerant and enlightened respect to the treasures of all, which is one of the main lessons that the returning West has been able to teach to the East (Curzon of Kedleston 1900)

The endeavor to claim intellectual sovereignty over monuments and artefacts, and to save them from the futility of the native Indians not only isolates heritage into stringent stewardship, but also presses the dominant place in national cultures of the European ruling and upper-class. The task of continuing history and heritage of indigenous peoples remained a task fit for the 'learned society' with scientific schemes of antiquarian work. The term 'learned society' has been recorded in use by Sir John Marshall, Director-General Archaeological Survey of India, to imply that knowledge is produced in the 'advanced' industrialized world and flows to the so-called 'developing countries' (Cheema 1993). The responsibility of the expert authority is assumed in identifying the values and meanings sealed

within the fabric of the heritage, which upon being excavated and decoded will add to the 'imperial zeal' of the colonial nation and hence, the good of mankind. 'It is […] our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve' (Curzon of Kedleston 1900).

The enactment of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 gave the colonial state the power of compulsory purchase of protected monuments. This paved way for the long-standing practice of asserting authority by physically appropriating or destroying a previous ruler's buildings. The buildings the authorities, often, chose to reuse were those whose scale, architectural features, and siting reverberated closely with Anglo-European notions of architectural grandeur. Hence, the Mughal-era tombs were most well-suited. Heritage was instantaneously political, in its ruler's deployment of resources of power and prestige. The colonial gaze constructed, regulated, and authorized a range of identities and values distilled onto the material subject. The newly constructed material objective reality rendered subjectivities that existed outside that realm, or hostile to it, as invisible, marginal, and less 'real'. There was a process of disassociating from the Indian past and local realities to divulge the production of new knowledge.

In *Making Lahore Modern*, Glover recounts the generic descriptions of the inner-city in the nineteenth-century British writings. The material culture of the city was sought to represent the ideals of civic and moral advancements of a society, which the interior Lahore lacked with its 'indecent' modes and customs, unfit for the colonial spatial imagination. Rudyard Kipling stood on the minaret of Wazir Khan Mosque, which was a popular European vantage point for observing the city without having to be in it. He describes his view in *City of Dreadful Nights*, marveling that the people 'can even breathe':

> Seated with both elbows on the parapet of the tower, one can watch and wonder over that heat-tortured hive till the dawn. "How do they live down there? What do they think of? When will they awake?" […] A small cloud passes over the face of the Moon, and the city and its inhabitants – clear drawn in black and white before – fade into masses of black and deeper black. (Glover 2008)

In this case, history and heritage share the attribute of selective documentation and its transformation through interpretation. The descriptions of the inner-city choose to discredit the heritage and to transmit ideological messages that legitimize their ruling position. There was an acceptance of a past steeped in mysticism and romantic ardor, but a rejection for the contemporary India, having little in common with their predecessors (Niranjana 1990). The narration of national pasts occurred at the expense of regional realities, constructing and inscribing a specific Orient in the minds of Europeans and the non-Europeans. The definition of Europe was set as a contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience to the Orient.

> Therefore, *Orientalism* is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative and expressive of some nefarious 'Western' imperialist plot to hold down the 'Oriental' world. It is rather a distribution of geographical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, socio-logical, historical, and philosophical texts […]; it is [a] certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different […] world. (E. Said 1979)

The nation-state emerged, post-partition, with the colonial ideologies internalized in their conservation practices, theories, and geopolitical actions. The selection of distant, antiquarian, and ancient pasts reflected conscious attempts to search for foundation, legitimacy, and origins. The construction of grand narratives of nation and class became institutionalized in the cultural agencies.

The political systems reinforced tradition and memory as material representations, which led the regional realities into a state of paralysis. In general, the focus was on artefacts and monuments and the preservation of their material integrity as the locus of values such as age, history and artistry (Fong, et al. 2012). The attitude of neglect towards the reality of the historical built environments also reinforced itself in post-independence publications that romanticize and glorify what was already romantic and distant (Bajwa and Smets 2013). The continuation of archaeological research towards the adoption of colonial policies, such as the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, caused the received narratives to be propagated and to be used in providing evocative experiences of the past. This has had extensive ramifications on how the past and tradition are regarded by the community and the institutions of the state, as well as how heritage is defined or marginalized.

4.2. Segregation in Conservation: Whose Ancestry?

The connotation attached to 'ancestry' and the responsibility of safeguarding their heritage has been prevalent in its association with ideas of nationhood, especially in the words of the Director-General of WCLA. The Walled City of Lahore has been subject to periods of Jan, Hindu, Mughal, Sikh, and British rule. These form the core layers of the contemporary identity of the present-day inner-city. If it has been described as a traditional pre-industrial Islamic city (K. K. Mumtaz 1980), a part of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, then in conserving its past, a prejudice materializes. The popular definition of the inner-city heritage and the sites incorporated in its tourism brochures and posters have been highlighting the grandeur architecture of the Mughal-era, which encompasses mosques, while dispensing a vocabulary with a star word i.e. 'royal'. The Pilot Project, executed more prominently under WCLA, created and promoted the Royal Trail, a 'route putatively adopted by the Mughal emperors for entry into the Walled City, traversing its northern parts, and consequently into the places in the Lahore Fort' (AKCSP 2018). The human resources allotted to the on-going projects form the largest portion in the Picture Wall and the Summer Palace of Lahore Fort, followed by the Imperial Kitchens in the Lahore Fort, and the Royal Trail. The least resources are engaged in the repair of endangered buildings. The social construction of grandeur narratives aids in the regulation and reinforcement of selective experiences. The task becomes to frame and define the social meanings these encounters engender. The definition of 'heritage' finds its way to a material culture through stories, tradition and memory authenticated by the conservation experts. The sense that tradition and memory is material becomes a powerful controlling and regulating mechanism, pressing a collective memory for public indulgence. In 1994, when the Lahore Conservation Society advocated against the demolishment of the Tollinton Market, the first Exhibition House in Lahore, members of the civil society criticized the efforts (Alam 2020) (See Appendix 1.2). The backlash was to question why the imagery of the colonial rulers was being conserved and not a mosque. The conscious attempts to construct links between heritage and the predominant identities representative of nationhood become visible. The conservation practice pushes segregation, or multiplies the meanings attached to heritage, catering to a wide audience or clientele. The cultural heritage becomes a site of conflict between various social groups, with heritage management system being an arena through which the post-colonial nation mediates contested identity politics.

4.3. Modernization via Economic Restructuring: At What Cost?

In the post-industrial Lahore, heritage appears as an aid to development, as well as a spatial match for alienated sections of the inner-city population. The conflict over who has the right to appropriate the inner-city fabric is concealed with the state-led revitalization projects, where speed of 'modernization' is promoted as measure for economic well-being. The 'modernist' paradigm popularized the concept of the city as an engine of growth, aided by a fragmentary integration with the market economy. The most important aspect of the free market economy is the freedom of capital to move across national borders and seek investment wherever it can multiply (Hasan 2009).

However, the lack of funds to support the modernist paradigm, and the incapacity of the inner-city to deal with the urban implosions, is what results in the failure of the modernist paradigm.

The revitalization and the invention of heritage in the 'modern' has not come only from the fetishization of the past, but the entrance into an era where the logics of capital have decentralized and incorporated the global realm. The local level institutions have been given considerable power, which is being used for accessing the Development Finance Institution (DFI) and identifying projects independently of the provincial or central governments (Hasan 2009). The onset of this last and definitive stage of capitalism has initiated new terminology and concepts to support the market economy, such as 'cities are engines of growth' or 'it is not the business of the state to do business'. This has been supported through global institutions that determine global politics, culture, finance, and the restructuring of the national development policies; UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan recently appointed a new Governor of the State Bank, a key person in charge of the monitory policies, who has eighteen years of experience with the IMF and two years with the World Bank. His recent statement 'IMF is our partner in economic reforms' was supported by a claim that this will 'reduce the inflation in the coming days'. Pakistan's indebted economy has turned to IMF thirteen times for a bailout since the late 1980s. The IMF provides financial assistance, a bailout, only on the conditionality that the country agrees to implement a series of economic policy reforms that revive and maintain an economic growth rate. In this case, Pakistan is under heavy pressures to expand its tax revenue, to bolster depleted public finances, where it turns to diversifying its economic base towards the service-sector. The connection can appear clear, as the national economic crisis means less national investment, less subsidies for the infrastructure projects, and more involvement of the national and international corporate sector through international tendering. The role of the civilian government has depleted, as it loses control over the economy of Pakistan. The donor agencies have engaged in the mechanism of 'soft power' where the instances of attracting nation-states and co-opting, instead of coercing is made visible. The bilateral aid arrangements have highlighted the political behavior inherent in the present-day world orders. When seen together, these relationships add up to an expansive network of heritage governance functioning at national and sub-national levels.

The sudden shift to tourism has become a primary initiator of urban revitalization in the development plans. The attractiveness of the tourism sector in the case of the inner-city comes from its ability to not demand colossal investments or high technology, in times of payment deficits. The rationales of economic liberalization and privatization of the state's enterprises and investments is forming a neoliberal moment, which is affixed in more conservative politics, and excessive economic liberalization and restructuring. This is rooted in the uneven levels of development, with a rapid shift towards new economies and new forms of wealth accumulation. The inclination of the Director-General, WCLA towards private-sector driven development and tourism facilities comes from it being a good 'selling point'. The proposition that these development projects do not require funds from the Government of Punjab extracts their appreciation and a green light to proceed. It does not concern them that it becomes a liability, a 'debt-trap' (K. K. Mumtaz 2015). Since the 'mega projects' and 'masterplans' show that something has been delivered, regardless of the damaged inflicted during the delivering process, it collects them 'brownie points' (R. Ali 2020). There is a visible inside-outside dichotomy, where the external decision-makers enter the process, not only extracting the benefits out of the locality, but also holding the purse strings to justify such a phenomenon.

