

Cityscapes of Lahore: Reimagining the Urban

Helena Cermeño and Katja Mielke, PhD

“The biographies of ordinary people are constructions (or fabrications) in which the imagination plays an important role” (Appadurai 1996, 54)

Introduction

Lahore's forthcoming new Master Plan, the Integrated Strategic Development Plan for Lahore Region 2035 (ISDP-35), will likely represent another in a row of new visions and images of the urban for the city. Meant to replace the previous Integrated Master Plan for Lahore-2021 that was approved in 2004, it is unlikely to include any innovation for addressing the situation and needs of residents with low-income wages. Just like the previous planning document, what is already known from the ISDP-35 suggests that it resembles the usual normative blueprint which remains modernization-inspired and encompasses planning visions derived from non-Pakistani contexts. As a rule, Master Plans have often been produced in Pakistan by international consulting agencies foreign to the local context and unaware of how historical and socio-cultural legacies affect everyday 'urbanism'. One of the phenomena resulting from the particular type of disconnect between externally-led planning and policy on the one hand and local everyday realms of imaginaries and practices on the other hand, has been captured by Mahadevia et al. (2009, 2) talking about India when stating "...the poor find space in the cities through non-implementation of the existing Master Plan rather than in the implementation of the Master Plan!" This observation is also valid for Pakistan in that it indicates that formal planning tools fail to produce just spaces in the city and instead tend to develop patterns of exclusion under the emblem of legality (Marcuse et al. 2009).

Given that the ISDP-35 guidelines are currently in the process of being compiled by an international agency and the inherent risk that policy failures from the past will be repeated, it is valid to scrutinize the rationale for this new plan. We argue that the urbanism from above that is manifest in policy and planning must be paralleled with and take account of the

perspective from below, that is, the perspective of those ordinary people who usually do not benefit and do not have a say in urban planning processes in Lahore. A city cannot be grasped merely as a motor of economic growth with national significance; simultaneously, cities resemble living spaces, inhabited and dynamic, evolving and changing over time. Residents have their own understanding of the city and their own image of the urban space they live in. For each citizen, the lived and experienced city can be assumed to form a different ‘cityscape’, an image partly derived from the overlapping tapestry of present experiences, imaginaries, aspirations and memories of the past.

Based on long-term observations and empirical fieldwork in Lahore, this paper engages with selective residents’ daily rhythms and urban life-worlds - as the experienced everyday practices the inhabitants enact in space and time (Lefebvre 2000, 2004; Schatzki 2010, 81). The notion of ‘cityscapes’ is employed as a conceptual lens that enables us to explore the ‘lived’ and ‘imagined’ urban spaces in Lahore. The purpose of this paper is to map the experienced and imagined spaces of Lahore based on empirical research (Section 3) against the prevailing views on urban development found in academia and policy circles and in comparison to the city form which is contingent on colonial and post-colonial visions of the urban (Section 2). Tracing the daily routines, identification, boundary-making and hardening processes, the paper explores the ‘city vision divide’: the gap between ‘visions of the city from above’ (‘urbanism’ as planning, translated in master plans and such) and the local images produced by its residents (‘everyday urbanism’) (Section 4 and 5).

Academy vs. Policy, City Form and Cityscapes

From an architectural point of view, cities and their city forms evolve over time as constructions in space – vast, dynamic and complex. From a spatial theory perspective, cities can be interpreted as places constructed through movements and (mobile) practices. From residents’ perspective, every citizen constructs his or her associations with the urban space, its images, memories and meanings (what below is introduced as cityscape/s), contingent on his/her positionality, that is background, origin, profession, class, gender, *biraderi*, age and so on. Needless to say, that there are always multiple perspectives and many different angles of looking at the city. Simultaneously, the city and its

city form are constantly being built, rebuilt, transformed, imagined and reimagined.

Lahore's City Form

Lahore, the second largest city of Pakistan, is rapidly urbanizing and thus, presents a complex and dynamic canvas for study. This is augmented by its historical trajectory, in particular the footprints of colonial planning and post-Partition reconfigurations.

From an urban planning perspective, colonial town planning and its concept of development did not intend to contribute to a homogeneous improvement of urban areas; on the contrary, it nurtured different 'urban qualities', spatial segregation and social segmentation between Lahore's 'civil station' and the 'indigenous' inner city; 'Colonial (anti-) urbanism' (Hussain 2013) and its urban restructuring resulted not only in the change of Lahore's city form, it also changed the way people imagined and made sense of the city, fostering a 'dual' vision of the urban space (Glover 2011). In the decades following the Partition, Lahore absorbed hundreds of thousands of immigrants who settled first in the houses left behind by the India-bound emigrants but mostly established new irregular housing – spaces that have become famous as *Katchi Abadis*. Over the decades, various national and city governments initiated subsidized urban development projects. Targeting specific groups with different programs and plot sizes in selected areas in and around the city, the distinct initiatives augmented spatial-social segregation (Alvi 1997). Today, this segregation is ever more obvious in Lahore's city form. It is manifest in the form of exclusive elitist housing societies which have developed mostly in the southern urban periphery but are not limited to it. In the inner Walled City, pronounced gentrification processes are taking place. Uncontrolled expansion of commercial areas has drastically reduced residential use within the Walled City.

Over the decades, urbanization has altered the form of Pakistani cities and thereby it understandably transformed everyday urbanism and urban life-worlds. It is important here to note the difference between 'urbanization' and 'urbanism'. Urbanization in the Pakistani context refers not only to the processes of urban sprawl of recognized cities but also to the bottom up processes and unrecognized dynamics

transforming rural areas into urban-level population density spaces (Qadeer 2000, 2014). On the other hand, urbanism refers not only to the discipline of planning ('urbanism from above') but to the changing way of life triggered by urbanization processes – and urban planning policies as well.

Making Sense of Lahore's Urban Life in Academia vs. Policy Circles

In Pakistan, the neo-liberally shaped policy-debate is dominated by grand 'visions' that proclaim Lahore to become a 'global city' (*The International News* 2014), a 'smart city' (*The Express Tribune* 2014), or more recently, the urge to follow Chinese urbanization models of development. Pakistan Vision 2025, the national development roadmap approved in 2014 by the Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform as a "blueprint for long-term development" (Iqbal 2014, 128), will also guide the on-going urbanization policies and the development of new master plans such as Lahore's ISDP-35 and for that purpose "lessons learned from the Chinese [urbanization] experience will be applied in Pakistan" (Ibid).

Notwithstanding such claims and current efforts, Lahore's urban life and everyday urbanism as focus of empirical research has been largely absent in academic reflections that could inform urban planning policies. Except for a few notable critical works – for example: Hasan et al. (2014), Ali (2013) and Mielke (2014) – that engage in the debate on Pakistani cities using empirical data and fieldwork, there is little systematic work that critically investigates the dominant grand visions governing urban planning in Lahore and other Pakistani cities. It contrasts with an alarming, even chronic, tendency of policy-makers to adopt models and ideas of development unfitting Lahore's and Pakistan's urban contexts. The crux is that Northern urban theory is uncritically adopted, resulting in concepts such as 'world class cities', 'global cities', 'creative' and 'smart' cities to be introduced in city visions worldwide because they seem to suggest global relevance and validity. However, as urban theorists, working from the Global South emphasize, "work on southern urbanism is profoundly subversive and insurgent in a theoretical sense" (Seekings 2013). Therefore, it is crucial to engage in new processes of creative theorizing on the city. This can enable scholars to rid themselves of the meta-narratives of

urban theory from neo-Marxist to neo-liberal approaches that have served the development of binary discourses in urban theory debates and consequently failed to address local urban experiences and how ordinary life is enacted through subversive everyday practices that result in a particular urbanism of everyday life.

