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TRADITIONALISM: A RESOLVE OR A TABOO IN POSTCOLONIAL CITIES: A CASE OF URBAN PLANNING OF LAHORE PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

'Modern' white supremacy is evident in all faculties of life in the Indian subcontinent under the East India Company and later British Raj. This research presents the relationship between British 'othering' and native docility that ensues in an unconscious inclination to be 'modern' among natives, reflecting a colonized mind. The argument is established by taking Lahore as a case study and drawing a comparative analysis of 'Modern British planning' with the traditional planning ways. The research explores that traditional planning had superlative features lately endorsed by post-modern theories and the charter of New Urbanism. However, natives preferred 'Modern British planning' principles over traditional planning under the docility of choosing Englishness as a privilege. In conclusion, this article builds an argument to call on traditional ways, which might be the forward-thinking of today's urban planning issues in Pakistan.

Keywords: *colonialism, Lahore, modernity, tradition, urban planning,*

INTRODUCTION

The Indian subcontinent was under British rule for almost three centuries, initially by the East India Company (EIC) and later by the British Raj. The colonizers exploited the natives in the British colony for their wealth, humbleness, and kindness instead of improving their quality of life (Hobson, 2005). As mocked by Graham (1812: 34), 'lower class Indians are inherently gentle, meek, persistent and forbearing' (quoted in Grossman, 2001). This undermining and exploitation of the inherent qualities of natives and the superior attitude of 'Whiteman' inculcated an inferiority complex in natives. Referring to Fanon (1986), the 'white' gaze influenced colonial subjects too

negatively to transform their bodily existence. That gaze places them as inferior to the Colonizer, altering their reality at the fundamental level (quoted in Song, 2017). Similarly, natives were suffering from alterations in their very existence in India. Consequently, a class, famously 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, intellect, and morals' (Suleri, 2005: 105), appeared among natives aspiring for 'alterations' to be Modern.

India competed with the rest of the World through hand-woven cotton for ages. Even in the first century AD, cotton import from India was draining Rome of gold. Likewise, importing Indian cotton to Europe in the late seventeenth century created the same situation for English weavers (Robins, 2012: 60). The wealth and sophistication of the East were attractions for European traders, making the Western economy a segment of Asia's economy. Until one and a half centuries of EIC, England had nothing to export to the East (Robins, 2012: 7). Dalrymple (2019) accounts for the first meeting of the EIC with natives as the first considerable interaction between sophisticated Mughals and the grubby ambassadors, held in 1614. At the onset of the 17th century, India's manufacturing accounted for 1/4th of the global, and Britain was only 3 percent. The first expedition of EIC was launched with '40 muskets', and within two centuries, the Company directed the most authoritative forces in Asia, with an armoury of 300,000 muskets. During these years, the EIC enriched Britain and took control of India, murdering and impoverishing the natives (The Economist, 2019)¹. The EIC practiced the political power to maintain its trade with India and misused the law, order, and India's wealth.

On the contrary, it is hard to recognize the modifications in India's social conduct by the British, except for suttee (the burning of a widow on her husband's funeral pyres) and eliminating the Thugs (racketeers inflamed by religion) (Olcott, 1944). According to Reijai (1995), to achieve political, social, and economic sleaze, the British manipulated the educational system, literature, and Eurocentric Historical Construct to rationalize their rule. Subsequently, the state of affairs was reversed altogether. The wealthy and sophisticated India turned out deprived and unsophisticated. Natives embraced Englishness and aspired to be 'Modern' to disown their traditional ways of life, educational system, language, and spatial planning, the focus of this article. Sidhwa (1989) describes this socio-political scenario of natives' reverence for the Coloniser's authority, and indifference to their culture: *'If we must pack off, let's go to London at least. We are the English king's subjects, aren't we? So, we are English!'* (40)

This embrace of Englishness is reflected through the stretched acceptance of 'Modern British planning' principles in Lahore, abandoning traditional planning ways during the British Raj and postcolonial period. The article compares the pre-colonial period's picturesque city of Lahore with the British planning interventions to disclose the natives' paradoxical inclination for 'Modern British planning' over the traditional one. However, to obtain the sustainable development goals of 2030 it is important to recognize the traditional planning policies and street patterns since the traditional settlements kindle the qualities of walkability, interaction, vitality, pleasantness, sense of place, and social cohesiveness (Hosagrahar et al., 2016). Similarly, traditional planning is endorsed by the Charter of New Urbanism (Bohl, 2000, Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000). In the same way, Ford (1999) called New Urbanism a neo-traditional planning consideration that

¹ The Economist. 2019, 10 10. Bad company: The astonishing and violent rise of the East India Company. London: The Economist Group Limited. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/books-and-arts/2019/10/10/the-astonishing-and-violent-rise-of-the-east-india-company>

adds variety, diversity, density, and personalization to the settlement. Likewise, Alexander (1979, 1987) advocated traditional planning under the umbrella of a natural city, and Jacob (1961), through the humanized dimensions of street life, promoted the same concern. Moreover, traditional planning can act as a source of inspiration to create an integrated, socially sustained, and responsive city (Sharifi and Murayama, 2013; Ghasemi et al, 2019). The quality of safe walkability and resultant social acquaintance found in the traditional streets is an essential concern of the New Urban Design Agenda (UN-Habitat: for a better future, 2020) as well as New Urbanism (Elshater, 2012; Talen, E., 2002, Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000) It is also inevitable for LEED-ND² certification to reduce VMT (vehicle miles traveled) that depends upon the walkability of an area. Despite this, all the above commendations about the traditional urban patterns, in independent Lahore, Pakistan, British planning ways are still practiced considering them superior to the traditional ones. Since, in colonies, conveying Colonizer's orders to their fellows was a matter of conceit and privilege for the colonized (Fanon, 2008:9). How prideful and privileged would it be to live in spaces as the Colonizer did?? Based on this question and others like; What were the traditional planning ways in the Indian subcontinent before the Colonization? , Were traditional ways better than Modern ways? If yes then in what respect they were better? , the research aims to trace the relationship between British 'othering' and native docility that ensues in an unconscious inclination to be 'modern' among natives. The natives' ache to be Modern is explored by taking the example of the city of Lahore as a case study and drawing a comparative analysis of traditional and British planning ways. The purpose of this study is to revisit traditional planning ways without a bias toward Englishness/modernity and tradition in the context of the recent drift toward traditional methods, which is endorsed by the SDGs 2030 and the charter of New Urbanism as narrated in the preceding paragraph. The conformity of natives with the British Colonizer is explored, particularly in Lahore's urban planning context. The research intends to draw attention to the intangible benefits of concrete characteristics of planning methods that have been disregarded and excluded.