The preoccupation is towards the diversification of the economic base, where the institutional relationship between the local level organizations, in cooperation with the donor agencies, World Bank and IMF, look for tourism as a venue and an opportunity to not only promote regional collaboration and stability, but also the liberalization of development and investments. The end-result is a lack of strong sustainability indicators, as the local actors are not recognized, or fully-involved in

the decision-making process or the implementation of the projects. The 'shock treatments' in the inner-city have paved way for architectural cosmetics and the exploitation of the material heritage, instead of institutionalized practice. The project is rendered as a 'successful' rehabilitation effort if the economic surplus surpasses the opportunity cost inflicted by the marginalized population. The absence of appropriately subsidized land development and social housing also negatively impact the evicted or marginalized population, which causes elevated debt, loss of jobs, more travel time to and from work, and affects their families, social life, health, and recreation and entertainment activities. The recognition of the inner-city monuments by UNESCO further brings in new capital relations, which expand over physical infrastructure upgrades, construction industries, tourism, and the commodification of international imaginaries.

4.4. The Governance and Use of UNESCO

Lahore Fort was jointly inscribed on the World Heritage List with Shalamar Gardens in 1981. In defining the cultural significance of the Lahore Fort, which is the basis for the World Heritage Inscription, UNESCO states that the 'Lahore Fort is the foremost Mughal monument of Pakistan, imbued with layers of historical and spiritual meaning for locals and visitors alike'. The listing invited international recognition and global popularity to the Walled City of Lahore. However, the role of UNESCO as a status-defined marketing tool in pressing global governance and outlets for the commodification of heritage remains unquestioned and unseen.

In 1972, the UNESCO General Conference adopted the World Heritage Convention, which established a World Heritage List where cultural and natural sites of 'universal' importance are catalogued. The Shalamar Gardens and Lahore Fort meet three of the ten selection criteria, as well as display 'authenticity, integrity and Outstanding Universal Value' (UNESCO n.d.). The Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is defined as:

> [the] cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole […] for a select list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint. (UNESCO 2019)

The heritage conservation behavior that such a statement seeks to set globally is unnoticed due to the pride that the State Party takes in accepting the 'exceptionality' authorized to them. The symbolic attribute of prestige is naturalized within the heritage places and objects, which promotes a national desire to control the fetishized or prized material object. The attention of the national authorities is diverted over exerting the identity, which is produced through the universal narratives, as it becomes a resource for the development of the homogenized heritage product. In defining what is 'exceptional' and in the assumption of what the local priorities should be, UNESCO is also subjecting the material culture to an international gaze. The global construction of meanings and values attached to heritage is political, involving the deployment of resources of power and prestige. This can be traced in the case of the Royal Trail, and the conservation of the Lahore Fort, where heritage has been projected as 'manageable' material culture, which can be placed on national or international site registers. The shrinkage of the concept of 'heritage' on-site alleviates the social, cultural, or historical conflicts about the meaning, value or nature of heritage.

While addressing the efficiency of Management Plans in the context of urban development, the Committee addresses the Properties:

> Also noting that the pressures of high investment urban development projects in and around properties are increasingly a threat to their Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), and that in

contrast, the OUV could provide a valuable opportunity for the property and its wider setting to define a new urban vision that integrates and valorizes the OUV with new needs and aspirations. (UNESCO 2019)

In the various conventions, charters, recommendations, and other texts produced by UNESCO and ICOMOS, there is an underlying task of maintaining the authority in the heritage discourse. The OUV ascribed to the Lahore Fort, and its surrounding urban fabric that includes the Badshahi Masjid (Royal Mosque) and the Tomb of Ranjit Singh, tends to privilege the more western assumptions about the meaning and nature of heritage; the Mughal-era 'artistic and aesthetic achievements' are epitomized in the range of design expressions from 'monumental structures to water gardens' (UNESCO n.d.). The standard set for the dramatically visible aesthetic qualities is questionable, as it reduces the cultural significance to the community of the smaller, undiscovered, undocumented, or not studied sites. Moreover, 'the pressures of high investment urban development projects' run parallel to the mounting touristic value of the Lahore Fort, in the presence of state's selective obedience to the conservation ethics. This can be observed in the case of the Food Street that lies adjacent to the western-side of the Fort, next to the Badshahi Mosque, having remained a former red-light district. In 2012, a 'revitalization' project overtook the former residential block and developed it into a commercial strip for restaurants, with superficial aesthetic rejuvenation. The provincial government did not finance the private venture, but facilitated and arranged for the loan requested.

In the recent interview conducted with the Director-General of WCLA, he recalled his efforts regarding the Pilot Project, Shahi Guzargah (The Royal Trail), in the Walled City. He claimed that 'some very good work of an international standard has happened, and we have got UNESCO awards for it'. The Royal Trail, a 1.6-kilometer-long heritage trail, commences from the Delhi Gate, the most popular tourist entrance to the inner-city, and culminates at the Lahore Fort, which is the UNESCO site. It links marked monuments including the Shahi Hammam, the Chowk Wazir Khan, Wazir Khan Mosque, Sonheri Masjid (Mosque), Chuna Mandi Girls College, and the Begum Shahi Mosque. The UNESCO Asia-Pacific Award for Cultural Heritage Conservation has been granted to the restoration work at Shahi Hammam, which is a 17th-century Mughal-era bathhouse located in the beginning of the Royal Trail. The winners were selected based on the extent to which 'the projects reflected a clear understanding and application of various criteria'. This includes the articulation of the spirit of place, technical achievement, appropriate use or adaption, and the contribution of the project to the surrounding environment, as well as, the local community's cultural and historical continuity (AKDN 2016). The concept of 'learned societies' is revisited, as the focus of conservation is not directed at challenging the received 'capsule' of 'prescribed' knowledge (Cheema 1993). The focus is on taking up the responsibility to address and adhere to the values and meanings sealed in the local heritage by the international expert authorities. The expert perspective, concerned primarily with isolated events of the good and the glorious past, cannot fully take into account the individual interpretative agency.

The crisis arises not only from the adherence to foreign mediations, but from the lack of awareness and availability of the local technical experts on issues concerning conservation (Cheema 1993, F. Qureshi 1994, Dada 2020, R. Ali 2020). The inadequate involvement of the national resources, conservationists, architects, and planners is embedded in their misuse in projects that promise short-term, quick turnovers. The use of the terms 'architect' and 'planner' is dangerous as these 'experts' are taking on conservation projects with no educational background or knowledge of the subject, and are doing more harm to the sites than natural deterioration would do. Hence, these issues cannot be rectified by complying to summarized 'guidelines' from the foreign contexts (Cheema 1993). This behavior towards heritage conservation has also been connected to the absence of a national charter in Pakistan, where the national cultural policy is also considered insufficient as it encompasses more of the performing arts than heritage. There is criticism that the cultural policy framework is employed to firm up views about the cultural products, not taking into account the actions of the state, the corporate and the non-profit sectors, and societal networks that impact the cultural and the sub-

cultural outcomes (Mahmud 2016). In this case, the cultural break that is pushed in paralyzing the on-going regional transformations and freezing the material culture is done so without much conflict.

The traditional and authorized definitions of heritage, and what it should represent, is taken up as an opportunity to tell nationalizing stories that do not always reflect the cultural or social realities of the inner-city. The dissemination of a consensus view of heritage proves to be less contested as the prevalent population in the inner-city is relatively new, possessing less or no historical legitimacy of past experiences. The political agenda of WCLA, and intervening organizations, delineates which groups and interests they seek to support and those they challenge. The aim to protect the material heritage disengages the conservation-goals from protecting the rights of the population, as they are movable entities, selective of which can be compensated elsewhere. The institutional inclination towards marginalizing becomes justifiable, as long as the economic benefits surpass the opportunity cost of the population relocated. In this case, internationally funded sustainability programs, which can include resettlement plans for the dislocated are employed. This not only sparks debate on the buzzword of 'sustainability', but also on the role of international donor agencies in the urban restructuring.

4.5. International Aid: For Sustainability?

The role of international agencies and donors is tangled within the Convention-State nexus. In 2006, the World Bank provided the Punjab Government a loan of USD 7.7 million for the Sustainable Walled City Project (SDWCLP), which includes the Pilot Project, Shahi Guzargah (The Royal Trail). The Draft Report for the project states:

> WCL is facing [a] clashing contrast between amazing urban and cultural values and [the] concentration of urban poverty of its population […] The pilot project envisages the creation of a heritage trail (the Shahi Guzargah) having length of 1.6 km that will lead visitors from Delhi Gate to the Lahore Fort, connecting along the trail some of the most significant heritage assets of the Walled City […] The specific objective of the "Pilot project" is to try at a reasonable scale, the overall restoration/development plan. This shall also showcase the quality and nature of interventions that shall be subsequently implemented in the entire Walled City, through the proposed authority. (SDWCL 2010)

The objects defined include:

> To safeguard and to bring social economic and heritage value to tangible cultural assets in trail area. To encourage heritage related commercial activity including tourism. Physical and socio-economic development and to improve municipal services and living conditions. To rehabilitate cultural assets as a source of pride and identity. To enhance institutional capacities in cultural heritage affairs and related skills in the public and private sector. To enhance local stewardship of cultural heritage. (SDWCL 2010)

The foremost issue that arises in the project brief is the ambiguity of the concept of 'sustainability'. While World Bank and Asian Development Bank have adopted a language of sustainability related to poverty reduction, health or long-term infrastructural provisions, the measures of how it is being achieve on-ground is unclear. Moreover, the measures of sustainability have blurred the lines between long-term goals and short-term goals, as well as between spatial and temporal factors. The ability of the term to be loosely applied for conveying and justifying various versions of conservation goals without accountability has permitted the project to shift towards heritage consumption and the creation of wealth. The oscillation between the past and the future has left the present unaccounted for.