Cityscapes as Imaginaries and Enacted Everyday Practices

The term 'cityscape' is inspired by Appadurai's concept of 'scapes' as 'imagined worlds' of collective being, specific spatial imaginaries that encompass individually produced and collectively shared spaces of interactions, connecting people across 'translocal' spaces (Appadurai 1990, 1996). This conceptual invention stresses the importance of imagination in the production of social life: "... 'scapes' indicate that these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle, rather they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors..." (Appadurai 1990, 33). Since its first introduction, the notion of scapes has proven fruitful for conceptual discussions in various academic fields with the aim to grasp new imaginaries. The term 'cityscape' has been adopted in urban studies but not always with the theoretical intent that Appadurai's concept of *-scapes* entailed (Lindner 2006); it has mostly been used to refer to the visibility, legibility and imageability of the city form (Lynch 1960).

In this paper, we use the concept of 'cityscapes' because it allows emphasizing the role of imagination in everyday urban life of the city dwellers. As Appadurai says, "...cities are no longer a locality but a complex of localities [...].the work of imagination allows people to inhabit either multiple localities or a kind of single and complex sense of locality, in which many different empirical spaces coexist" (Appadurai 2002, 43). We, thus, intend to grasp imagined worlds besides physical and perceived worlds that residents 'access' within the city space and that conversely influence how they structure their lives as they go on with their everyday routines.

Moreover, the concept of cityscapes implies that the lived and imagined life-worlds express and produce themselves through everyday social practices: "...the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work [...] a form of negotiation between

sites of agency [...] and fields of possibilities [...] the imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact" (Appadurai 1996, 31). The concept of *scape* and thus the concept of *cityscapes* are related to the phenomenality of practices and sociological writings on everyday practices. Among them, Henri Lefebvre's (2014) 'Critique of Everyday Life' refers to the urban sociology of 'everyday life' as the study of repeated 'human and material practices' shaping 'the urban' and the urban life. Similarly, Reckwitz describes social practices as "routinized ways in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood" (Reckwitz 2002, 250). This literature highlights the role of cognitive activities: routinized ways of making sense of the world, knowing ways of doing things or desiring them. Hence, we argue, it is through the exploration of these routinized social practices that the imagined can be explored. Looking at 'bodily and cognitive routines' of city residents we can ultimately read the city from its recurrent phenomenological arrangements. Routinized practices discovered through residents' interviews and resulting 'images of the city' can reveal spaces of agreement and disagreement, conflict and contestation. As Amin and Thrift (2002, 140) state, "...what better a place than the city as a site of contested practices and aspirations, a zone of agonistic engagement, a place of experimentation...". Hence, we propose that individual 'images of the city' expose how their beholders access resources and situate themselves in the urban social and spatial grid.

Tracing Cognitive Maps of Lahore's Everyday Urbanism

Lahore's inhabitants – today nearly 10 million (Iqbal 2014) – experience and enact the city from their own position as they have extremely different access levels to urban resources and city space. In so doing, they are not motionless observers. Urban dwellers move in space and, over the years, from one location to another, that is, their residential areas, jobs, leisure activities, along with the expansion of the city and its social transformation. In the process, they construct their own images of the city and specific *cityscapes* evolve. In the following six ethnographic vignettes, the concept of *cityscapes* is employed to explore daily rhythms in everyday practices and to grasp spatial imaginaries from the perspective of selective city residents. Ideally, both dimensions will allow first hunches regarding to what extent past and present images

of the city of Lahore can inform about citizens' access to the city and resulting patterns of social and spatial exclusion.

The research presented in the following is based on extensive fieldwork over several months between 2013 and 2015 in the framework of an on-going PhD project. The following questions guided the data collection and preliminary analysis: Which current cityscapes can be traced for citizens residing in different areas of Lahore? How do these cognitive maps overlap? Which areas of agreement or disagreement can be identified? How do past and present images of the city relate to each other? From the body of data that was collected, we present six cityscapes of individuals who have been selected as residents of three case study locales – the Walled City, the northern fringe of Lahore and a housing scheme in the southern urban periphery. The presentation of two cognitive maps from each locale serves to illustrate commonalities and differences in these individuals' cityscapes, that is, their imaginary and access to the city. Given the necessary selectiveness of the cases and the micro-approach with a focus on individual perspectives, the case studies are not representative for Lahore at city-scale. Rather, the paper represents a first step of how the imaginaries, practices and needs of city dwellers may be made legible for planning; in so doing, it constitutes a first attempt to map the differentiated and uneven space/s of the city.

The data collection was based on an ethnographic narrative approach, including qualitative research methods such as semi-structured interviews and cognitive mapping. The schematic representations of the cognitive maps were drawn based on drafted maps developed in participatory sessions during the interviews. The questions revolved around different activities that the respondents would carry out on an everyday basis – now and/or in the past, depending from the case study (see below). They were asked, for instance, to describe their daily routines, the places in the city they recurrently visit and the frequency and the purpose of these visits. Further questions were related to locations in the city where they would visit friends or relatives, spaces for leisure or work-related activities and ultimately about their perception of the neighborhood and other residential areas in the city. Moreover, their future plans and aspirations informed the discussion and map-sketches during the interactive sessions.

Lahore's Cityscapes Shared from the Walled City of Lahore

The first case study presents interviews and representations of the cognitive mapping conducted with two residents of the Walled City of Lahore. The first interviewee lives in a *mohalla* which benefited from a refurbishment project launched by the government. The second interviewee is a resident of a close-by neighborhood not benefiting from the project. The underlying assumption behind presenting these two interviews is that the arrival of the project might have triggered not only changes in the neighborhood benefiting from the project but might have also created a new imaginary of the locality (and of the city at large) among the residents.

The Sustainable Development of Walled City Lahore Project was initiated around 2006 with international donor support. It aimed to refurbish the old houses of the Walled City area and to improve service provision in demarcated locations along the royal trail from Delhi Gate to the Badshahi Masjid in four phases. To date, the first phase of the project has been completed; the second phase was launched recently. The first phase involved the refurbishment of the buildings' facades and services provision (sewage, water supply, drainage and electricity). For a 'demonstration project', most houses in a selected *mohalla*, Gali Surjan Singh, were chosen for interior refurbishment at a minimal symbolic cost for their residents. These houses have since been presented by the Walled City Lahore Development Authority (WCLA) as a model of replication for future development of the area.

In the interview with the respondent from the *mohalla* that has benefited from the refurbishment project, it became clear that the arrival of the refurbishment plan nearly six years back had initially made little sense to local residents. In response and also following specific requirements of the international donors, the oversight authority organized an on-site office that housed the Social Mobilization Team (SMT), which was made responsible for building trust among the community and to inform about the project and "develop Community-Based Organizations (CBOs)". In the process, female and male community leaders were chosen to speak on behalf of the *mohalla* residents and to negotiate and discuss the development of the project with WCLA officials. In the course of the project, several residents – and among them the interviewee – were employed as 'CBO's leaders', construction workers, field survey assistants, 'field activists' and other functions.