After the introduction, the article is arranged as follows: section 2. Methodology, 2.1. methods, 2.2. appreciating 'othering' and its relationship with the docility of natives to be 'modern', 2.3. The practice of *otherness* by British EIC and later British Raj, Section 3. Case Study, 3.1. Discussions and findings 3.1.1. *Orthogonal planning replaced the meandering and curvilinear*, 3.1.2. *Bye-Law streets replaced the democratic informal street space*, 3.1.3. *Formal Wide thoroughfares replaced the informal narrow street spaces and cul-de-sacs*. Section 4. Conclusions and recommendations, section 5. Reference

2. METHODOLOGY

Referring to Fanon (2008: xiii), the 'internalization', internalized docility of natives results in the Native's ache to be 'Modern'. This effect leads to a loss of identity and culture and results in a

² LEED-ND is a system developed in corporation with the Natural Resources Defence Council and Congress for the New Urbanism for evaluating neighbourhoods. It helps to develop more liveable communities with its address on pedestrianization and compact planning etc. (Boeing, et al., 2014)

psychological dependency when antagonism is swapped for surrender and aspiration to be like the Colonizer (Digole, 2012). It is the point when the colonized start to conform to the Colonizer with their consent and not by force (Jaware & Mangwani, 2012). This conformation of natives with the British Colonizer is explored, particularly in Lahore's urban planning context.

Although it is an ongoing worldwide debate among scholars to compare the merits and demerits of traditional and Modern planning ways to assess the failures and successes of either way to be adopted for the community benefits (Sharifi and Murayama, 2013). The idea is that rather than just accepting planning methods as part of internalization, planning methods should be compared first and then implemented. A mixed-methods strategy is used in this study. In order to clarify the connection between "othering" and the docility of indigenous, this article carefully analyzed both internal and international literature. It also includes an extensive Literature review of the latest Urban concerns to form a theoretical base of research, site explorations, investigations, and visiting different offices and Archives to collect the required data.

2.1. Method

The research is based on the post-positivistic research method, this alternative to the scientific method uses inductive reasoning to generate hypotheses rather than testing them. For instance, instead of attempting to explain how something works, it is aimed to comprehend the reasons behind why things or people behave in the way that they do (McGregor, 2010). The post-positivistic research helps to reveal the patterns, learn about underlying structures, associations, and ways of life, as well as verbalize and narrate experiences, revealing ideology and power dynamics (Thorne, 2000)

To verbalize and narrate experiences, the study uses the body of scholarship about the impact of colonization written at the end colonial period in the subcontinent and in the immediate post-colonial period by the authors who have experienced colonization using the 'Scholarship Method' to Study (Mauer & Venecek). To get an unbiased review of literary work, the accounts of natives as well as from the colonizers' families are chosen. The Othering is appreciated using Staszak's definition, '*Other is to select a standard that enables humanity to be divided into two groups: one that represents the norm and values its identity, and another that is characterized by its flaws, devalued, and vulnerable to prejudice. Only dominant groups, like Westerners during colonial times, are able to impose their standards on the situation. They cast the populations they might subjugate or eradicate as Others, Ruffians, or People of Color, downgrading them to the periphery of humanity*' (2009).

Broadly, the research is conducted in two phases;

1st phase comprises the formulation of the theoretical base to uncover the relationship between 'othering' and docility of Natives in a colonized region. The postcolonial narrative is elaborated through scrutiny of books, novels, movies, and fiction to reflect a colonized mind. The impact of this is briefly narrated in general ways of life. Modern was in stark contrast to the Native in terms of language, ways of life, social concerns, and city planning. Theories about traditional and Modern planning concerns are looked up to draw a comparison. Post-modern literature is consulted along with the research on the latest Urban Design concerns i.e. New Urbanism and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030.

2nd phase involves gauging the idea of abandoning the traditional ways to be 'Modern' through the case study of Lahore. Case studies, storytelling, content, or topic analysis of interview transcripts are some possible methods in post-positivistic research. The outcomes are employed to aid the

debtor in understanding how being in debt has actually affected him or her (McGregor,2010). For this research, case study method is used. Streets from the old city of Lahore and the contemporary planned schemes are photographed for evaluation and comparison. Several trips to the walled city of Lahore were performed to obtain accurate measurements. On-scale plans and sections are created using AutoCad. The sectional drawings are compared using Adobe Photoshop. Data were gathered from several offices to create a chronological explanation of the shift in Lahore's Planning because "the present is an extension of the past in that it is inspired by the actions that happened previously in a chronological manner" (King, 2000:37). In addition, drawings and maps from already published research articles and books are also used in this article to fill the gaps and complete the chronological context of the analysis. A pre-Colonial plan of the walled city of Lahore depicts its winding, twisting streets without any set restrictions. The regular street plan and colonial urban spatial imagination are depicted on a map of Krishan Nagar in Lahore. The map of Johar Town demonstrates the widespread adoption of British planning techniques that use straight lines and bye-laws (Fig 1)