The Pilot Project has been highlighting cultural tourism and has involved 'rehabilitation' largely in the form of urban renewal, which includes façade and aesthetic improvements, and the clearance and relocation of formal and informal actors. There has been a calculated number of 157 shops, parts of which have been and will be subject to relocation or compensation, of which only 21 are informal occupants. The discourse on sustainability becomes open to appropriation. For the opponents of eviction and resettlement, the removal of the shops disrupts livelihood opportunities of the urban poor, while disregarding their social integration within the inner-city fabric. For the officials pushing the agenda of urban revitalization and heritage conservation, the World Bank-proposed Resettlement Action Plan sustainably ensues poverty reduction agendas, while developing the aesthetic quality of the heritage. However, the commonly used hinge for the link between conservation and development has been tourism, which divulges complex public-private sector exchanges. Kamil Khan Mumtaz, the leading consultant of the first governmental study in the inner-city, LUDTS, comments on the local government's source of revenue:

> A prime example is the Walled City [Lahore] Authority (WCA). The last one was dreamed up by Asian Development Bank. They said you have a great asset, an investment opportunity, turn your culture and history into an advantage, [for] income generation. There will be poverty alleviation; call it sustainable conservation. That will be your equity, we'll provide the cash, together we'll make this mega project, we'll make mega bucks, you get money, photo opportunity and everyone is very happy, consultants, contractors, [and] suppliers. (K. K. Mumtaz 2015)

The enthusiastic adoption of the sustainable agenda through the public-private partnerships has utilized cultural heritage as a resource and an asset. This has anchored the conservation narrative into a neoliberal agenda, where culture and its human bearers are readily being transformed into resources for capital accumulation. This can be related to the shift towards the service-sector, which is driven by the restructuring policies of the international donors who provide considerable chunks of aid to encourage a shift to excessive and uncontrolled tourism development. In this case, heritage emerges as a pivotal asset available for exploitation, in the presence of limited industries in a developing nation like Pakistan. The local and national markets are opening for the interconnectivity and the involvement of the global capitalism. The 'sustainable' paradigm becomes disproportionately influenced by a specific class alliance, which triggers the 'common sense' that heritage is an elite concern, best managed and regulated by the socially and economically comfortable. The vicious cycle of poverty underlies the exclusion from the cultural wealth. The state of neglect excludes the urban poor from available opportunities in education, health, and productive development, continuously jeopardizing their chance of intervening in heritage management. In this process, the institutional networks accrue substantial wealth via tourism related concessions, transactions, and contract agreements.

The social inequity segregates the insiders, recent or not, for a purpose lesser than the economic well-being of the inner-city population. In the face of economic development, mega projects, and masterplans, the tradition-based land right and long-standing practices of environmental custodianship stand vulnerable, threatening the vital forms of material and non-material security that has emerged as community coping mechanisms. The use and abuse of umbrella terms like 'sustainability' and authorized forms of conservation knowledge catalyzes the heritage industry, where there is no place for the marginalized population, except for as heritage props.

4.6. Heritage Industry: Tourism for Beginners

While there are instances of global governance under UNESCO, the role played by the organization is limited due to its character as an Intergovernmental Organization dependent on the good will and cooperation of the Member States. The World Heritage List is desirable for a variety of reasons

ranging from displaying visible commitment to universally recognized aims, achieving the status acquired by international recognition, and numerous political and ideological benefits. The association also brings in development aid for the local government and tourism for private and/or state enterprises. Hence, the instances of use and abuse of the attention and the popularity gain have become commonplace behavior, at the local level, which brings in a commodification effect where heritage becomes an economic and often, a political resource.

The inner-city has been separated from the citywide context and institutionalized as the mystic 'other'. The past developments and tourism instances have exhibited the treatment of the inner-city as a historic, tourist town. The stories of the Mughal-era and the inner-city are found synonymous in Lahore. The tourists temporarily participate in the 'royalty' of the imperial past, departing into the 'other' that has been constructed, produced, and utilized for their consumption. This stands ignorant of the realities prevalent in the life of the daily users, for whom it may depreciate the quality of life with the exclusionary measures. There is an interplay between the performative culture and the host community that is extracted as a source of the inner-city 'experience'. The recurrent coercing of selective themes marks the tourist experience as more and more 'authentic'. Hence, it becomes a mass-produced misrepresentation of the daily users, by the tourists whose idea of heritage is embedded in their interaction with the site, as mediated by guides and guidebooks, and imagined personal histories in seeking the authenticity.

WCLA introduced a *Rangeela* Rickshaw Tour, outsourced from a private tour operator, which gives the tour of the Royal Trail. The tourists, predominantly of lower-middle, upper-middle or elitist class, sit in the over-adorned two-wheel vehicles, which are decorated with the traditional truck art usually seen on the trucks for goods transportation in Lahore. Originally planned to have run solely in the inner-city, the service has now been expanded to cater as wedding rentals, as well. The tourism operator has different packages available, personalized for foreigners, families, corporate groups, and so on. The tourists are concentrated around the historic trail, tracing the famous monuments and catalogue views of the hustling bustling streets, astounded by its dangling wires, vibrant spice stacks against the backdrop of congested streets and regenerated facades, and guided profusely by the 'hospitable' tour guides. This effort has been subject to media attention, where it has been praised as an effective initiative to 'not leave the users of the inner-city behind' and to push for alleviating the sense of ownership of the host community.

The commercial tourism operator is invited as an external stakeholder to utilize the cultural elements, extract economic benefits out of the local community, and to perpetuate false perceptions and stereotypes. The diversification of tours for different clientele aid in expanding the economic opportunities available to the external stakeholder, where providing an array of heritage products incites the tourists to partake in the numerous, packaged facets of everyday life in the inner-city. Their task is to reduce the complex past to a set of easily recognizable characteristics, which suit the preconceived expectations, existing experiences, and the limited knowledge of the tourists. So, when the tourist guide tells the tourist that Delhi Gate is where once the Mughal emperor, with his royal entourage, forwarded on his elephant to the Lahore Fort, with subjects leaning over the balconies to shower their emperor with flowers, the visitor has already created an imagined spatial plane that will act as a vignette to the rest of his 'experience'. The familiarity with the past that he has created places the tourist in the imagined position of authentic, where his experiences merge with the nostalgia to create an exciting, yet staged present. The aesthetic stylization of the vehicle he rides gives him the same notion of being center stage, in the higher tier of the social hierarchy. The contemporary realities are pushed to the periphery, while perceived romantic notions come to the forefront. While it is noted that the vehicle holds no historical reference in the context of the inner-city, it is deployed as a branding instrument to fasten the cycle of accumulation. The homogenization of the heritage product creates an expendable model, which can be applied elsewhere with the same ease and can be discarded and replaced with a new imaginary, if needed. These dynamics are also suggestive of the restructuring

of the mode of production to more flexible systems of production that can be easily organized and reorganized with the changes in consumer tastes, and the emergence of niche and segmented markets.

The heritage trail is organized around the various 'stage-sets' where the participants devour the activities of the inner-city population as the 'others' frozen in history. The heritage product is invented, remade, and its elements reorganized to diversify its clientele. The tourists are confined in a bubble while relating to experiences of being tourists more than that of being a part of the inner-city. The tour duration is short, so packaged tightly, with the itinerary restricted within the allotted spaces of monumental value. In the case that the tourists are free to roam, their perception remains equipped with the consumed notions of cultural heritage. The major parts of the tour are spent in experiencing the place through the interaction with the local tour guides, restaurant staff, shopkeepers, and at the ticket counters, all of which share a consensus relationship of being the consumers of leisure and the providers of entertainment services for the leisure.

The collaborative enterprise is not limited to the tour operators but also incorporates the spatial distribution of tourist activity and economic benefits to the private restaurants, hotels, and shops. The historic trail, from the Delhi Gate to the Lahore Fort, terminates at the Food Street, with an open vista to the Fort and the Badshahi (Royal) Mosque. The tour packages are divided into categories, each of which includes a dinner meal at select restaurants in the Food Street, which is outside the reach of the longstanding host community. The site stands as an example of gentrification in the inner-city, where the former red-light district was taken over as part of an urban revitalization project, and moral policing, and was converted into a food hub with several private investments. The street encompasses renovated and repainted facades, unified signposts, pedestrianized pavements, and the newly constructed Mughal-era gates that enclose the activities within. The intention has been to attract attention to the culminating site and create it into a 'hotspot' of culture and 'authentic' food, while the other areas continue to struggle with largely neglected urban issues. The label of community participation, proudly attached to such projects, often means public contribution to decision-making for communal spaces, or simply the availability of information on local council activities. Hence, the participation remains consultative, not decisive.