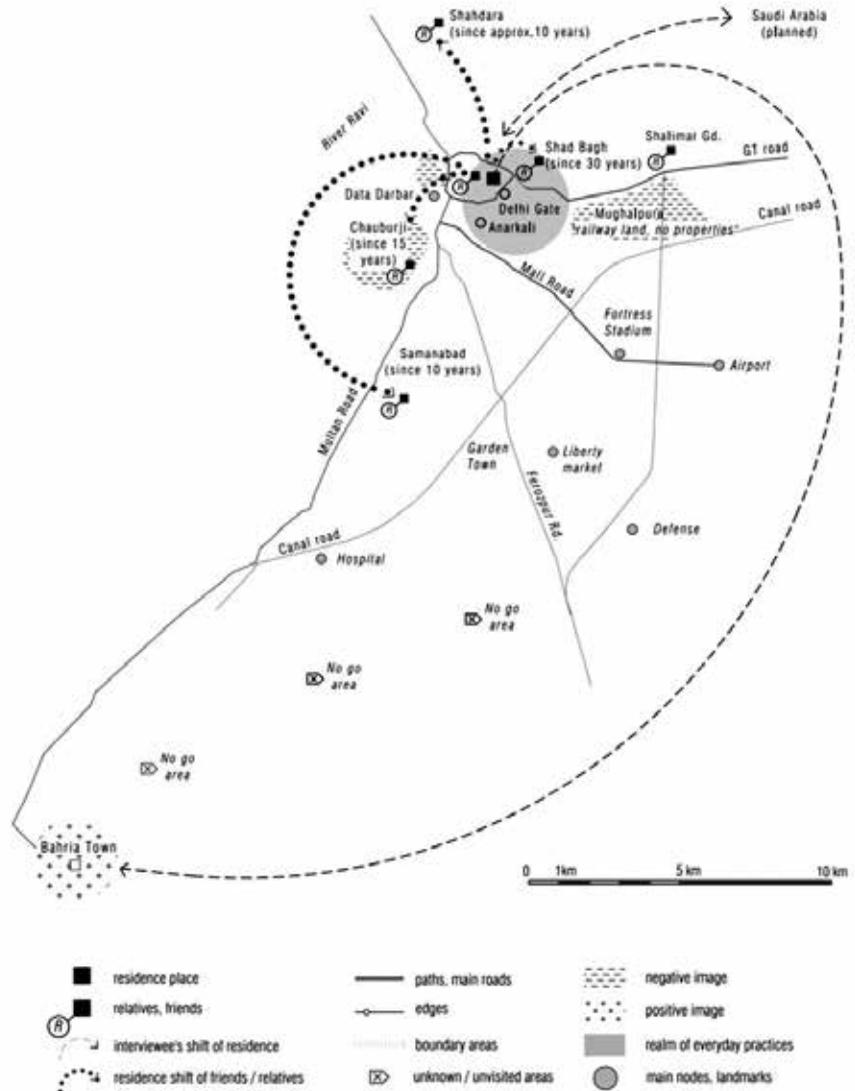
Because most of the cost required for the improvement of the *mohalla's* services and the refurbishment of the buildings was provided by the project budget, the interviewee's family had initially feared that once the work completed, they would lose the ownership of their house. The old three-storey building had belonged to the family for at least three generations. In order to allay their fears, an informal contract was signed between WCLA and the residents ensuring that the house would remain their property after completion of the project. After three years work experience with the project, the respondent obtained a job in a travel agency. His daily routine is since then largely structured by his bike trips from the Walled City (close to Delhi Gate) to his office located near the Press Club, about three kilometers from his house. It expands sporadically because of work-related visits to distant areas of Lahore, such as the airport or Defence. His relatively high mobility in the city has given him a comprehensive understanding of the city structure and resources, which does not necessarily mean that he is able to make use of them. Except for a few visits to hospital facilities near Punjab University and a limited number of visits to Fortress Stadium, his narrative is mostly centered in and around the Walled City.

Subsequently, the interview sessions resulted in a cognitive map that encompasses two major spaces around which the narrative of the interviewee revolved. On the one hand, his current life centered near the Walled City; on the other hand, his aspirations to move to Bahria Town, one of the exclusive upper-class housing scheme in the southern periphery of Lahore (see Figure 1). In between, a large number of areas never (to be) visited (labeled as 'no go areas' in the map) have been traced.

His account of the Walled City includes positive and negative, at times contradictory, interpretations. He would first praise the social networks that characterize the Walled City's daily rhythms and the amenities the project brought for both, his entire *mohalla* and his house almost free of cost. Then, he would criticize the deficient facilities in the Walled City area, the congested streets and gentrification processes that have disrupted social ties. Many of his relatives and friends, for instance, have moved out of the Walled City limits to other locations such as Shad Bagh, Shahdara, Samanabad or Chauburji. In the same interview, the discussion would meander to him disclosing his own

Figure 1

Representation of the cognitive map from interview 01. Source: H. Cermeño 2015, based on fieldwork interviews



aspirations to shift to Bahria Town. This was articulated in contrast to him previously describing Model Town, Defence and the southern periphery as areas never (to be) visited, speaking of “deserted housing schemes where people do not relate to each other and facilities are not available at night”. As it turned out, the imaginary about moving is already quite definite – thanks to the refurbishment project – and not just a mere desire. He has an already detailed plan to move out in a few months – provided he can first earn well in his intended trips to Saudi

Arabia and sell his house, which, since the refurbishment project he believes, has tripled in value. When asked to elaborate on the specific reasons for shifting to a new housing scheme, he would speak highly of the security offered by gated housing societies.

The mapping of the interviewee's cityscape – facilitated by combining everyday practices and aspirations – indicates that despite refurbishments and remaining social networks in the Walled City, the imagined and aspired city lies in a faraway periphery that represents upward social mobility and is considered safe.