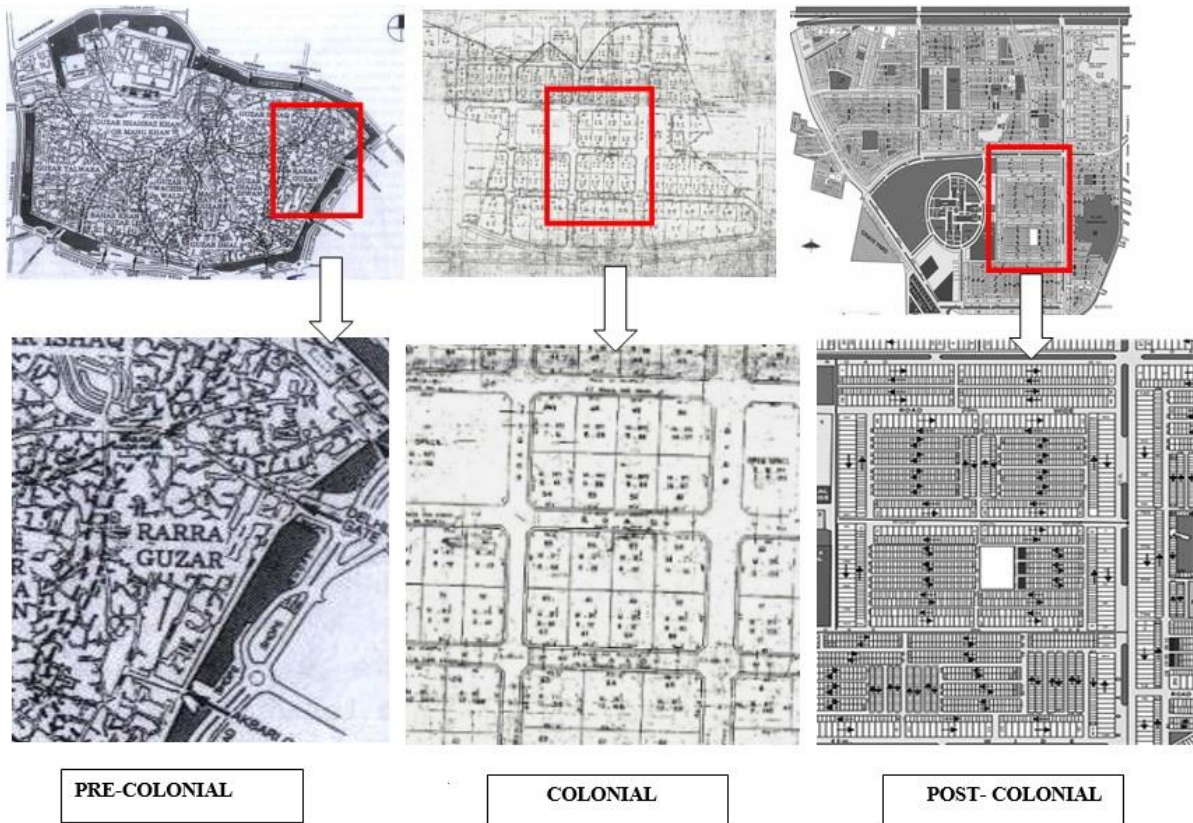


Figure 1. Timeline of three Eras: Precolonial (Walled city), colonial (Krishan Nagar), and postcolonial (Johar Town). Enlarged views are used to explicit the planning ways in Lahore. Source: Walled city map, Aga Khan Cultural Service Pakistan (AKCSP), Krishan Nagar map (Punjab Archive), Johar Town map (LDA)

2.1.1 'Othering' And Its Relationship with The Docility of Natives to Be 'Modern.'

'Otherness', an intangible expression of the Coloniser's ego, the complex of superiority and indifference to colonized, had encompassed all aspects of Native's lives and culture, including inherited, established attitudes or typical patterns of thought, action, or behavior³. It is an expression where, "Modernity" is characterized as antagonistic to "Tradition." Native caste and class systems were outlawed for "civilizing the uncivilized" purposes. The previous caste⁴ system, however, was replaced by a new class structure that only had two classes: "Modern" and "Other.". As Said (1993:17) quoted Jules Harmand, a French advocate of colonialism, that '*It is essential to accept the fact about the hierarchy of races and that we belong to the superior race Our dignity rests on that quality, and it emphasizes our claim to instruct the rest of human race.*' Examples from postcolonial literature are narrated below to further elaborate on the concept of 'others' and the consideration of natives as less human by the Colonizer. Conrad (1996) says,⁵ 'The conquest of the earth means, taking control of a place, from those who have flatter noses and an, unlike complexion, is not fair....' Conrad (1996) narrates his experience of conflicts between black and white people and the actual aim of colonialism in Africa (Sharmin, 2018). Similarly, Morrison (1987) gives voice to the suppressed 'other' in the *Beloved*. Likewise, Angelou (1969) narrates the very concept of induced docility and apathy of the Colonizer.

Mangal Pandey: The Rising (2005) is a drama film based on an Indian soldier named *Mangal Pandey*. Numerous scenes in the movie depict how natives were cheated and humiliated and called *Kala* (black complexioned) by the English officers. On the contrary, Natives were so devoted to the English that wet nursing by Indian maids to English children led to their own children's sickness and even death. The *life* (1854) reveals the same story of wet nursing that native mothers would cease to care for their kids, saying that 'my kid is ordinary while the English are good' (Suleri, 2005: 82). Taking the argument further, Ali's *our lane* (1998) is a brilliant depiction of the miserable and appalling state of natives living in a "reformed" colony by the Colonizer for almost three centuries, first under the EIC and then British Raj.