The dominance of economic forces originating from tourism motives has not only led to the reuse of the individual buildings conflicting its original host community, but also made visible the conditions for 'enclave tourism' where the type and location of facilities particularly caters to the needs of the tourists. The investment, development, and planning decisions, down to architectural details, have been increasingly shaped by market assessments of tourist potential, and less for the resident and community use. The dominance of aesthetic rejuvenation, competing private enterprises for space, and the segregation of functions has created exclusionary conditions in the form of specific neighborhood branding. The rhetorical surface of revitalization acts as a concealment, censoring real conflicts over who has the right to appropriate these districts. The representation of the space, heritage, and tourism has serious socio-political and ideological consequences, as it imposes a cultural identity that is distant from the regional realities on-ground. The material heritage becomes static, while being at the center of attempts to civilize and sanitize the commercial informality that surrounds it. The justified urban 'uplifting' and aesthetic rejuvenation forms a part of local level institutional strategies to intervene in the urban political economic arena, concealing the underlying 'vandalism' that is done on the part of the local authorities while making visible the vandalistic behavior of the daily users.

4.7. Shared Spaces: Conflicting Experiences

The inter-cultural and intra-cultural conflicts have largely come from the intellectual disparity within the nation-state, which have led to conflicting and competing perceptions of the cultural meanings and their treatment. The many by-products of such 'intellectual poverty' (Dada 2020) (See Appendix

1.3) have added to the conditions for the conservation-led marginalization. The disruption in understanding the continuing transformations in the inner-city support heritage management that does not treat the cultural heritage as an integral component of the living society. The intellectual poverty can be ascribed to a lack of awareness and a disconnect with the local culture, which is increasingly attached to an economic value and socio-political interests. In an interview with Nayyar Ali Dada, member of the Heritage Conservation Board, he commented on the missing political stability and continuity of purpose needed to drive conservation efforts:

> The basic challenge is the poverty of thought where intellectually the state of affairs is getting more and more frigid and plastic […] So, it boils down to decision-making, and in it, if the top is inflicted with a bad taste and bad values, then lower down people like myself, a small and powerless group of activists, cannot move forward with whatever we believe in because the space for it is not there […] priority, decision-making, and the general lack of awareness in the masses are problems, the top and the bottom are both disasters, so that is why we are reaching nowhere. (Dada 2020)

The lack of awareness and tensions of conflicting interests are prevalent at different levels, from within the local government down to the host community and the visitors. Often, the elected members of the local government have political aims that are likely to contrast with their professional duties. In the tenure of the last elected government, it became eminent that the political choices were directed towards short-term urban procedures that generated quick and visible results. This became prominent in the Orange Line Metro Train Project, which was a mass transit scheme to exhibit the 'performance' of the ruling party, a day before the by-election. The route violated the conservation laws as the track was in proximity to numerable immovable monuments in the city, which meant visual and structural damage to material heritage. The construction also meant mass eviction, most of which was monetarily compensated for with soft loans from China. The project was halted due to legal issues, but the deficiency in intellect is still largely manifest in most instances of decision-making.

In the case of the local government departments, the Department of Archaeology and WCLA have long conflicted over control regarding the material heritage. The effective coordination is not the pivotal subject here, but the level of expertise each desire to maintain is. In 2013, the local government made formal decisions to transfer the control of Lahore Fort, among others, from the Department of Archaeology to WCLA. This was made worse, as a prominent number of employees of the former department reside in quarters that exist within the premises of the Lahore Fort. In another instance, there were disputes over the excavation of Shahi Hammam (The Royal Bath) and its naming, which WCLA declared to have found under the living quarters of the employees. The dispute was embedded in the varying historical claims made by both the departments, debating whether it should be affiliated with the Mughal-era or not. The ill-informed cross-disciplinary vision evidently marks the correlation of claiming 'stewardship' with maintaining the power relations. The shift in the power balance between the stakeholders, one feels empowered, disempowering the other.

There is also a distinct conflict, or potential tension, between the local market and the international tour operators. The international investors in play have indicated plans for developing tourism, with which comes the invitation for local entrepreneurs. In the previous chapter, the research explored the many ways in which the tourism operators are often involved in a collusive relationship with the public authorities, where the material and cultural heritage is manipulated to fit the desired tourist experiences. The packaging of cultural identities in quick, cultural images also inflicts tension between the local craftsmen, artisans, and performers, and the tourism operators who appear to extract economic benefits out of the locality, at the expense of others who are left to wait for the trickle-down effect.

The intellectual poverty is also exhibited in the conflicting concerns of the host community and the local authority, planners and conservationists. The former is concerned with deficits in employment opportunities, sanitation, traffic, and the social facilities. The latter misperceives the concerns of the former, often assuming that there is a need to salvage the material heritage, deteriorating facades, and treating the open spaces for collective ownership. The penetration of the Eurocentric ideologies, the AHD (Smith 2006), has privileged material heritage over the intangible experiences and has highlighted sites, places or monuments as subjects to be uplifted and managed. In assuming the heritage as 'found' with innate value, it is understood to speak to the present and the future generations. Hence, the discourse persuades of the ability of heritage to ensure their 'place' in the world. The heritage is represented as fragile, requiring expert protection.

There is a widely used phrase, attached to the work of social mobilization teams in the inner-city, which is that the 'teams convinced the residents of the benefits' of conservation and urban revitalization. This implies the approach of factoring the host community and their culture into tourism development. There is an emphasis on the vocabulary of 'control', 'power', and making the community 'self-sufficient'. The question shouldn't be on whether they were involved or not, but on how they were involved and if it was beyond just convincing them to proceed with the project. In many cases, the community in the inner-city is involved as a passive consumer, partaking in short social mobilization missions sent from the local authority.

The intellectual poverty prevails in many forms, but what poses an integral concern is the changing role of the intelligentsia and academic institutions. There is a gap in the objective reality and the point of reference and inspiration these actors seek in the 'First World' (Hasan 1992). Arif Hasan, architect and social researcher in Pakistan, comments on the recent absentee role of the intelligentsia in grounding the institutionalization of socio-economic change:

> The result is that our politicians are unaware of conditions, except intuitively; our professionals can serve only a very small percentage of our people; and our research organizations work on subjects that are really esoteric in nature as they are in no way related to the problems our society is faced with. For instance, our economic research institutions produce volumes on exchange rates, fiscal policy choices, monetary management etc. but the informal sector, on which the vast majority of our people survive, does not feed into these researches and nor is it a subject of research by itself. (Hasan 1992)

There is an imbalance presented, where there is a need to bridge the gap between the state structure and the social reality. This is, again, connected to the 'modernist' paradigm that popularizes the concept of the city as an engine of growth, aided by a fragmentary integration with the market economy. The failure to do so will prolong the state of neglect, which can lead to the dissemination of more disconnected values and repercussions for the various actors that are entangled in the web of these networks.

Chapter 5: Making Heritage: A Cause for Marginalization?

The research set out to explore the inner-city as a nexus of identities, and intervening institutional networks complicit in animating processes of place politics, identity construction, and tourism development. The engagement with the on-going conservation practices and the urban revitalization projects has indicated the political complexities that regulate the definition, production, consumption, and regeneration of heritage. The emerging trajectories make visible the growing preference for tourism development, the underpinning national and international imaginaries, and the inter-cultural and intra-cultural conflicts that are otherwise understated. The political framework in play, historically and in the present-day, is not remote from persistently impacting the physicality and the cultural arrangement of the inner-city, enabling conditions for conservation-led marginalization.

The narrative of heritage has been subject to significant degrees of political and cultural sovereignty, and decades of physical alterations, disruptions, and destructions. In the process, it has been constructed, defined, and adjusted as a vessel for transnational neoliberalism. The approaches to conservation, heritage management, and urban revitalization have been learned to adhere to homogenized discourses and the expansive structure of heritage governance, which functions at national and international levels. The inner-city has been comprehended as a host region, hosting several encounters between a network of social and spatial relationships. In dissecting the treatment of the historic inner-city, the research brings to light the constant state of selective inclusion and exclusion prevalent. The making of new cultural territories with a keen focus on tourism development and urban restructuring, conceived and financed outside the host region, has proceeded largely without consistent, cohesive, and complementary approaches.

The research has argued that conservation-led marginalization is not limited to physical dispossession, but is traceable in a multitude of social and political pressures. The reinterpretation of heritage from times of intellectual colonization to neocolonialism has reflected a laborious assemblage of selective memories that have the most capacity for being serviceable to the sub-national, national, and international stewards of heritage. The state of control excludes the urban poor from the task of heritage interpretation, which is presented as an increasingly elitist concern. The lack of available opportunities in education, health, and productive development jeopardizes the role of the marginalized as active or rightful members of the host community, limiting their contribution to consultative tasks. The patterns of a dominant-subordinate relationship make evident the tendency towards fundamental inequality, parallel to the ever-growing expectations and opportunities presented by the foreign investors, international aid agencies and expert bodies.

The fragmentary integration with the market economy and the heightened attraction to the tourism sector also deploys the local users as components of the heritage product. The resulting division of the inner-city between zones of tourist consumption and those of shared function, has made visible power differentials. The cultural homogeneity is manifest in the form and functions of the conventional urban projects. The standardization and commercialization of experiences has also categorized the inner-city population as intermediaries of the mystic and the 'other'. The primary efforts are directed towards external decision-making and internal persuasion, marketing the megaprojects and masterplans. The gap between the regional realities and the national and international visions is left underdeveloped or overly developed.