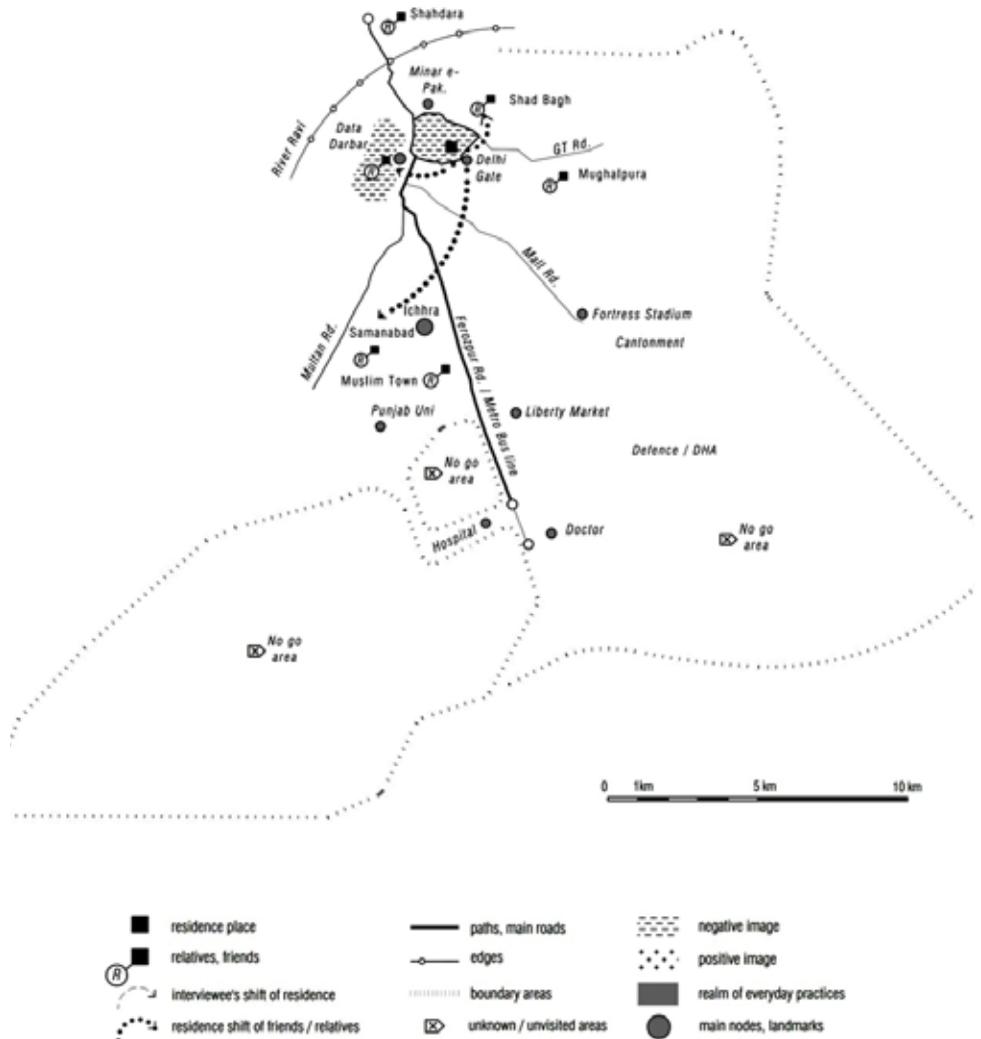
The second interview involved a female resident living in a *mohalla* close to but not benefitting from the first phase of the Walled City project. The neighborhood does not have an efficient sewage system and deep cracks in various houses are visible. Fearing the collapse of the building, WCLA has repeatedly instructed the interviewee and her family members to vacate their house. The family, unable to cover the expenses required to stabilize the construction, continues to reside in the place. The schematic representation of the cognitive map of the interviewee is depicted in Figure 2.

From a spatial point of view, the narrative about the interviewee's everyday life revolves around the Walled City, with few exceptional visits to the area near Model Town and Defence for medical purposes and visits to Samanabad and Ichhra. A large number of areas never visited ('no go areas') can be located in the southern periphery, Model Town, Defence and Cantonment. The interviewee could name only specific locations such as Fortress Stadium and Liberty Market; all other areas remain outside her everyday realm. The respondent's narrative mostly emphasizes on the transformations and social change in the Walled City that have disrupted traditional social networks. The positive images the interviewee recalls from the Walled City in terms of social ties thirty years back, are a thing of the past. With a large number of her neighborhood's acquaintances and relatives shifting progressively to areas such as Shahdara, Samanabad, Shad Bagh and the vicinity of Data Darbar shrine, the interviewee complains that she has to confront everyday issues such as drugs and juvenile crimes without the support of a strong social network. These concerns, adding to the visible decline of houses and services in her *mohalla*, have contributed to the construction of an image of decay of her immediate

living environment; an image that she extends to the whole Walled City.

Figure 2

Representation of the cognitive map from interview 02. Source: H. Cermeño 2015, based on fieldwork interviews



While this image of deterioration seemed not to apply to the area under the first phase of the Walled City project in her initial statements, she nevertheless revealed the same desire to move out of the Walled City later in the interview. The changes and prospects the refurbishment program has brought for neighboring *mohallas* has caused residents in her own *mohalla* repeatedly to approach the WCLA to be included in the Walled City project as well, however, with negative responses. As a result, many residents live with a mixture of disenchantment and hope

that gives way to frustration. Amidst deteriorating living conditions, the interviewee hopes to be 'selected' to benefit from some future development programs or similar initiatives to come. This hope is tied to the ultimate goal of being able to sell the house after it is refurbished and to move out of the Walled City once its value increases.

The major difference between the two respondents' cityscapes is that in the first case, the project was somewhat arbitrarily 'imposed' on the residents who had no previous knowledge, stakes and thus no expectations, while in the second case, these expectations have arisen by learning from the experience of the 'developed' *mohalla*. This suggests that the pilot phase of the Walled City project has nurtured the aspirations of residents, both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, to move out of the Walled City.

Lahore's Cityscapes Shared from the Northern Urban Periphery

The second case study presents interviews and representations of the cognitive mapping conducted with two residents of Khuda-Ki-Basti, a low income housing scheme in the northern periphery of Lahore. The settlement is a Pakistani NGO-initiated housing scheme launched in 2005 and located a few kilometers north beyond the river Ravi. It has often been presented as a replicable housing scheme for low-income settlers, which provides affordable land for residential purposes to the urban poor excluded from the formal housing market. In contrast with the previous section, this case provides an image of the city shared from its periphery by residents who had previously resided in other locations of Lahore and had therefore shifted not only their residence but the position from where they look at the city. In the interviews, respondents were asked to chronologically depict the different localities they had inhabited in Lahore and to describe their experiences and everyday practices.

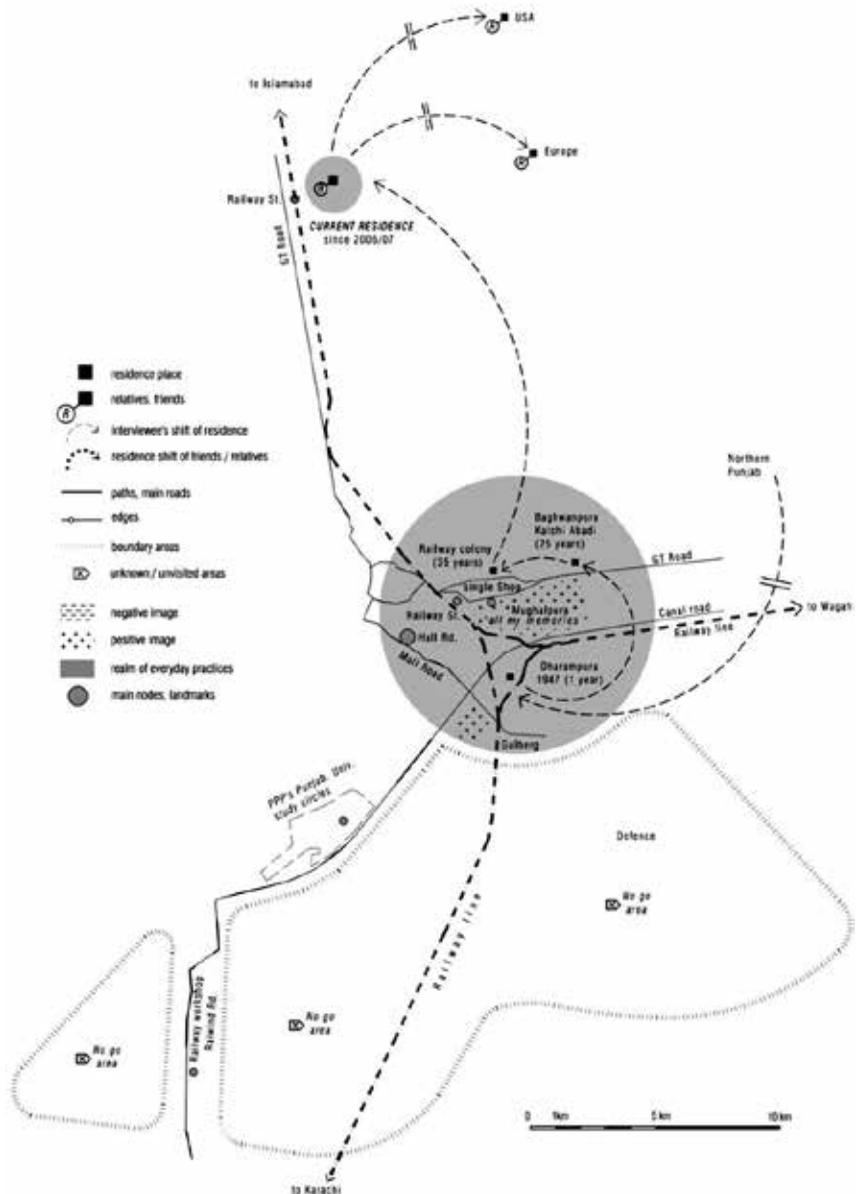
The first interviewee is a retired railway employee who shifted to this settlement in 2007. His narrative of the city goes hand in hand with different accounts of political struggle against military rule, the surge of Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP), the railways unions' movements and early *Katchi Abadis* regularization programs. The drafted cognitive map (Figure 3) recollects different locations in the city the interviewee mentioned and which served as milestones in his chronicle.