2.1.2. Practice Of Otherness by British EIC and Later on British Raj

The 19th century is marked by the overpowering Racism by the EIC, though in a less evident form than earlier. For instance, the entry of Maria Carey, Anglo- the Indian wife of an English officer,

³ Merriam-webster dictionary. 2021, 8 28. *Tradition*. Retrieved from www.merriam-webster.com: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tradition>

⁴ Since ancient times, the caste system is the principle of social organization and basic structural feature in Hindu society (Sana 1993). A person could enter in a caste just by birth and essentially never deviate from his cast (Olcott 1944). Though Caste system was grieved by English for its rigid undemocratic ranking proposition (Grossman 2001) but the British substantiated the already vested interests to preserve law and order. The collectors of land taxes got elevated into Maharajahs and Zamindars. Men belonging to the higher castes were confirmed in their authority over the fortunes of their fellows. Civil law recognized many customs of the Hindus except Suttee. Therefore, caste related customs continue to proliferate (Olcott 1944)

⁵ Conrad, Joseph.1996. Heart of Darkness. In *Heart of Darkness* (pp. 17-95). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from <http://debracollege.dspaces.org/bitstream/123456789/262/1/Heart-of-Darkness.pdf>

was refused due to mixed-race on a departing ship during the evacuation of Calcutta in 1756 (Robins, 2012: 193). Another account of Racism is found in the reports of Sherwood (1854) that Englishmen would honour their sisters and mothers, but deliberately disown their 'dark offspring' (quoted in Grossman, 2001). Similarly, based on social status, the train system had separate compartments reflecting the layering of Indian society. Moreover, whites had separate compartments than first, second-and third-class Indian compartments (Imtiaz, 2013).

Likewise, in Kim, Kipling (1959) establishes that the division between white and black is racial and is everywhere, including in India. The distinction between colonizers and colonized is explicitly based on racial disparities.: *a Sahib is a Sahib, and no amount of friendship or camaraderie can change the rudiments of racial disparity* "(109).

The socio-cultural difference was also observed in the Lahore railway housing structures. According to records, Europeans were placed at higher positions, whereas Indians were given lower positions only. Belonging to the ruling class, Europeans were superior to any local subordinates. For instance, the Europeans' housing was low-density, while for the Indians, it was high-density. A few Bungalows for European officers took up the same space as 500 quarters for Indians and Anglo-Indians. Moreover, buffer spaces between European officers' residences and native workers were created further to accentuate the difference (Khan, 2013). Similarly, Lawrence Gardens-type spaces in colonial Lahore were created for restricted interaction of English and natives (Glover, 2008) to accentuate the difference between the Coloniser and colonized.

3. CASE STUDY OF LAHORE

Lahore has over a thousand years of history, although the precise date is unknown (Latif,1892: 4). According to Alam (1986), Lahore was the best city in the East, beating even Constantinople (Mahmood Mayo, 2012: 87). Under the Mughals, the architecture and built environment of the city were enhanced with beautiful landscapes and added more than 50 gardens (Mughal, 2011). The Sikhs followed the path of Mughals and the city of Lahore retained its importance during 1st half of the 19th century before the British annexation of Punjab in 1849(Ali &Qi, 2020).

After taking over in the mid-nineteenth century, the British Raj developed Lahore outside the city walls. Outside the walled city, the suburban areas (civil lines) with the colonial spatial imagination were developed to exert its influence. The Walled City of Lahore, a pre-colonial city, was organic with twisting streets and narrow alleys. It was a complex web of socio-cultural activities where private and public places fuse. Basic Urban structures with informal organic growth had Concerns with the human senses. Like, other cities with organic layouts literally from Spain to Middle Eastern Cities (Broadbent, 1990:13).

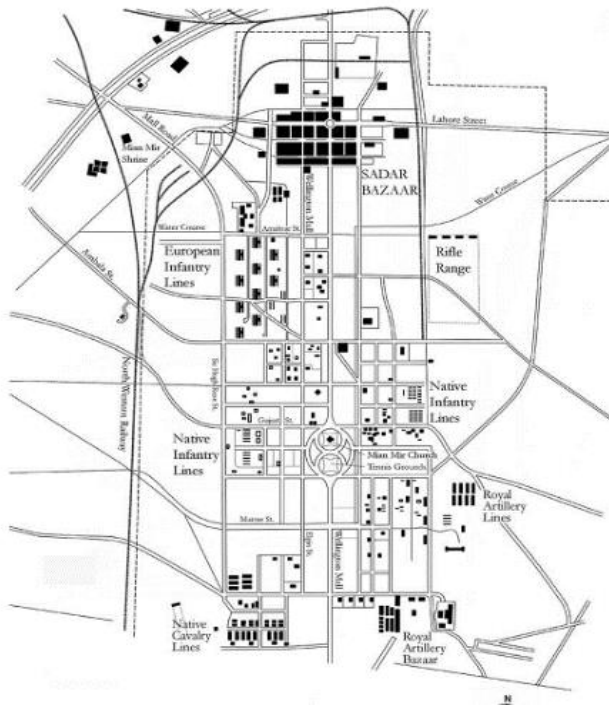


Figure 2. Mian mir Cantonment Lahore with straight and wide roads. Source: (Glover 2008)

Gradually, in the outskirts of the walled city British grew a new kind of urban environment with the alliance of the local elite (Glover,2008:57-58). An urban system was developed with wide roads lined with trees (Naz & Ashraf 2008). The Civil Lines and other colonial developments were characterized by straight roads and a standard layout (Fig 2.) (Qadeer,1983: 83) compared to the Walled City's convoluted and irregular ones. (Fig 1, Walled city)

This difference between Native cities and Civil Lines was labelled sometimes as "black town" and "white town", respectively (Glover 2008,197). The cantonment was also developed with a wide tree-lined Boulevard, a rectangular layout (Qadeer1983,83), and segregation of activities, i.e., residential, commercial, and recreational areas. Since the goal of colonial officials was to produce a different class among natives, the material environment was considered critical to achieving the goal. This rule had been a cornerstone of policies wherever Anglo-

Europeans ruled (Glover, 2008: 199).

Soon, among natives, there emerged a new class who were mostly professionals, merchants, doctors, engineers, lawyers, and traders and desired to adjust to colonial settings. Due to internalization, they sought to reform their inherited traditions with new notions of progress according to their class aspirations (Tuteja,1992, as quoted in Imtiaz, 2013). To serve that particular class and according to their aspirations, the indigenous communities (Fig 1, Krishan Nagar) were developed under 'Modern British planning principles', with clear orthogonal street patterns and properly surveyed plots. Segregated sites inside those settlements were allocated for religious, educational, and recreational activities. (Yaseen et al., 2016); this was a step toward planned schemes (Qadeer, 1983:182).