The regional realities are filtered and members that do not prove contributory to the externally envisioned developments are justified as obstructions to progress and catalogue modernization. The research presents the case of the informal sector, which is largely contested at institutional levels. While it is recognized that their role has proved determinantal to the physical environment, with ad hoc commercial expansions swallowing sections of the inner-city, it is also brought to light that there are little or no incentives to recognize them. Their origin, as developing out of an imbalance in state

efforts, is trivialized and the sector is subjugated to sanitization. The commercial entities are not predominantly representative of the urban poor or the marginalized members. However, the informality is not specific to the inner-city, and carries a vast multiplication effect, if not acknowledged and rightfully dealt with. The implicit focus of conservation efforts heavily relies on the 'now' that means approaches to achieve quick and visible results. The rest of the focus is on utilizing the past as a tool to satisfy more future-oriented goals. The present, and with it most of the community aspirations, is lost to the transient objectives.

The encounters and conflicting interests that enable conservation-led marginalization are facing a further expansion, due to the cultural break the city has experienced after the free penetration of global institutes, and capital. The structure of the state and how it is governed, the way the financial system operates, and how development is envisaged, implemented, and managed is not suggestive of the demographic, social, cultural, and economic changes that have been prevalent after independence. The intellectual disparity within the nation-state disconnects the ones making the decisions from the ones bearing those decisions, making heritage a sight of dispute, abuse, and misuse.

The host community is the fundamental characteristic of the inner-city, which cannot be viewed merely as facilitating passive stakeholders or convenient workforces. The historic core cannot also be detached from the host community as an economic resource to realize tourist demands. In the regional reality, there is an inseparable relationship between the host space and the transforming host community. In the regional reality, there is also an inevitable relationship emergent between the heritage places and the tourists. In a fast globalizing world, the desire to travel is not likely to diminish, and the technological and economic means to fulfill the cultural pursuits are also likely to strengthen. In the age of rapidly urbanizing cities, the population is prone to seeking stability and familiarity, which is presented in the places of heritage. However, the rate of urbanization and modernization is also likely to pose physical pressures on the places to remain active and relevant in the global context. In such a scenario of polarity, it is imperative to reorient the treatment of heritage through the vignette of social and cultural aspects, which can curtail conservation-led marginalization; it is not to be treated as an inevitable outcome.

There is a need to dismantle the learned connotations of heritage and to also look into the non-expert views concerning the nature and meaning of heritage. The transforming sense of place and culture is embedded in the evolution of the places of heritage and the regional realities they continually host. The materialistic notion of heritage can encourage passivity and discourage activeness, which makes heritage intangible and one interlinked with changing social values. The risk and fear of being governed and discredited, in the absence of a systemized acknowledgment, can distance the shifting communities from the places they occupy. To teach, and to engage with, can prove to be more productive than to prescribe dominant ideologies attached to heritage, which are not yet fully understood or contested within the prescribing institutions themselves.

However, the question is whether the disproportionate opportunism of the politicians, planners, and their international accomplices will endure the reoriented efforts that do not engage in the economic commodification of material and cultural heritage? There is also a concern if the intelligentsia and researchers can envisage a renegotiated approach to conservation, which is embedded in a cohesive understanding of the marginalized members. The focus of productive restructuring should also be directed towards the informal sector, which is the pivotal source of sustenance in the given state of affairs. In order to perceive heritage as a mirror, which speaks of transformations as much as of the past, the producers and distributors of knowledge, control, and authority must acknowledge the regional realities and the living components enclosed within the realm of heritage. The insight and analysis presented in this research can offer a useful point of departure for understanding the nature and power of heritage. Through the understanding of the consequences of misuse and abuse of heritage, one can understand what it is and how it can be complementary to those attached to it. If the

conditions are not readdressed, the disorder is likely to develop more aggressively, leading the nation-state to the stage where heritage will become the least of our anxieties.

Appendix

Interview Transcriptions

The interview transcriptions presented in this appendix have been selected and condensed per their relevancy to the thesis topic, and the consent of the interviewees. The excluded interviews are available upon request.

1.1. Kamil Khan Mumtaz

Interviewer: Jannat Sohail
Interviewee: Kamil Khan Mumtaz, Urban Planner and Conservationist.
Date: Tuesday, 28 January 2020.
Location: Lahore, Pakistan.

Jannat Sohail:

"How would you define heritage and its value?"

Kamil Khan Mumtaz:

"Heritage is everything that we receive from the past – everything we receive from the past is a load of junk, but it contains invaluable treasures. So, what is treasure is what you value – the rest is junk. How people value heritage is a question of what you place value on. Heritage is how Kamran Lashari, and so many others, value heritage as an asset, an investment opportunity, means of poverty alleviation, income generation, good for business and tourism. Others would value heritage because of some romantic attachment, sentimental value – so it has an associated sentimental value.

For me, heritage I value because embedded in it is the wisdom of civilizations, which have defined what it means to be human and defined who we are, where we are coming from, what is the world, what should we do in this life. It provides the road map for any and every action that we take – we can't move a step this way or that way without knowing where you are, where you are going. Goals – it helps us to define where we want to go. We have encountered over the years this conflict between development and heritage – as I said, the predominant view of heritage used to be, "That belongs to the rubbish history – it can be dispensed, it has no value. We have to progress to develop." In the last half-century or so, another kind of approach has taken over, which says, "There are a lot of hinderances to development and growth and progress, from people for whom certain values are too important – they don't want to give them up. It is an obstacle in the way, so when you try and remove that, your project fails. So, you can't have development unless you coopt heritage.

So, a whole different paradigm appears where heritage was seen as a potential aid to support development. Now, in any case, what is of primary value is development. My own view is that development is an absurd – it is not a goal. Where is it that you want to develop, what is it that you want to develop into, what do you mean by development? – what do you want to grow into, what do you want to progress towards? – development and progress and growth are taken as ends in themselves. This, to me, is absurd, illogical – I don't understand the meaning of development or growth, if you don't define what is the norm towards which you want to develop. And what is the norm, is what the wisdom of the civilized man defines – what is it to be a human being is what we want to develop into – those are qualities. Hence, development doesn't have any meaning unless you define who you are, what is the world and where do you want to go? That is the value of heritage – it is the horse and the cart situation."

Jannat Sohail:

"What do you believe to be some underlying historical developments that consent to such variable meanings attached to heritage, as you've explained?

Kamil Khan Mumtaz:

"The end of civilization, the beginning of modernization – it is that shift from the worldview of civilized humans to the worldview of modern humans. The essential difference is in the worldview – traditionally, all civilizations have understood the nature of reality, the world, man's place in the cosmos, and have recognized the real as a physical, divine reality and the world as a temporal manifestation of that reality – so our place in this world is temporal, where we are coming from is the creator and where we are going is to the creator – why are we in this cosmos is to manifest his qualities. The shift came from the modern man deciding there is no other reality, this is it – the purpose in this life is to get what you can, there is no other reason. All of man's quests and aspirations were on this horizontal plane of material, time, space and matter – historically, this begins with Descartes and Galileo, the 15th-century Europe – out of which develops modern philosophy, science and empiricism. The attitudes arise from this 'modernism' – to consider even something as non-physical as intellect, which civilized humans have always known is the presence of the divine spirit within man. The intellect is seen as how you look at matter, space and time. The shift from the natural man, the normative man is important – it did not occur to him that you can own something – the skies, the rivers – it all belongs to the divine, there is no question of owning. The first shift from that normality was to take possession, to dominate, to control the Earth, the animals, the plants because if you own, control and dominate these, you can extract more than you need. The natural man knew that nature provides everything you need – no question of taking more than you need, you can't carry it around. The man found, by owning property, that he can fulfill more than his needs, his desires – this gave him security, but also a realization that we have done something wrong – we have transgressed the limits of what we should take from nature – this starts off the process of property ownership, possession, and control. From the property you can manage, you have then enough surplus to support the arts and science, which then produces tools and machines that can do the work – now this machine doesn't tire, doesn't need rest. The machine can produce endless amounts – then you need more raw materials to feed that machine. When you produce these quantities, you need markets – you need to expand your territories – conquest of the world is the goal – you enter the age of colonialism, empiricism. Now the world is under your control, it has given you the power to produce even more – then you invent desire – it is the post-industrial we are in right now. The notion of property comes from agricultural revolution and becomes an obsession in the industrial revolution – in the post-industrial revolution, there is an urge to control and dominate, to make more wealth out of the means you have, a need to take possession of your minds and hearts – you have a mind, I want to own it. Hence, intellect becomes a property."

Jannat Sohail:

"There is a tension prevalent between the popular conservation ethos being flaunted, and the heritage projects being exhibited as success stories. What are the fundamental issues left undealt?"

Kamil Khan Mumtaz:

"There are many fundamental issues – questions of livelihoods, commercialization and environment degradation, which has a lot to do with industrialization – even things like transportation, communication, services – all of these impacts the Walled City. We put value on certain things because of what we want – if you want to make money, economic development. Essentially, you are

promoting business, progress and economic development. If there is anything we should have learned from the Walled City, is knowing ourselves and knowing that we don't need all of this industrialization – we don't need to promote and develop this big, global corporate industry called tourism – won't need to promote jumbo jets flying around, spewing carbon dioxide, we don't need to destroy our natural environment – who needs this? This is destructive – the destruction is tangible – the pollution, the poison in the water, the Earth and the air – now is the time to wake up. The lesson to learn is that the city is not an engine of economic development – the city is a center that provides services to its host region – the city is the center of civilization, civilizing values. You don't need these colorful *rickshaws* and hotel operators and *Hashwanis* – you don't need to pull down these lovely heritage buildings to build a lovely heritage hotel. They are going to make money out of this and we will have lost the last traces of our humanity – at least, we should have learned something from these treasures – they are not something we should just monetize – we don't need to do that. Money is a fraud, it is a lie – it is fake, it doesn't exist."