Born a few months before Partition in a Hindu property in Dharampura,

which his family had managed to occupy in wake of the disorder and mayhem that accompanied Partition, they soon had to shift to Bhagwanpura *Katchi Abadi* in Mughalpura, when their house was allotted to refugees from India. Bhagwanpura was one of the many informal settlements that grew on encroached federal land that developed in Lahore after Partition. Many of them settled in Mughalpura, a vast area known for being the largest railway workshops site of the sub-continent

Figure 3

Representation of the cognitive map from interview 03. Source: H. Cermeño 2015, based on fieldwork interviews



and where the Pakistan Railways, as a federal agency, owned large stretches if not most of the land. The interviewee took active part in the popular unrest and protests against the military rule of Ayub Khan and was imprisoned more than once. Due to his later employment in the railways, the interviewee shifted from Bhagwanpura *Katchi Abadi* to a railway housing colony in Mughalpura, where he lived until his retirement. Mughalpura was the center from where local *Katchi Abadi* associations were organizing to lobby for regularization programs. The interviewee participated in these activities recalling his personal experiences in jail along with left-wing activists.

Discussing other locations in the city that he would frequently visit or has visited in the past, he referred to the railway workshops at Raiwind Road, the Punjab University, where 'People's Students Federation' (the student wing of the PPP) used to conduct their 'study circles' in the 1970s and to particular locations at Hall Road, where he would attend meetings with scholars and left-leaning activists until today. Thus, from his spatial and temporal position in the city, the interviewee experienced Lahore as an activist, frequently partaking in political rallies and demonstrations; from his affiliation in the PPP to his involvement in different, subsequently established railway unions. The engagement with the railway unions enabled him to move beyond the limits of the city. He would regularly travel to other locations of Pakistan, especially Karachi, where he tied-up with other left wing activists. These activities related him to the NGO sponsoring the housing scheme where he currently (year 2015) resides in Lahore.

From the position of his current residence in the northern periphery of the city, his everyday life has significantly changed and his ties with Mughalpura have naturally loosened up due to the distance. Still, his perception of the city today is determined by memories of the past. When asked about other specific locations in the city such as Defence or Gulberg, he would distance himself from them saying, "these places are not for people of my class...all my memories are related to Mughalpura [...] if I had to move somewhere else, I would go back there". However, this does not match his aspiration to move abroad to either his son or daughter, who moved to Europe and the USA respectively. The connectivity provided by new technologies such as Skype and Viber has altered his perception of his own positionality in the world and in

vicinity of Mughalpura. Only a few years later, the family moved to Karachi from where her father migrated to Saudi Arabia. Remittances and savings from this period enabled the family to purchase a house in Shahdara eight years later. Her narrative is mostly centered in the area comprising Shahdara (where she lived for about 20 years) and Rana Town where she moved after her marriage and stayed for about ten years before shifting to her current residency, ten kilometers north. About her time in Shahdara, she would particularly recall the floods of 1988 to illustrate that the area was a backward location that has only slightly improved since. Rana Town, she explains, had a large number of informal settlements that underwent regularization processes in the 1990s under Benazir Bhutto's government but this did not improve their living conditions substantially. Hence, the location remained an underdeveloped area. The time the respondent spent in Shahdara and Rana Town (about 30 years) and especially her student years in a college on the Grand Trunk Road, gave her exposure to many locations in the city. As main landmarks (depicted in Figure 4), she would note Anarkali, Delhi Gate, Urdu Bazaar and Ichhra Market, while the spatial range of her movements beyond Shahdara would include the Walled City, Samanabad, Mughalpura and Mall Road. Her marriage, her profession as a teacher in a village and her current residence have significantly affected her daily routine. Her mobility in the city is nowadays limited to Shahdara and Ichhra Market for weekly purchases (of food items, clothes and such) while she would access cultural sites in the city very rarely, once or twice per year with her students.

Since the metro bus line still does not reach the settlement where she currently lives, it has not radically improved her mobility, though she hopes it will in the future. Only for medical purposes has she sporadically crossed the line of Canal Road that, in her view, separates the city she knows from the 'unknown' southern periphery. Although unfamiliar to her, she has a certain opinion about these areas she never visits, such as Cantonment, Defence and the southern fringe: "I have heard that it's not polluted and not congested like the Walled City, but I would not like to live there, people are 'alienated', they do not relate to each other, they do not socialize [...]". In contrast, she presents a positive account of Mughalpura saying, "... it's a place I would like to live in, because there people are just like us".

The mapping of the interviewee's cityscape indicates that a clear edge along the Canal Road divides the city space that she is familiar with and the space beyond her range of knowledge and access. The edge illustrates a clear binary vision on the city – nurtured in part from a perspective on social class and identity.

Lahore's Cityscapes Shared from the Southern Urban Periphery

The last case study presents the interview insights and representations of cognitive maps (Figures 5 and 6) of two residents of Ashiana, a low income housing scheme in the southern periphery of Lahore. The low income scheme was launched in 2011 by the Punjab Government in an area dominated by private and public sector efforts for exclusive real estate and housing. Portrayed by its developers as a model and a pilot project for housing for the poor, the project – although still incomplete – is being replicated in other cities of Punjab and along Berki Road in eastern Lahore.

The first interviewee is a thirty-two years old female resident. Born in a village close to Muridke, she moved to Shahdara after her marriage ten years ago, before shifting to her current residence in 2012. In contrast with other interviewees, she demonstrated a profound knowledge of locations in Lahore and could easily point out different places, thereby emphasizing the roads and related infrastructure.

The representation of the cognitive map shows three main peripheral structural positions from which the interviewee experiences the city. They are (i) her previous residential area in the vicinity of Shahdara that gave her exposure to the Walled City and old Lahore; (ii) her current residence on the opposite side of the city (southern periphery), where she conducts her daily routine in a state of relative isolation from other city spaces and activities beyond household chores and (iii) an exclusive housing scheme about ten kilometers away on the western side of Defence Road, where she aspires to move in the future and which in her mind represents the ideal of a “good house” and “a good neighborhood”. Main roads mentioned by the interviewee (depicted in Figure 5) together with the three structural nodes form a spatial grid along which the interviewee makes sense of the city. However, this well understood reference grid constructed by lines, roads and a few specific landmarks (mostly related to a network of relatives scattered all over Lahore involving visiting Raiwind Road, Shalimar Garden,

Garden. On both sides along the road, the cognitive map shows areas she has never visited. Similarly, along Defence Road and Raiwind Road, beyond the structural understanding of the traffic ways, the spaces beyond the roads remain unexplored because of lack of respective experiences.