The class of natives⁶ disliked the traditional planning ways and praised the 'Modern British planning principles'. Towards the end of the colonial era and even after independence in 1947, the

⁶overruling by governing class is not achieved by power, deception and intimidation only but by creating a class of people who 'willingly' submit to be ruled" ([Gramsci, Hoare, & Smith,1996]as qtd. in [Loomba,2002: 29])and manipulation of colonizer made the natives' minds to assimilate the colonizer by their consent (Jaware & Mangwani, 2012)

'Modern British planning' principles were established under the Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT), which originated in 1922 for city development and planning. Natives' aspirations to emulate the 'Modern' and dislike their traditional ways continued even after independence. Therefore, planned schemes like Gulberg under LIT and Allama Iqbal Town, Muslim Town, and other areas after 1975 under the Lahore Development Authority (LDA⁷) were developed based on modern British planning principles. In addition to the developments and planned areas of Lahore under LIT (LDA), planning projects carried out by the Military organization, DHA (Defence Housing Authority), as well as work carried out by private developers like Bahria and Eden developers, among others, also employed colonial/modern planning ideologies in Lahore.

Traditional planning ways, once admired by foreigners, were disregarded. For instance, Patrick Geddes wrote about the traditional city of Lahore in a town planning report in 1917(Geddes,1917), *'Ordinary coldness of expression can't justify the delight, surprise, and approbation, that a person feels acquainting the city of Lahore. Especially for a veteran tourist like me who is already familiar with great examples of all types (domestic, monumental, and extravagant) of Muhammadan architecture, from Constantinople to Delhi and across India from Ahmad Abad to Decca. No doubt, Lahore is one of the most picturesque with its piled-up multi-story building groups and rich and variable details'* (Leonard, 1986).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Lahore's urban planning, investigated as a case study, revealed the internalization of natives. Significant shifts in Lahore's urban planning, from Traditional planning ways to 'Modern British Planning' practices, were found as follows

1. Orthogonal planning replaced the meandering and curvilinear
2. Bye-Law streets replaced democratic informal street space
3. Formal Wide thoroughfares replaced informal narrow street spaces and cul-de-sacs

3.1.Orthogonal planning replaced the meandering and curvilinear

The walled city, Lahore, has twisting and winding streets from one end to another end (see Fig 1. a)). These streets have the qualities, i.e. element of surprise, in the form of irregular buildings and other architectural details (Rehman, 2013:174), visual hindrance since they are never straight, and a feeling of the enclosure with the narrow width of the street (**Fig. 3.**)

⁷ (LIT changed into LDA following its tenure.) However, the pattern of development were the same as those established by the LIT, developed during the British Raj (Malik, 2014).



Figure 3 Traditional curved residential street (Surjan Singh Gali) where passer-by is experiencing the element of surprise, visual hindrance, and the gaze never lost in infinity due to curve. Source (Yaseen et al, 2016)

Such a system with winding and twisting streets was considered an ideal safety system in medieval times. Alberti considered winding streets for Renaissance city planning by fabricating them difficult for trespassers and strangers. Such streets provide control in the resident's hands, as only they are familiar with their area (Broadbent, 1990: 36). For Sitte (1945), the straight-lined, rectilinear system loses street character (45). He believes confusion due to winding lanes is 'beautiful' (Broadbent, 1990:135).

However, these winding streets were considered dirty, crowded, and unsafe for the Army (Qadeer,1983:82). Moreover, Narrow meandering streets were considered unhealthy as these streets did not provide adequate room for cross ventilation. 'Modern British planning's considerations included orthogonal streets to reform these unhealthy, ungovernable, and inefficient systems. This spatial consideration was realized in Civil lines and Cantonment (Hosagrahar, 2005: 47) and continued in developments under the British and even after independence (**Fig 4**)

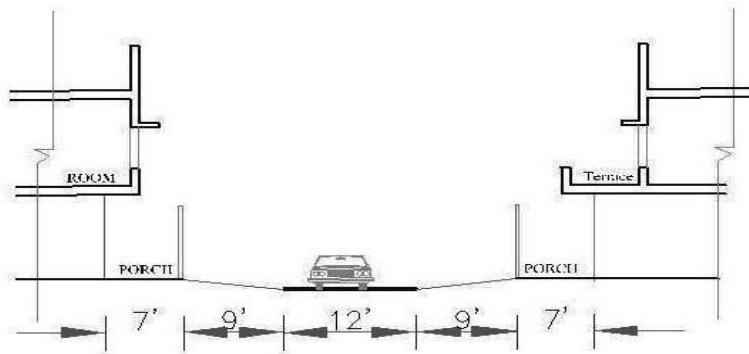


Figure 4 Typical, post-independence, residential Street (Johar Town Lahore) based on ‘Modern British planning’ principles , where other end street is seen without actually going there and gaze is lost in infinity. Source : Author

According to Daara (2008:10), the proposed straight-lined, orthogonal streets system was not for health reasons but for underlying systematic planning for communication. Besides, the rectilinear street pattern invites crooks and speeders to find their way in a locality (Ford, 1999). The street lost its human dimension and essential features of acting as an intermediate place between individual and social life (Daara, 2008: V1).