1.2. Ahmad Rafay Alam

Interviewer: Jannat Sohail.
Interviewee: Ahmad Rafay Alam, Environment Lawyer.
Date: Wednesday, 29 January 2020.
Location: Lahore, Pakistan.

Jannat Sohail:

"How would you define heritage?"

Ahmad Rafay Alam:

"Well, you know, one man's gold sofa is another man's blasphemy, and so, heritage is very difficult to define. This was brought to my appreciation when I learned of the efforts of the Lahore Conservation Society, in the late 1990s. There were plans to demolish Tollinton Market, in Lahore, and to develop it into some manner of mid-to-high rise. It was a collection of civil society people who, then, managed to lobby and argue with the Government of Punjab that, instead of tearing the building down, to restore it to its original structure. When it was built in 1864, it was originally a museum. If you know the bit of history, this is why it is important; otherwise, it is just a wooden structure. The folks involved at the time, Nayyar Ali Dada, Dr. Ajaz Anwar, Kamil Khan Mumtaz, have all separately told me that their efforts at the time to preserve this building received criticism from other elements of civil society in Lahore saying that, "Why the hell are you preserving the imagery and construction of our colonial past masters? Why aren't you restoring a mosque?" So, yes. The understanding of heritage and the attempt to protect or conserve it is deeply political."

Jannat Sohail:

"Heritage is largely associated with an identity building process. The recent masterplan for the inner-city quotes a charter, saying that the cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all."

Ahmad Rafay Alam:

"Think of an organization it is staffed by people like us. The best university education that Pakistan can offer has thrown up the professionals that work in that organization. There are very few courses on cultural conservation that you can get in Pakistan. So, we don't have that talent that can appreciate and translate the needs of conservation into an effort of conservation. So, what do you do with an organization like that? You send folks out for trainings. UNESCO will host a training, WCLA will send four people, and over a course of period, they will develop a capacity or improve the skillset of the people who work with them. What is it that they are learning? They are learning the script. So, you are going to get whatever is the Taylor Swift equivalent of vanilla cultural conservation ethic and strategies. Fair enough.

What I find much more interesting and scarier about the Walled City and its efforts is that, it appears to me, their understanding of the city reduces it to a place where the non-Walled City residents come to entertain themselves. It renders the Walled City itself as a museum relic. When, in fact, it is not fair because there are still parts of it, which are still living and breathing organisms. To treat it like a relic is unfair in many ways because it limits the outsider's appreciation of what happens inside and it stunts the growth of the people inside, as compared to the lifestyles of the people outside. It is very much a tourist case, but what makes you think it is different anywhere else?

I mean, despite my anxiousness that this exercise of conservation might separate the Walled City from the people, there is nothing like interacting with your city to appreciate it. So, unless you know why Tollinton Market is important, there is no reason to keep it… We lack that in Lahore, in many ways, unfortunately. Especially, the rich people who determine the direction of culture, live in these large homes divided by walls and really don't speak to their neighbors. You do not grow up appreciating the things in the same way."

Jannat Sohail:

"In the on-site experiences, how does WCLA distinguish between the encroachers and the actual inhabitants?"

Ahmad Rafay Alam:

"They are probably the best people to ask. I think, the answer won't be found in the black letter of the law, but in the experience that the Walled City has had in negotiating with people to vacate their premises. One of the areas that they restored at the Shahi Guzargah (The Royal Trail) was a slow process because they had to redo the façade of all the buildings. So, they had to, in many cases, move people out and vacate their shops. That is a very difficult proposition to do in the Walled City. It is a very difficult proposition to remove people from their work and homes, as it is, but the Walled City, especially in my opinion, because it has a very disproportionate political influence in what happens in the city and in the province. So, the first iteration of what was happening at the Shahi Guzargah was done by the AKTC. The second iteration was done by the Walled City, about 2010 or 2011. That did not go very well and that is when Kamran Lashari (Director-General WCLA) was hired. He has managed to engage with the community there in a constructive way.

First, there was a lot of resistance against removals and displacements. I think, gradually as the Shahi Guzargah cleared, the next challenge that they had was the courtyard of the Wazir Khan Mosque, but by the time they got there, when they started dealing with the little market that had been there for forty to fifty years, the folks had realized that the benefit of WCLA outweighed resisting them in what they were doing. More through trial and error, they have come to negotiate with the people there; here is a bit of compensation, we promise a concession, we will move you here and there. So, some give, some take…The law has been designed to give them the ultimate power in the Walled City; they can do anything they want. In my reading, they took the city of Lahore as it existed in the legal landscape and they carved out the Walled City and said that they have absolute control over everything. They can determine the property title… The Walled City resolves this, not the civil court. That is how powerful they are… Brutal, I give you, but that is the scheme of property law, as well."

Jannat Sohail:

"To what extent does the conservation law affect those inhabiting the places of heritage?"

Ahmad Rafay Alam:

"The troublesome thing with the conservation law is its infringement with the right of personal property. This is exemplified in the case of Lakshmi Chowk; it is called Lakshmi Chowk because of the building right next to it. It is where Manto (a Pakistani writer) used to live, amongst many others, and is a listed building in Punjab Special Premises Ordinance. It was owned by, let's call him gentlemen X. Now gentlemen X, with a special premise building right in the commercial heart of the city, found that he could not tear his hundred-year-old building down and build a nice high-rise and make money out of it. The right to property was being infringed by the conservation law. He wanted to do something with his land and he was not allowed because someone loved Manto more. If you

drive by there, he has found a loophole in the law, which says that no one should touch the façade of the building. I have passed there, the façade is all there, three floors of façade, but nothing behind it. So, another problem with conservation law is that it throws up conflicts with the owner of the property and what they want to do with it."

1.3. Nayyar Ali Dada

Interviewer: Jannat Sohail.
Interviewee: Nayyar Ali Dada, Architect.
Date: Tuesday, 30 January 2020.
Location: Lahore, Pakistan.

Jannat Sohail:

"How would you comment on the heritage narrative and the challenges pertaining to that in the Walled City of Lahore?

Nayyar Ali Dada:

"We have had a very rough ride on this issue because the priorities of the government have been very low on this side. Now it is sadly becoming a cliché and the genuine involvement of our people, in our own values, in the sense of continuity, culture, is being pushed in and mostly, visibly, sort of a cliché now. The reason being the disconnect with your literature, music, and history, in general. It is because the pace of life today is dictated by commercialism, and commercialism brings a thought-process. What I was trying to say earlier was that everybody is recognizing, everybody is concerned, we as a Third World country are suffering through poverty, poverty alleviation is the key subject. The poverty of thought is a bigger poverty than that that nobody is aware of, which has crept in and has gone deeper into the veins of the society. We talk of heritage, history, and we talk of classic music, and poetry and literature, but I have seen this poverty getting into the veins of the societies – a slow poisoning sort of a thing has happened, and now the society is totally transformed and the youngsters of today, even people with mature age. With Biennale happening, I have heard people shrieking, "Oh, I've never seen this part of Lawrence Garden!". They are like foreigners, the elite, you know. They are like foreigners because I remember in my younger days, there used to be groups like *Halqa-e Arbab-e Zauq*, places like Pak Tea House, where the intelligentsia used to get together and a discourse and a dialogue was on, on where we have reached and where we have come from. Now the rat race, the speed of life, is such that poetry, literature, music, all the other values of culture are being overtaken by this rat race, I would say. All this is there, but is based on commercial successes and commercial consumption. There is classical music, but the one that is surviving is the one, which makes money here and there. The element of research, one, is not there, and apart from research, the commitment and involvement from the people that used to be there is no longer there.

Whatever you may have, critiques, review of things in the Walled City, which is, again as I said, entertainment-based and all that, but the fact is that at least there is a body, which is involved. Otherwise, with what was happening, by now we would have been finished with our things, the way development, commercialism, and real-estate was spreading in the Walled City, as well. Now the good thing that has happened is that they have got consultants who are genuine people from the field – the Aga Khan Trust. If it was left to our Department of Archaeology, we were destroying things to the extent that the two major projects of Shalamar Garden and the Fort, which are on the UNESCO List of World Heritage, were on the endangered list of being taken out because they were so badly dealt with, and the conservation job that was going was so terrible that it seemed it was done yesterday – conservation is not reconstruction, conservation has to keep the spirit of history and heritage. Now the work that is being done, like the Picture Wall of Lahore Fort, is being done under the care of expertise. There are advisors on fresco from Italy and all. So, that is something positive, I would say.

Generally, it is an absolute disaster – our problem has always been who makes the decisions here? The departments being run by the government are victims of bad bureaucracy. For instance, there was a fight between the Punjab's Department of Archaeology and the central department about funds,

control, authority, which never got resolved. There was always a problem with dealing with monuments, and we have already lost hundreds and hundreds of monuments that in my younger days I was able to see in placed like Mughalpura, Baghbanpura. They are all gone, people have taken out bricks and reused them somewhere else. There is a committee in Badshahi Masjid, where we were invited. The corridors are being used for the parking of motorcycles and the upkeep is bad. There is a small museum which is in bad shape. The Auqaf Department has control of numerous shrines, but Auqaf has a problem with dealing with them qualitatively. The awareness, one, has to come from the people in general. It is not amongst the elitist where it comes out as a fashion thing now, getting involved with old things without understanding the spirit of it. I believe in a sense of continuity and identity, and I don't believe that in architecture we should be imitating buildings. We can emulate the past, validate it, where it is workable and usable, but the pastiche of taking on forms, arches, and domes on modern structures as cosmetic appliance is a very bad thing to do. That is the fad, the general thing going on. We need to have a sense of continuity and identity without being imitative and skin-deep. You also cannot take up one facet of life and wonder why it is not being treated, when you are lagging in other parts, as well – if it has not happened in the other walks of life, in music, literature, and history, why do you expect that it will happen in the field of architecture? It goes together. For that, we need to look at our syllabi, in schools etc. The balance is moving towards a very commercial and technical side of things. We have that problem, of losing the cord of continuity, which has to be rediscovered and infused in our teachings and also the departments which are involved in the decision-making. Lahore, Peshawar, cities so old, are being exposed to the onslaught of sprawl, glass buildings, and commercialism. You cannot stop expansion and sprawl, commercialism is too powerful a lobby, but what you can do is that you control it and you save the places, without damage being done to it.