Based on her specific positionality in relation to the city, she anticipates processes of urban sprawl in the southern periphery of the city: “DHA [Defence Housing Authority] is expanding southeast and at one point will engulf the settlement”. In her view, urban sprawl and expansion of DHA would benefit the settlement since residents consider DHA positively, as a sort of ‘brand value’. She would refer to residents in DHA as ‘educated’ in contrast with areas like the Walled City or Mughalpura, that she describes in a derogatory way as “poor, illiterate, third class people, [and the area is] not safe”. In contrast, Defence and DHA are described as “expensive locations only affordable for high class”. Nevertheless, her ultimate desire, similar to the interviewee in the Walled City, is to move to Bahria Town, an exclusive housing scheme in the southwestern periphery of Lahore, that she imagines provides “...all facilities: cinema, shopping, security [...] so much so that residents do not have to go anywhere in the city, everything is there...”.

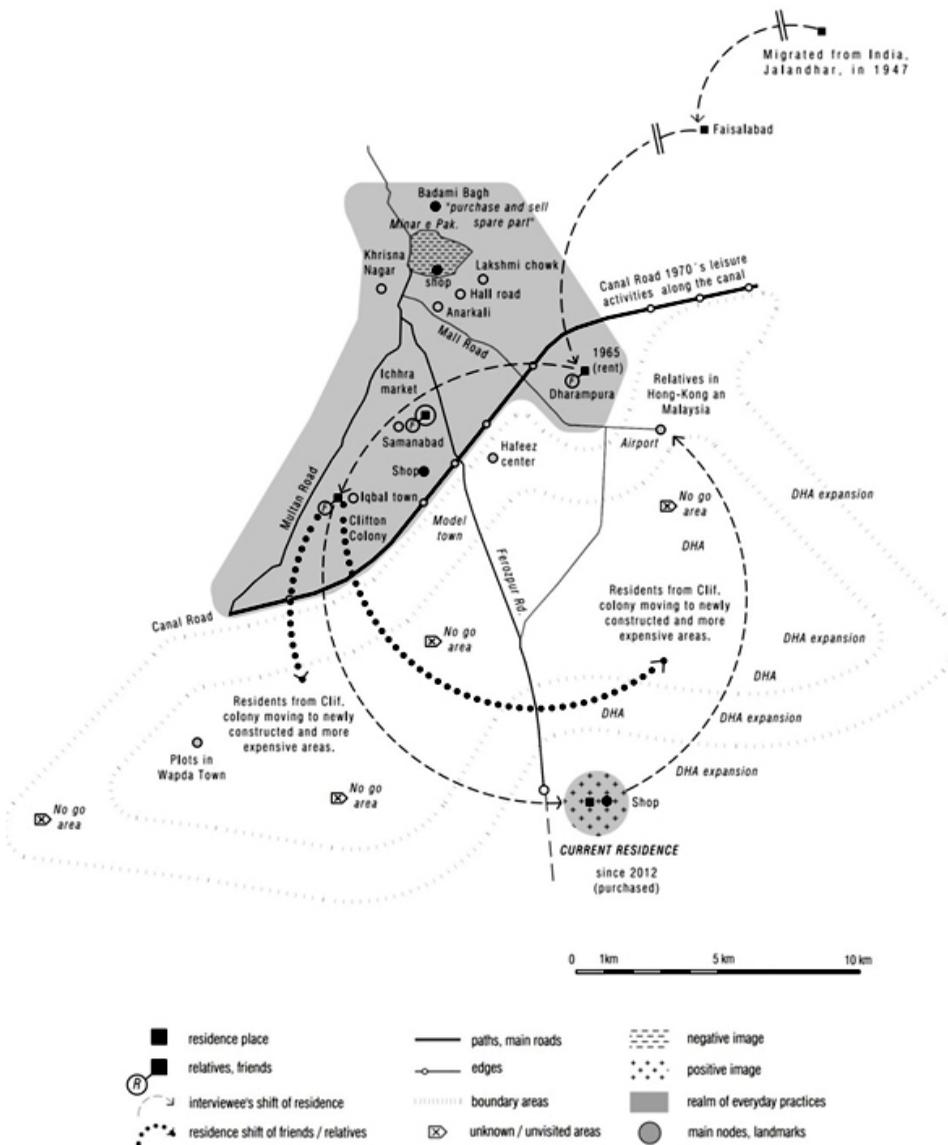
Thus, the cognitive map of the interviewee’s cityscape suggests a grid construction and holistic view of the city based on experienced and imagined spaces. The production of locality here is the result of both imagination and aspirations that for instance determine the way she makes sense of different areas in the city, such as Bahria Town, Mughalpura or DHA and material constructions related to her experienced spaces of the city where she has lived or visited, for example Ashiana and Shahdara.

The last to be presented interviewee is a seventy-five year old man also residing in Ashiana. He shifted with his eight family members to a three Marla house in this location in 2012. Born in district Jalandhar in India before Partition, his family migrated when he was four years old to Faisalabad, where they lived until 1963. Later, they moved to Lahore where they rented a house in Dharampura. The financial compensation given by the government after Partition did not allow them to purchase a house initially. After having been employed for a few years in the

border police and then as a conductor in the public bus transport company of Lahore, he opened a small business in Ichhra and shifted with his family to a house in Clifton Colony in Allama Iqbal Town. His daily routine at that time included his travels to his office on Mall Road, then his journeys with the public transport that gave him a good perspective on the city structure of the 1970s. He would recall that at that time the Canal Road was the boundary between the city and the “jungle”. The few existing housing schemes beyond Canal Road, such

Figure 6

Representation of the cognitive map from interview 06. Source: H. Cermeño 2015, based on field-work interviews



as Model Town, were surrounded by forests and fields then. His daily routine included managing the shop and purchasing in Ichhra Market and Badami Bagh next to Minar-e-Pakistan to acquire spare parts for his business. During the last thirty years, he has owned different small shops with more or less success in Ichhra and the Walled City and most recently in Ashiana.

In 2012, the interviewee and his family decided to purchase anew and move to a bigger house in Ashiana. They sold their property in Clifton Colony and plots in WAPDA Town for that purpose. From his current position, he has also witnessed the expansion of DHA, “half of Lahore seems to be owned by DHA [...] soon this settlement will also become part of it”, he claims. Those of his previous neighbors in Clifton Colony, who could afford it, have progressively shifted to DHA and similar housing societies on the southern fringe. In contrast, the Walled City, for instance, is not attracting new residents because of its congested space and its increasing commercialization: “It is becoming gradually the business center of the city, not any longer a residential area”. The prospects of his family, as in one of the previous cases, are related to the fact that one of his sons lives and works abroad, in this case Hong Kong, and that the second son will follow soon.