Moreover, the wonderful experience of walking through the curvilinear street has vanished. According to Corbusier (1987: 208), in a meandering street, 'the experience of walking may be better compared to the experience in a rectilinear street'. Rectilinear streets are ponderous to experience walk and unsafe for walkers by encouraging high-speed vehicles. Therefore, curves are proposed as a remedy to reduce speed and boredom (Burton, 2006). For example, in Woonerf⁸, gentle curves are added to cut down the sightline of the driver naturally and consequently the speed of the vehicle to make the street space a safer space for children to play and interesting for

⁸ A concept that views the street more as a social space rather than a vehicular entity is becoming famous not only in European countries but popular in Japan, Australia, and the United States, too. The global acceptance of this concept shows its validity and effectiveness and is considered a workable substitute for the prevailed modern street system (Collarte, 2012, 2014; Ben-Joseph 1995).

pedestrians (Alamdari & Habib,2012; Ichikawa, Tanaka, & Kamiya, 1984) Appleyard et al. (1976: 277) narrates the same qualities, as mentioned above, for a residential street, that '*a street is a place where adults live, older people spend their last days and children are brought up.*

3.2.Bye-Law streets replaced democratic informal street space

The idea of straight and wide streets has its origin in the Public Health Act of 1857, where bye-laws determined the width of streets (Broadbent, 1990 :114). The size of projections from the street's adjoining buildings, internalization the street's width, and the adjoining buildings' height were determined according to "Punjab Municipal Act, 1911⁹ in Colonial Lahore. It was unlike traditional ways where the only consistent thing was inconsistency that was found in the size of projection, width, and length of street as well as; entrance steps, balconies, windows, woodwork details, and other eye-engaging architectural features (Watson, et al., 2003:64). There were no Bye-Laws restricting the heights and widths of the buildings addressing the street. Geddes (1949) admired this democratic growth of the walled city and labelled it a gorgeous city and an artefact of everyday life for centuries. For Geddes, the straight street pattern was rigid and monotonous compared to the picturesque setting of the walled city street layout (Rehman, 2013:124).

There was no definite property line in traditional streets, and windows and doorways directly opened into the street space. Moreover, steps outside the houses of varying widths and heights act as secondary seating spaces in the street. These steps are usually less than one meter in width and 1ft -3ft in height. These are multipurpose types, used as entry steps to building, as well as to sit, or as a workbench. They do not give an abandoned look when it is not in use since it is not built just to sit on it. These steps were used to sit by the elderly, thus adding a natural constraint to any stranger coming to the street (Fig 6b).

On the other hand, according to Bye-Laws, a definite property line was developed under 'Modern British planning. The windows of a house shall open in a setback¹⁰, mandatory Open Spaces inside the property line, (Govt. of Punjab: Law and parliamentary affairs 2008) (Fig.5b). In this setting, windows do not let the resident see without being seen (Dosen & Ostwald 2013). Therefore, the modern street is devoid of natural surveillance by women through windows while staying inside

⁹ . "Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, as from time to time amended (hereinafter called the Municipal Act) were substituted by the Punjab Town Improvement (West Pakistan Amendment) Ordinance, 1962 (XVIII of 1962); and published in the Gazette of West Pakistan (Extraordinary), dated 19.5.1962, pages, 2057-2063, s.4.Source: (Hubphed.punjab.gov., 2022)

¹⁰ The setback is the distance of a house /structure from a property line

their homes. This loss of women's surveillance stopped children from being able to play freely in the street because of the non-surveillance by the mothers as in the traditional street. Fig.5 shows the comparative section of traditional street and Bye-Law Street. In a traditional setting, the houses have windows directly opening and projecting into the street, making them sociable and humanized (Ford,1999). In a modern setting, the condition is vice versa.

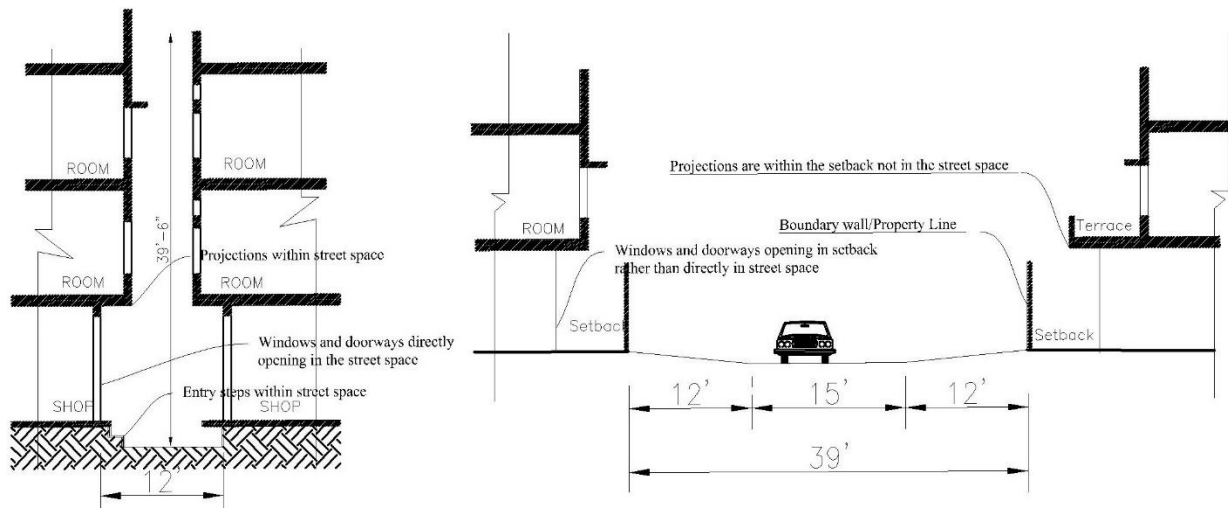


Figure 5. a) Section of a traditional street without any setback where windows openings and house projections are directly into street space. b) Section of a Bye-Law Street where boundary walls are blank, and windows open in the setbacks behind the boundary wall. Source: author

The traditional setting improves residents' rights in space possession and natural scrutiny and inspection. As Newman (1973: 25) narrated, '*windows and doorways, facing the streets, outspread the inhabitants' territorial obligations*'. Residents could have built their homes without the dictation of Bye-Laws, making the street scene vibrant and picturesque and personalizing their spaces. Hassan Fateh said this liberty of residents is "Saving the individuality" (Fateh, 2000: 46). This freedom can build a strong bond between residents and their urban space (Rapaport, 1982: 179). Carmona et al. (2008: 12) argued that residents in such urban settings have a strong connection between places and personal lives.

Moreover, the windows directly opening into street space, characteristics of traditional planning ways, add visual permeability between public and private spaces making streets secure according to the 'eye on the street' concept proposed by Jacob (1961) in her famous book, *Death and life of Great American Cities*. Similar ideas are stated in Burton's (2006) streets and seen in Woonerf's streets. This 'eye on the street' is duly endorsed by the New Urban Agenda 2020 chapter on urban safety (UN-Habitat: for a better future,2020: 121).