The basic challenge is the poverty of thought, as I said, where intellectually the state of affairs is getting more and more frigid and plastic rather than carrying the richness of architecture. So, it boils down to decision-making, and in it, if the top is inflicted with bad taste and bad values, then lower down people like myself, a small and powerless group of activists, cannot move forward with whatever we believe in because the space for it is not there, is stifled up. The decisions are made sadly for socio-political issues, sadly, by politicians with no vision. They cannot be convinced for long-term things to be done. For example, the cardinal issue of the shortage of water, for which we need dams. The biggest issue, bigger than that, is our game of numbers; the population explosion that is killing our GDP and everything else. No government will ever be interested in tackling these cardinal issues because they take more than five years, ten years, fifteen years – they are only looking at three years because one year is spent in taking on the power, and one year is lost while they are going away. These active three years are not good enough to produce a dam or work on a policy for population, or forestation, which is another key issue that we are working on. "The results will come after ten years! Don't touch it!" So, they will do trains (Orange Line), which they wanted to do before the elections. Public transportation, in its right form, is just the right thing needed. However, here it is not being done as that priority, it is a political thing and done to make money. Such a thing has destroyed the city, there could be nothing worse than the attitude of being careless about the city, which is known for its character.

The priority, decision-making, and the general lack of awareness in the masses are problems – the top and the bottom are both disasters, so that is why we are reaching nowhere. Somebody quoted that we have reached our rock bottom, but our problem is that our rock bottom is quick sand; it doesn't stop there, it keeps on going down. There are sparks of promise – WCLA is not ideal, but at least, there are steps being taken, a sense of concern about the city. The departments are impoverished and they need to be looked after."

Jannat Sohail:

"What has been the interaction of UNESCO with the Walled City? Does it have any good or bad actors?"

Nayyar Ali Dada:

"UNESCO's attitude towards countries like ours has been that they do not take us very seriously. Like in the past, I remember, a UNESCO member told me that we have a budget, we want to help you and give you money and expertise, why don't you avail it? I asked the Department of Archaeology and they sent reports on our problems. Then, I asked him that nothing happened? He said that the reports that you sent and the demands made are so poorly done that it goes into the dustbin right away. So, we should have our own house in order, to start with. Then we can look towards UNESCO and all that later. We are in a horrible mess, basically because of departments like Archaeology, and Lahore Development Authority (LDA), where decisions are made about urban planning, and growth of cities. These departments have very poor expertise. We need to get our people trained to do our own tasks. For instance, in the Lahore Museum, there was a 60 feet ceiling, painted by Sadquain, it had water seeping in and we had to get it restored. There was nobody in Pakistan who could restore a painting, so we had to get people from India who restored it. It is not entirely bad to borrow people for such tasks, but with them, you should put your own people so they learn to prepare our own expertise for the future and see to it that such things do not happen again. This is, unfortunately, not a popular field here and we do not have the courses and fields to do this."

1.4. Kamran Lashari

Interviewer: Jannat Sohail.
Interviewee: Kamran Lashari, Director-General, Walled City of Lahore Authority.
Date: Thursday, 6 February 2020.
Location: Lahore, Pakistan.

Jannat Sohail:

"How would you define heritage and its value?"

Kamran Lashari:

"Heritage to me is what you inherit from your ancestors, from your history and what you need to pass on to the future generations. It is a continuity on the span of time from the past, to the present, and to the future. It is that treasure, that legacy, that as a human civilization we hold and what we need to preserve, and pass on to the next generations."

Jannat Sohail:

"There are continuous population pressures and challenges of rapid urbanization – how does WCLA integrate the intended land-use changes with the larger urban realities?"

Kamran Lashari:

"The Walled City Lahore Authority, this is what I represent – it is confined to the twelve gates of Lahore – and that is a place where there are hardly any spaces left anymore. Most of it is very congested and over-commercialized – I can think of many walled cities of the world, but it is difficult to correlate to any other, in terms of its over-commercialization and the density of population. Some very huge markets have come in, over the years, like Akbari Market (the spice market), Azam Cloth Market, Shah Alami Bazaar, the leather market etc. These are not catering to just the Walled City of Lahore, or Pakistan, but also the adjoining places – they have become the epicenter of commercialization – so unless these are pulled out and shifted to some other place, the Walled City of Lahore will remain in a huge mess. The per square foot value of the land there is ten times more today, than in Gulberg or Mall Road. This place had virtually turned into a slum, into a backyard, meant only for storages and bazaars, and for big markets – the historic fabric that is represented mainly through its residential areas, as well as some monuments, needs to be preserved – a lot of damage has been done, but we are controlling the damage. To the extent of the Delhi Gate and the area leading up to the Rim Market, these have been rehabilitated to a large extent."

Jannat Sohail:

"What has been WCLA's involvement in the Master Conservation Redevelopment Plan 2021? Can you recount your experience?"

Kamran Lashari:

"We have outsourced the Master Conservation Redevelopment Plan. We engaged with consultants and we also had input from the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, who had done the MIS for all the properties, and also conducted extensive surveys and documentation. The related departments like Urban Unit, LDA, the Department of Archaeology are brought on board. It is now only subject to the approval of the cabinet."

Jannat Sohail:

"How will WCLA deal with the displacement that will result from the increase in the buffer zone of Lahore Fort?"

Kamran Lashari:

"Lahore Fort is our prime historic complex in the country. When the Circular Road was finished, the Greater Park was formed, which is on the Northern side of the Fort. On the Southern and the Eastern side, it is a mess – the Rim Market, for instance. They have encroached upon the Mariam Mosque, which is virtually blocked. To the rear steps of the Lahore Fort, we have plans to create a Buffer Zone, reroute… to turn this whole place into walking streets and tourist places. The main challenge are the 350 shops of the Rim Market – we have found an alternate place near Muridke where there is a truck stand, and we are working with a private group to relocate them. The stakeholders are also on board, so hopefully we will be able to find a way out – we do understand that we cannot push out so many people forcibly."

Jannat Sohail:

"What has WCLA achieved in the Shahi Guzargah Project (Pilot Project) model that can be applied to other dilapidating samples?"

Kamran Lashari:

"The Pilot Project that we started, the phase one and two that has been completed – when we say rehabilitation, people get confused what we mean by that, for us it means; the infrastructure of the place, relaying all the sewage and the water connections, and gas lines, fiber lines etc. Above all, bringing all the wires dangling up, underground – you know, this is a huge task and each and every street has been treated like that. We have done about a thousand properties and thirty-three streets – the philosophy is that you do not just deal with the monuments, but also the areas around it. There is no touristic value of the money spent on the underground, which a lot of governments are not ready to do – this is a sustainable model, it gives better health to the people of the areas and now they have started appreciating it. The other is the facades of the houses etc. – they have been rehabilitated without turning them into a Disney kind of a thing, in a more authentic way. Some very good work of an international standard has happened, and we have got UNESCO awards for it."

Jannat Sohail:

"Now that you have mentioned it, how bound are we to UNESCO?

Kamran Lashari:

"Not as much as in the Walled City of Lahore, but when it comes to the monuments, UNESCO has a great authenticity – we are very happy that we won the award for the Royal Baths. Now we are very much expectant that the Wazir Khan Mosque and the Picture Wall will receive that award. They are more like monitors, when we receive some authenticity from them, we feel very happy about it."

Jannat Sohail:

"How do your conservation projects engage with the authenticity of the heritage? How do you define it in WCLA?"

Kamran Lashari:

"Authenticity is defined mainly by the Venice Charter, and others that have come from time and time again – so this is a science that we need to understand, and how people who are the heritage experts and owners have looked into this authenticity. The spirit of the place, if that gets compromised by creating new additions, then that's where we need to be cautioned – the authenticity has to be respected."

Jannat Sohail:

"What would you recognize as important instances of participatory planning in the interventions being implemented in the Walled City of Lahore?"

Kamran Lashari:

"It's the people who matter the most – you cannot achieve any sustainability without the people coming on board – when we started this project, people were hesitant. They are used to one kind of lifestyle for decades and centuries, so they don't want anyone to change that. We have a social mobilization team that has worked very closely with the people and according to the World Bank, the best side of the Walled City of Lahore is the social mobilization team – the properties are only touched upon when they get a social clearance, which comes from the social mobilization team."

Jannat Sohail:

"Can you recount some significant impact from the recent increase in tourism? I am sure that increased tourism will put pressure on transportation infrastructure and the gastronomy – how will conservation run parallel to such pressures?"

Kamran Lashari:

"We have trained our guides, we have announced packages, we have introduced *rangeela* (colorful) rickshaws, very much designed, and we have street performers and events – we have introduced something called the night tours, which makes it come to life at night. We charge a lot, but still get a significant number of people. The respect or value to the heritage places is not only by preservation, but also by generating tourism, by re-adaptive use and activating without compromising the historical authenticity of the place. Once it picks up, the market forces themselves will match up – the private hotels will come in and the businesses are not governments job – when they find that these businesses are lucrative and expanding, they will invest more to match up with the infrastructural pressures that are brought about by tourism."