The mapping of the interviewee’s cityscape (Figure 6), which includes his different shifts of residence and past and present everyday routines in the city, highlights the boundary along the Canal Road which divides the realm of his access to the city and the spaces excluded from his everyday practices. Interestingly, spatial ‘proximity’ – residence in a low income housing scheme on the southern fringe – does not entail access to this part of the city. The current mobility patterns and future aspirations of the family members are represented in ‘translocal’ imaginaries which connect beyond national borders.

Reflections on Preliminary Insights from the Research Project

The case studies from different localities in Lahore showed that the individual residents navigate between ‘translocal’ micro-spaces that span lived and imagined urban grids and result in cityscapes. A comparative reflection of the case study vignettes allows identifying areas of agreement and disagreement by tracing residents’ diverse practices of cognitive boundary-drawing and enactments of spatial exclusion.

- *Urban planning and development strategies affect the way the city is imagined, aspirations are generated and everyday life is experienced. The urban poor are less able to reconcile imagined vs. experienced spaces.*

The two first cityscapes traced in the first case study highlight that the Walled City development project has influenced the image of the city held by residents – both, beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries – in the sense that it has contributed to the construction of new aspirations and provided the concerned residents with a viable strategy to achieve them. This is problematic because the individually constructed and collectively shared image of decay of the Walled City has remained despite the implementation of the project. The long-held desires of interviewed residents to improve their living conditions have given way to ambitions of moving out in gated societies and the know-how acquired by residents from their exposure to the project includes particular speculation strategies. Thus, the outputs of the project might ultimately enhance already existing processes of gentrification; many local residents might gradually move out of the Walled City. As a result, social networks are perceived to get increasingly disrupted. Individuals frequently refer to intimacy, friendship, attachment, routine and the importance of community in their everyday life. Most of these values are of contingent nature as they are produced and reproduced in the context of developmental projects and socio-spatial transformation in particular localities and beyond that in the urban geography of Lahore at large. Therefore, if for instance attachments are disrupted, the sense of belonging is also altered, producing a different imaginary.

Although development strategies in the Walled City affect both, beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, the former gained the means to fulfill their aspiration and the latter can only still dream of moving. The first project implementation phase in a neighboring *mohalla* opened a virtual world of prospects for the non-beneficiary interviewee and caused her to imagine a host of potential possibilities while her de facto living conditions declined. She might be forced to move out with her family from their house in the Walled City, most likely to the urban periphery.

- *Current urban planning practices are largely promoting a city form and housing solutions that envisage to 'congregate' and 'segregate' urban residents in specific places which are often distant from commercial centers*

and job markets, under-serviced in terms of amenities and cut off from traffic arteries and access to affordable transport.

When residence in the Walled City, in *Katchi Abadis* or popular neighborhoods such as Shahdara, Ichhra or Mughalpura, becomes congested, alternatives for low income housing in these localities are simply non-existent. Those who can afford it can eventually move to newly constructed housing schemes, many of them gated communities, while the urban poor are confined to and 'congregated' in low income housing schemes mostly on the peripheries. Considering the insights from cityscapes from the second and third case studies, it can be concluded that current processes of urban governance and implementation of urban planning in Lahore resemble a centrifugal force for the urban poor, expelling them towards the far peripheries of the city where homogenous locales of urban poverty are endorsed. Processes of 'congregation' and 'segregation' can ultimately sharpen existing borders (boundaries in the making), thus, increasing internal homogeneity of a location or group and territorializing it in a certain place (Giddens 1986; De Landa 2006). Here, by definition and from a planning perspective, both settlements have been imagined and designed to shelter and 'congregate' the urban poor statically and immobile, and in so doing they are 'segregated' from the rest of the city. Hence, the already existing social and spatial segregation is being reinforced.

▪ *Imagination plays a key role in processes of spatial segregation and boundary making: residents engage in processes of 'identification' with specific 'localities' while developing a sense of segregation and dissociation towards others. However, a change of imagination and vision also bears the potential to alter the way the boundaries are configured; thus, it could be instrumental to contest social exclusion.*

Existing social and spatial segregation in Lahore is not only the result of current processes of urban planning and colonial and postcolonial antecedents; imagination also plays a key role for how residents make sense of the city in their everyday lives. The past memories of individuals, for instance, are key building blocks in the configuration of present cityscapes. This is most obvious in the second case study. It illustrates how the cityscape is constituted of past memories of the railway unions - politics and participation in social and political

struggles based in Mughalpura. In this particular case, the biographical experiences enabled the interviewee to develop a sense of 'difference' towards other areas in the city, in a process of 'identification' for the specific 'localities' related to Mughalpura and broadly speaking to the railways. 'Locality' here entails more than only a spatial dimension of the locale; it suggests that the production of locality is as much a work of the imagination as a work of material construction (Appadurai 2002, 34). Instead of referring to the term identity, the term identification is used here in order to emphasize its dynamic nature: 'identification' is not fixed and stable but a process of constant becoming in which people engage in a range of possibilities based on their flexible positionality. Identification processes always include a degree of dissociation and boundary-making by ignorance or explicit rejection of other localities in the city. In both interviews of the second case study, for instance, the past memories have left a positive image of Mughalpura, contrary to the image held by other interviewees in the additional case studies. Ultimately, the different perceptions of boundary-making towards Mughalpura overlap in the sense that all respondents agree in their boundary-establishment concerning this locality. While some 'identify' with the locality, others distance themselves from it in articulation, indicating cognitive boundary-drawing. The resulting perceptions and cityscapes influence the way residents relate to this part of the city. The specific ambivalent views on Mughalpura point to the potential scope of variance in sensitivity towards any urban locality.

Similarly, most of the interviewees supported the idea of an imagined boundary along the Canal Road indicating that they would never visit the area beyond it towards the southern periphery, where exclusive housing schemes and gated communities are spreading. These housing enclaves also demarcate boundary-drawing processes at the neighborhood level where gateways and ramparts enclose spaces and communities, thus signifying markers and practices of inclusion and exclusion amongst areas and communities. Interviewees' narratives also point to changing modes of everyday urbanism and contradictions in lived versus imagined dimensions of their life-world. In the first and third case studies for instance, interviews revealed this gap most clearly. While initially talking fondly of the memories of everyday practices that characterized everyday life in the Walled City and other neighborhoods, thereby mentioning a degree of mobility, diverse

social interactions and dense social networks, these accounts were contrasted with newly constructed aspirations of moving and settling in “private communities, away and in isolation from the city”, at the expense of community life and social belonging but in exchange for amenities (“all facilities”) and safety. If we recognize cities as dynamic configurations which are constituted by people’s everyday practices that span distances through social interactions and imaginaries, the disruption of webs of social relations by increased boundary-drawing and hardening processes risk to disrupt the city at a more aggregate level. In this sense, exclusionary urban planning practices facilitate the emergence of an ‘anti-city’ or ‘anti-urbanism’ approach.

All cityscapes in the study show that individuals do not (and they are unlikely to continue to) inhabit only one particular locality over time, neither do they feel excluded or included solely from one locality, nor do they always have coherent and consistent aspirations and imaginations. The city can be seen as a complex of localities that form a grid along which people navigate. The lens of cityscapes suggests that the production of locality (and space) is the result of both imagination and material construction. Consequently, a change of imagination and vision could also alter the way the boundaries are configured. Since urban planning visions and their implementation impact on the way the city is formed and imaged, and how aspirations are generated among residents, planning would need to move towards creating a new image of the city that reconciles urban dwellers’ aspirations with their everyday practices.