3.3. Formal Wide thoroughfares replaced informal narrow street spaces and cul-de-sacs.

Lahore's organic layout was enriched with narrow streets usually ending at cul-de-sacs. The narrow traditional streets would provide the feeling of the enclosure and act as a 'place' for the passer-by. Projections were so exaggerated on both streets that they would cover parts of the street. These

projections and narrowness of the street would provide shelter from severe weather (Broadbent,1990: 36; Bentley, 1985 :10) and the feeling of privacy, safety, and enclosure (Sharifi and Murayama,2013). Therefore, women often stand in the doorways in the traditional street, chatting with neighbours or looking at the passer-by, adding life to the street space compared to alienated modern street space (Fig 6).

Cantonments, Civil Lines, and other areas developed by the British were marked with tree-lined boulevards and wide formal road spaces. In contrast to old fabric, this type of street space was new for the natives and was admired by them compared to the traditional narrow and informal street spaces. As per Nath (a native) (1899: 112), in his novel, *two friends*, about his old city of Lahore, *with its dirty and dingy streets where sunlight is conspicuous by entire absence, with its baffling and crooked lanes... ..* On the contrary, Nath (1899,115) is so captivated and spellbound by the charm of Mall Road, "*I dare not depict the multifarious charms of this exquisite road---the 'Upper*



Figure 6 a&b) Traditional Street scenes in the walled city, where elderly sitting under exaggerated projection and other women using the secondary seating space c.) street in Johar town, developed under colonial spatial imagination. Source: Author

Mall.' Its beauty is indescribable ... It is certainly a road for the European community. All sorts of White people can be here". Natives would hardly travel on this road as exclusiveness, which added to the attraction for such roads among natives, is explicit in Nath's depiction. Since the inferior feeling of the colonized is associated with the Colonizer's sense of superiority (Fanon, 2008:69), therefore this exclusiveness undermined their own narrow informal, traditional street space

Although, Post-modern theorists admired the narrow traditional street since it gives a feeling of the enclosure, making an improved architectural setting (Sitte, 1945). Neurophysiology suggests that specific regions in our brain directly respond to the enclosure in the built environment (Stamps, 2005). Moreover, the narrow streets would give the user the quality of experience and spirit in a street space (Gibbered,1953: 231) as well as comfort since the gaze is not lost in infinity but remains confined (Carmona et al. 2003: 141)(see fig3).

Street widening affected the feeling of the enclosure and added room for more cars. Based on the Modern doctrine, the street is kept straight since *'the Street is no more a path for pack donkey, but*

a machine for traffic, an apparatus for circulation". (Corbusier's view on 'the street' (1925) quoted in [Broadbent, 1990:132) Resultantly, streets are full of cars instead people. For a healthy society, it is essential to see and feel each other in reality (Gehl & Gemz,1996); that is not possible when streets have become home to vehicles than human beings (Fig 6c). In a traditional setting, while buying things from street vendors, the neighbours start discussions on random topics and carry on as long as they want. But this type of extended discussion is not conveniently possible in Modern with the fear of speedy vehicles at any time.

Another characteristic of a narrow traditional street is dead-ends or cul de sacs. They were private and personal spaces making them safe from criminals (Kunstler, 1996: 129). Usually, traditional narrow streets and cul de sac would end up in bulged spaces like a Katrah, an enclosed cul de sac surrounded by houses, which acts as a house's courtyard. This space was used for different activities like Playing, sleeping, etc., inside the house (Qadeer, 1983: 177) and for chatting with housewives (Sharifi and Murayama, 2013). Such spaces provide entertainment for the elderly by looking at and playing with their grandchildren(Wijayanti and Pandelaki, 2012). Similarly, The Woonerf, translated as 'residential yard' (Dudek, 2019), provides freedom to children to play and the elderly to sit and observe the street scene as the Katrah in the traditional setting was already serving.

Table 1. Tangible and intangible attributes of Traditional and British planning ways

Traditional planning ways		British planning ways	
Tangible attributes	Intangible Benefits for the user	Tangible attributes	Intangible Benefits for the user
Meandering and curvilinear planning	Visual Hindrance unexpected scenes Security from fast-speed vehicles Safety from strangers	Orthogonal patterns	No visual hindrance No unexpected scenes Easy for strangers to move in Promoting the use of fast-speed vehicles
Democratic and informal No Definite property lines Windows directly open into the street space	Freedom of use Extended territorial obligations A secure area, encouraging kids to play Permeability 'Eye on the street'	Bye-law Street Definite property line Windows opening in the setback	No freedom of use No extended territorial obligations Unsafe space for kids' play Less permeable No 'eye on the street'
Narrow street space Cul-de-sacs	The feeling of the enclosure	Formal wide thoroughfares	No feeling of enclosure

Katrah	Protection from extreme weather Quality and spirit of space Sociability Protection from crooks and criminals	No protection from severe weather Lack of spirit of space Alienation Easy escape for crooks and criminals Uncomfortable to walk and extended communications
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Table 1 describes that traditional methods are advantageous to modern methods in a number of ways, based on the three parameters established in the previous discussion.

Meandering and the curvilinear pattern, in traditional ways, are not only endorsed in recent decades (Burton, 2006) in the form of woonerf (Alamdari & Habib,2012; Ichikawa, Tanaka, & Kamiya, 1984) and Charter of New Urbanism (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000) but also provide quite a lot of intangible benefits. These curvilinear streets uphold an element of surprise since the whole street is not visible at any point to the user maintaining their interest during the trip (Rehman, 2013:174). In modern times when the vehicle speed is an issue in a residential area, the curvilinear pattern might prove a solution to cut down the speed of the vehicle since the sight line is not straight and the driver has to slow down the vehicle. Visual hindrance has added the quality of keeping strangers away. This visual hindrance and element of surprise are totally absent in the orthogonal pattern recommended by the British since the whole street is visible at any point of the street making it favorable for fast-speed vehicles and strangers and unfavorable for residents, particularly for children and the elderly.