1.5. Yasmin Cheema

Interviewer: Jannat Sohail.
Interviewee: Yasmin Cheema, Conservationist.
Date: Friday, 7 February 2020.
Location: Lahore, Pakistan.

Jannat Sohail:

"I have been very confused with the given pool of heritage charters, the Eurocentric influence, and what is being followed in Pakistan. As a conservationist, how do you read the situation?"

Yasmin Cheema:

"We don't have a charter in Pakistan, while the other countries have started to make their own. For instance, Cubic has its own charter, Australia and Japan too – the Indians are very strong, as they even consider the building craft as heritage and feel its continuation is a necessity. So, we may talk about these things, but we really do not implement them. I have been telling Fauzia Qureshi (Vice President, ICOMOS, Pakistan) that we should work on a charter. The Antiquities Act 1975 should be rewritten; its basis the 1904 Act. We are not dealing with the important issues. I wrote a report with Sajida Vandal, for the Punjab Heritage Fund, proposing a policy framework. I am a member of ICOMOS, not in an important position, but these issues need to be changed and it has to be done through ICOMOS.

Basically, the definitions are all there in the charters and they have been expanding. So, it started with Athens Charters, which was focused more on the monuments. Then, the Venice Charter spread over the immediate context also. Then, the Washington Charter talked about the whole cities. The Cubic Charter talks about the spirit of the place. You should look into these charters, actually. Every country has its own culture and, for us, each province has one as well. You cannot really say that this is it."

Jannat Sohail:

"So, where does tourism come in?"

Yasmin Cheema:

"At one point, one of the reasons that they said that tourism is important is because it fetches more revenue than petrol. However, then what happened was that there was too much tourism. So, it had its own wear and tear on the heritage. Now they are in a fix; they have to decide how much tourism is okay because in the West, as well as in India, there is a lot of it. For Pakistan, due to our political issues, there isn't much tourism. Imran Khan (Prime Minister of Pakistan) is wanting all this tourism thing and the people are looking at heritage more, as well. At the city level, you cannot say that this is what applies here and doesn't apply here because the city has its own culture."

Jannat Sohail:

"I was talking to Kamran Lashari (Director-General WCLA) he talked about sanitizing the commercial functions, but also bringing in tourism. The commercial activity is not a recent phenomenon, is it?"

Yasmin Cheema:

"Well, basically, we have had a cultural break. In 1947, we had partition, so a lot of wealthy people from the Walled City of Lahore went off to India. There were a lot of wealthy people who had houses in the Walled City, Muslims as well. When the immigrants started to come into the inner-city, these Pakistani richer people, Muslims, they started to get out of the Walled City. Now, most of the Walled City is storage, warehousing, and they have, what I would say, twilighting; people who come from little cities, they get a room and eight or ten of them are in that room. I don't know what Kamran is thinking of. I told him at one point that, for me, a city is a living city. It is not something you can mummify. I said, why don't you get in contact with certain banks, boutiques, and other such things. Those houses on the Royal Trail are 19th-century houses. So, why can't they have good, modern architecture as infill buildings.

It is very interesting that, world over, if half the monument has been collapsed, you can do a steel structure in it. For example, in the Royal Kitchen, I was told by someone that an expert from abroad, while working with AKTCP, had suggested to have a steel and a glass structure to complete it. Kamran was too scared to do it [because he did not want to be targeted by any resistance]."

Jannat Sohail:

"There was a recent uproar when the Royal Kitchen, at the Lahore Fort, hosted a wedding. The venue was booked in approximately USD 3, 000."

Yasmin Cheema:

"I am not against it, as long as it generates revenue. This became an archaeological site because of the British; first they had their garrison there, then they moved it out, and then Lord Curzon came in and said that this place belongs to the people here. In any case, the army was large, so the cantonment moved out. So, this became a dead monument. Up until the Ranjit Singh's (a leader of the Sikh empire) period, it was a living monument because he used to live there.

I went to India to a garden called Pinjore Garden, which was built by Aurangzeb (the sixth Mughal emperor). They had very nicely done restaurants. The Indians are far ahead of us because they have five programs on cultural heritage, while we don't have any in Pakistan. I made the curriculum for COMSATS University, but we haven't started it yet. I am not there, at the moment, but once this comes through, I will join, especially for the program."

Jannat Sohail:

"I came to Pakistan with a very intense narrative, believing this happens here and this doesn't – especially, in the case of UNESCO's role. In your opinion, what comes into play?"

Yasmin Cheema:

"Basically, more than UNESCO, it is ICOMOS who does the charters country-wise. When they took the Venice Charter, if you look at the list of people, most of them are from the West. Then, what started to happen was that another country came in to say that we will take this as a basic document, but we will have to expand on it, as it is not true to our culture at all. That is when the Burra Charter, Nara Charter, Cubic Charter etc. came in. India still doesn't have a charter, but it has a very strong cultural policy. You will find that it has very good definitions, and everything. In their policy, they really go and break down heritage into different categories, which differs from our situation.

Our cultural policy was made during Bhutto's regime (1973-1977) and it was authored by Faiz Ahmed Faiz (an Urdu poet). It was more about setting up an arts council, more linked to performing arts rather than looking at heritage, as such."

Jannat Sohail:

"How can local knowledge be fully applied in the conservation practice in the case of an entire inner-city such as the Walled City of Lahore?"

Yasmin Cheema:

"It is possible, you can have meetings and ask people what do they want; do they want to keep those old houses, do they want new houses, and if they have damaged houses, then why not build a modern building there."

Jannat Sohail:

"A clause in the Walled City of Lahore Act, 2012, states that if an individual resides in a heritage building, he is supposed to pay for its maintenance. In case he fails, the Authority does it for them and takes money in the form of tax revenue. If practiced in essence, this can prove to be very detrimental to the well-being of the urban poor. If not practiced, it should be updated."

Yasmin Cheema:

"This is a problem in Pakistan. In the Western countries, and we go back to the modern because they are more successful, they give tax rebates. Then, they give air rights. If these people want to build about eight stories at the top, which is a parasite, then they will be given property somewhere else to compensate for it. In the case of the inner-city, preservation is being done for tourist purposes. Why not give them someplace somewhere else where they can do something? That also means that people will move out.

The biggest problem in the inner-city is that if there was a hundred-room *haveli*, it was broken up into various portions for people when people sold it. That also happened when the immigrants came over; one house was given to around ten people. I keep away from Lahore because there is so much politics in Lahore."

Heritage became a subject in the 60's. The first program of cultural heritage was established in the Middle East Technical University, and the next was Columbia. It was a phenomenon of the 60's when everyone started looking at it, also relating to the World Wars because of the damage to the historical areas. Then, Jane Jacobs in America made a lot of noise about things being destroyed; some people agree with her while others don't. They said why neighborhoods? I believe the neighborhoods bring the communities together, which is very important; it is like extended family."

Jannat Sohail:

"To what extent do social mobilization play their roles?"

Yasmin Cheema:

"When we worked in Uch Sharif (a historic city in the Southern part of Punjab), we hired boys from Uch; I say boys only, unfortunately, because there is quite an issue there with gender. In that case, we did not hire someone from other places. These teams would go and talk to the people, discussing

how they can upgrade their environment. One part of the street of chosen, which was managed under one manager; this manager was chosen by different households. His job was to collect money from the people and we would give them technical help, with OPP. With the help of our technical team, a contract would be selected. All through it, the community was involved and, because we were working there and continuously talking about heritage, if they did not know about the heritage before, they realized why the city had historical significance. They understood why it was important for them to keep the city like this, you see. We would also get school students and ask them to explain to them.

In the case of the Walled City, they have employed people from outside the inner-city largely. The social mobilization has people who are not from the Walled City. That is vital in understanding the needs of the people."

Jannat Sohail:

"What is your general opinion regarding the autonomous body, WCLA, set to regulate the entire inner-city?"

Yasmin Cheema:

"Now, I don't know have information about them entirely. In the beginning, when it was set up, a friend of mine, Naheed Rizvi, was the Director-General and before her, it was someone else. The whole idea was to have a one window operation, where archaeology, Auqaf, WASA, the electric company, and everyone was under one window. I don't think they have been able to control either archaeology or Auqaf. That is a problem, I think. Our heritage also isn't like the British, in which they have a central system and then every city has their own thing. The illiteracy rate is also quite low in Pakistan, the people mostly don't know that they own such heritage. Due to that, we are far behind the West, I am afraid. For us to catch up, it will take a hundred years more. There, a person who owns a historical building or house, themselves reach out to be registered. Here, people are scared that if they get registered, they will get stuck."

Jannat Sohail:

"After the Lahore Fort was inscribed on the World Heritage List, do you think there has been much change in the way it is perceived?"

Yasmin Cheema:

"The elite class is quite aware of it, that I know because it is a great thing for them to go to the Walled City; not the Walled City, they go to the Lahore Fort, and Shahi Hammam."

Jannat Sohail:

"Rabia Ezdi in her work raised the issue of the indigenous order that is prevalent in the inner-city and the need to recognize it and endure it in the correct manner, to successfully upgrade it."

Yasmin Cheema:

"That is exactly what I told Kamran. Why not give these people certain products, give them money to buy products, give them a soft loan, a revolving loan where you pay them and they pay you back? Then give people the knowledge, which is a product to sell more. What I am saying is an elitist concept, what Rabia is saying is also a bit elitist, but that is the reality."

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