Implications for Planning and the ‘City Vision Divide’

The conceptual lens of cityscapes has proven instrumental to explore how urban planning and development strategies impact on the way the city is imagined, everyday life is experienced by city residents and aspirations are produced. By building on ordinary people’s narratives, the cityscape concept does not carry an inherent bias for a particular group of residents; it allows capturing the views of the urban poor just the same as of the middle class and the elites, depending on the sample. However, in the case of Pakistan, or Lahore in particular, the greatest potential of the cityscape lens derives from its unique ability to grasp imaginaries, everyday practices and needs of the socio-economically marginalized residents. Such insights can hardly be obtained by other

means. In comparison to regular quantitative surveys, the mapping of cityscapes does not merely provide knowledge about city dwellers' reactive strategies but allows considering future trends and dynamics for planning based on assessing the disconnect between any de facto situation and aspirations. The combination of material construction and role of imagination in the exploration of processes of 'identification', 'congregation' and 'segregation' shed light on boundary-making processes and dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion. By tracing how residents navigate in the city, both physically and cognitive, their access to the city and their ability to benefit from urban resources may be analyzed.

Acknowledging the role that imagination plays in the configuration of boundaries and the construction of localities, all cityscapes presented in this paper illustrate that the city is closely related to movements and flows in public perception; static views of settlements and residence do not exist outside the planning realm. This finding affords some further reflections on how planning is inducing spatial boundary-making and thus, generating urban spaces of exclusion. The awareness about exactly these mechanisms is a first step towards avoiding the popular *laissez-faire* approach in the urban housing sector which has facilitated the development of numerous self-enclosed housing schemes throughout the city and especially on the southern fringes. Taken further, the shift in perspective from global 'grand visions' to cityscapes of ordinary residents could result in rethinking urban planning and design processes and lead to reimagining the city by doing equal justice to perspectives from above and below. Such a reimagining of the urban would entail efforts of looking at the urbanism of everyday life, understanding everyday practices of residents, exploring the flows and movements in the city, the resources from which residents do or do not benefit, and for developing new guidelines for more inclusive planning on the city scale and neighborhood level.

In this study, we have chosen to illustrate and hint at the potential of the cityscape approach by focusing on selective cases and few images of Lahore held by individual residents. The analysis presented here is preliminary and necessitates further engagement. A systematic expansion of cityscape-mapping to other areas of the city and to include more residents will yield more representative results and at some

stage will allow generalizing to speak of, for example, neighborhood-based cityscapes. The recording and accumulation of a larger number of individual mental maps will aid the creation of a public cognitive map of the city, pointing out areas of agreement and disagreement. Through developing this approach systematically further and with the appropriate degree of reflexivity, the derived cityscapes might reliably inform planning and policy about citizen's access to the city and ultimately about patterns of social and spatial exclusion. We suggest that the exploration of residents' cityscapes through empirical research and primary data collection should precede and inform all urban planning strategies.

Looking ahead, we urge the need to further explore the detected city vision divide: the gap between the cityscapes that reflect residents' everyday urbanism on the one hand and the top-down city visions translated into planning practices like master plans on the other hand. Studying residents' cityscapes as derived from everyday cognitive and material practices aids a better understanding of urbanization processes, changing dynamics of urbanism and processes of social exclusion. Theoretical discussions alone are no remedy for ongoing processes of social-spatial exclusion and gentrification. Planning strategies need to reconsider their inherent goal orientation and objectives by focusing on questions such as: whom do they aim to benefit, how and why.

References

- Ali, Reza (2013). "Understanding Urbanization". In Khalid W. Bajwa (ed.) *Urban Pakistan, Frames for Imagining and Reading Urbanism*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Alvi, Imtiaz (1997). *The Informal Sector in Urban Economy: Low Income Housing in Lahore*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Amin, Asch and Thrift, Nigel (2002). *Cities, Reimagining the Urban*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun (1990). "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global". *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 7 pp. 295-310.
- Appadurai, Arjun (1996). *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: Public Worlds, Volume 1, University of Minnesota Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun (2002). "The Right to Participate in the Work of the Imagination". Interview by Arjen Mulder. In Joke Brouwer, Arjen Mulder (ed.) *TransUrbanism*. Rotterdam: Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI) Publishers.

- De Landa, Manuel (2006). *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblages Theory and Social Complexity*. London: Continuum.
- Giddens, Anthony (1986). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Glover, William, J. (2011). *Making Lahore Modern. Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Karachi: Oxford University Press Pakistan.
- Hasan, Arif; Noman, Ahmed; Raza, Mansoor; Sadiq-Polack, Asiya and Sarwar Moizza B. (2014). *Karachi: The Land Issue*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Hussain, Imdad (2013). "Urbanization without Urbanism: Anti-urbanism and Small Towns of the Punjab". *THAAP Journal 2013: Life in Small Towns*, pp 77-94.
- Iqbal, Ahsan (2014). "A Governments' Perspective". In Kugelman, M. (ed.). *Pakistan's Runaway Urbanization. What Can Be Done?* Washington: The Wilson Centre.
- Lefebvre, Henri (2000 [1968]). *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Lefebvre, Henri (2004 [1992]). *Rhythm Analysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Lefebvre, Henri (2014 [vol.1:1958; vol.2:1961; vol.3:1981]). *Critique of Everyday Life*. London and New York: Verso.
- Lindner, Christoph (ed.) (2006). *Urban Space and Cityscapes: Perspectives from Modern and Contemporary Culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lynch, Kevin (1960). *The Image of the City*. Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Mahadevia, D.; Joshi, R.; Sharma, R. (2009). "Integrating the Urban Poor in Planning and Governance Systems, India". Working Paper. Ahmedabad: Centre for Urban Equity, CEPT University.
- Marcuse, Peter; Connolly, J.; Novy, J.; Olivo, I.; Potter, C.; Steil, J. (ed.) (2009). *Searching for the Just City; Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Mielke, Katja (2014). "Protests in Search of a Movement". *Tanqeed Magazine*. <<http://www.tanqeed.org/2014/09/protests-in-search-of-a-movement/>>
- Qadeer, Mohammad A. (2000). "Ruralopolises: The Spatial Organization and Residential Land Economy of High-density Rural Regions in South Asia". *Urban Studies*, 37(9), pp.1583-1603.
- Qadeer, Mohammad A. (2014). "Do's and Don'ts of Urban Policies in Pakistan". In Kugelman, M. (ed.). *Pakistan's Runaway Urbanization. What Can Be Done?* Washington: The Wilson Centre.
- Reckwitz, Andreas (2002). "Towards a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing". *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5(2), pp. 243-263.

- Schatzki, Theodore R. (2010). *The Timespace of Human Activity: On Performance, Society, and History as Indeterminate Teleological Events*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Seekings, Jeremy (2013). "Urban Theory, the Dream and its Limits". Lecture given on 26th October 2013 at RC21 Conference, IJURR, Berlin. Available online <<http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/2013/10/cssr-director-gives-ijurr-lecture-berlin>> (Accessed on 2014.01.10).
- The International News (2014). *Pakistan Should Establish 'Global Cities'*. Published online on December 11th 2014. <<http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-3-289329-Pakistan-should-establish-Global-Cities>> (Accessed on 2015.09.12).
- The Express Tribune (2014). *Urban Planning: Lahore Closest in Pakistan Being a Smart City*. Published online on April 13th 2014. <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/694853/urban-planning-lahore-closest-in-pakistan-being-a-smart-city/>> (Accessed on 2015.09.12).