The *democracy and informality* of traditional ways make the cities gorgeous and an artifact of everyday life for centuries (Geddes, 1949 as cited in (Rehman, 2013:124). It would give freedom to users making it a space that is owned by everyone. This ownership would increase the sense of belonging in the residents making it more secure. Moreover, windows opening directly into street spaces invite more eyes to the street to make it safer (Hillier, 2008) for kids to play and humanized (Ford,1999). A strong relationship between residents' private and public spaces additionally predominated due to a lack of laws and extensive territorial obligations (Rapaport, 1982: 179; Carmona et al, 2008: 12). The bye-law street, on the other hand, lost its informality and freedom as a safe area for kids to play and an 'eye on the street'.

Narrow street space and Cul-de-sacs would provide shelter from severe weather (Bentley, 1985:10) and the feeling of privacy, safety, and enclosure (Sharifi and Murayama,2013) to the user. Cul-de-sacs (Katrah) at the end of narrow streets accentuate the personal spaces making them safe from criminals (Kunstler, 1996: 129) and add sociability to the space (Wijayanti and Pandelaki, 2012). In contrast to the narrow streets, the wide thoroughfare are devoid of such sociable life since it priorities and accommodates vehicle than people (see fig6)

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During their rule in the subcontinent, the British practiced white supremacy through 'othering', documented in a lot of scholarship. Ingenious military strategy and astute diplomacy were not the only means for the British to consolidate their control and domination over subjects. Still, they

made them believe that British rule was the greatest blessing for them by suppressing the culture of dominated people. Resultant internalization (Fanon,2008: xiii) ensued an unconscious inclination to be 'Modern' and to assimilate the Colonizer with their consent and not by the might of the colonizer (Jaware & Mangwani, 2012).

According to Modern British Planning principles and Western ideals of civilization, the traditional narrow meandering streets were seen as irrational, superstitious, and a sign of social decline (Hosagrahar, 2005: 65). Therefore, modern colonial settlements stood in radical disparity with traditional picturesque settlements. There are wide tree-lined orderly orthogonal roads in modern British settlements, while the latter is underscored with twisting, narrow winding streets. Similarly, Laws (setbacks, projection standards in the street, etc.) were imposed, and streets were designed to promote vehicle speed and efficiency in modern settlements. In addition, the exaggerated projection in the traditional street provides the shade from scorching summer sunlight. The picturesque quality in the street and the narrowness induce the feeling of enclosure, privacy, and resultant sociability. The bye-law street took away the freedom and rights of residents to use the street space. While in the traditional era, people owned the street space, which acted as part of their home. Moreover, setbacks in the Modern setting incapacitated residents' relationship with the street space. Street space became alienated, and fear of strangers seized the children's play in the street space. Blank boundary walls blocked the mother's eye on children playing in the street due to blocked windows and doorways. Colonized Natives and independent natives adopted and continued the bye-law street without considering the loss of traditional street culture. Referring to Fanon (2008: 9), the Colonized adopted the metropolis's cultural standards to elevate their status, owing to the burial of his cultural originality based on his experience of inferiority complex.

The Colonial/Modern Street is devoid of the qualities mentioned above. In addition, the street developed under 'Modern British planning considerations lack traditional safety factors, like the intricate convoluted planning and curved streets, and modern safety factors like laws enforcement for maximum speed limit in residential areas. Drivers in these modern streets drive at high speed without fear for pedestrian safety. But colonial spatial planning was accepted by colonized under docility inculcated by the British 'Othering' and is still in practice without considering what qualities are lost with the replacement of traditional settings. The impact of internalization (Song,2017) was so strong that after decades of independence, urban planning principles in today's Lahore are still 'Modern'.

The case study research, based on three parameters, assesses the most widely accepted planning way (Modern) in Pakistan regarding the relationship between tangible features of spatial design and their intangible implications. The prevailing planning ways in independent Pakistan are still based on the British planning ways as it is explained in section 3 (case study of Lahore) without examining them according to the need of natives and the latest trends around the World, like SDGs 2030 and the charter of New Urbanism (Introduction and section 3.2). Embrace of Englishness due to internalization (Fanon,2008: xiii), British 'othering', and native docility to be 'Modern'(Section 2.1.1) is evident in language, ways of life, and education system as a privilege (Fanon, 2008:9). Without taking into account the tradition's intangible benefits, the natives abandoned it with their consent (Jaware & Mangwani, 2012). This scenario of abandoning traditions and embracing Englishness without questioning its validity is still prevalent in independent Pakistan specifically in urban planning ways (Example of Johar Town, Lahore in case study section).

The article demonstrates the impalpable advantages of the physical characteristics of a planning approach(traditional) that has been disregarded and excluded for planning projects even after independence from the British in 1947. In general, urban development in Pakistan has been impacted by colonial and modern ideology, as demonstrated by LIT (LDA) developments in Lahore (as discussed in the case study section) as well as work done nationwide by private developers like Bahria and DHA under military control. This research has opened the avenues for further analysis and investigations instead of any biases towards traditional and modern planning. This comparative analysis provides an opportunity to look back into traditional planning ways before taking decisions for future planning projects in Pakistan.

Subsequently, it has been established through case studies that traditional planning ways were acknowledged and practiced by post-modern theorists and endorsed by New Urban Agenda 2030 and LEED-ND. It is essential to go back to this historical episode that worked earlier (Table 1) and analyze it closely. But the dilemma is that Native stakeholders of planning and designing in an independent country are still looking toward the 'Modern' to find the solution to prevailing urban problems instead of calling on their traditional settings, which might be forward-thinking. But independent natives still are as reluctant to learn from their Traditions as colonized natives were refraining from being others/traditional under the inferiority complex inculcated by British 'Othering'.

LIMITATION OF RESEARCH

Software like Space Syntax can be used to accentuate and extend analytical suggestions. Additional parameters may also help produce more specific recommendations.

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