

Mapping The Evolving Peripheries Of Lahore Through Urban Trajectories



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Abstract: Lahore presents a unique case regarding its urban evolution and transformation. Various factors have influenced the expansion and growth of the city. A city with population explosion through rural to urban migration and economic growth resulted in a morphological metamorphosis of its urban form and trajectory in its development towards a specific direction. The research focuses on the urban transformation and evolution of Lahore city by mapping the itinerary with the help of road networks identified as peripheries developed during different eras. The paper aims to broadly comprehend, document, and map the urban transformation of Lahore city and the role each identified edge has played in its evolution. It investigates roads and their development with a critical approach, i.e., where there are often viewed as mere modes of transportation and communication but as significant factors contributing to the growth, transformation, and expansion of cities in the global south. The study explores and establishes its case with the help of maps, pictures, and other relevant documents. The research methods include a temporal cross-section of the city. Each era marking a significant tangible peripheral change determines the urban discourse to understand the city's peripheral growth pattern, trajectory, and scale. The cross-section will start with the first boundary of the walled city of Lahore, studying various forms of edges shaped due to city expansion and ending at the latest border of the city. The study is essential as the rapidly evolving city has not been documented from this perspective; also, the research seeks to become the foundation for future planning, further study, and visual analysis of the boundaries of the city of Lahore.

Keywords: Urban Trajectory, Urban Periphery, Urban Boundaries, Urban Transformation, Roads as Itineraries

Kentsel Yörüngeler Üzerinden Lahor'un Değişen Çeperlerinin Haritalanması

Özet: Lahor, kentsel gelişimi ve dönüşümü açısından benzersiz bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Kentin genişlemesinde ve büyümesinde çok sayıda faktör etkili olmuştur. Kırdan kente göç ve ekonomik büyüme yoluyla nüfus patlaması yaşayan kent, kentsel formunun morfolojik bir metamorfoz geçirmesine ve gelişiminin belirli bir yöne doğru ilerlemesine neden olmuştur. Araştırma, Lahor kentinin kentsel dönüşümüne ve evrimine, farklı dönemlerde gelişen çeperler olarak tanımlanan yol ağlarının yardımıyla güzergahı haritalandırarak odaklanmaktadır. Çalışma, Lahor kentinin kentsel dönüşümünü ve belirlenen her bir kenarın kentin evriminde oynadığı rolü geniş bir şekilde kavramayı, belgelemeyi ve haritalamayı amaçlamaktadır. Yolları ve gelişimlerini eleştirel bir yaklaşımla, yani genellikle sadece ulaşım ve iletişim aracı olarak görüldükleri, ancak küresel güneydeki kentlerin büyümesine, dönüşümüne ve genişlemesine katkıda bulunan önemli faktörler olarak incelemektedir. Çalışma, haritalar, resimler ve diğer ilgili belgeler yardımıyla vakasını araştırmakta ve ortaya koymaktadır. Araştırma yöntemleri kentin zamansal bir kesitini içermektedir. Önemli bir somut çevresel değişime işaret eden her dönem, kentin çevresel büyüme modelini, yörüngesini ve ölçeğini anlamak için kentsel söylemi belirler. Kesit öncelikle surlarla çevrili Lahor kentinin ilk sınırından başlayacak, kentin genişlemesine bağlı olarak şekillenen çeşitli kenar biçimlerini inceleyecek ve kentin son sınırında sona erecektir. Bu çalışma, hızla gelişen şehrin bu perspektiften belgelenmemiş olması nedeniyle önemlidir; ayrıca araştırma, gelecekteki planlama, daha fazla çalışma ve Lahor şehrinin sınırlarının görsel analizi için temel oluşturmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kentsel yörünge, Kentsel çevre; Kent sınırları, Kentsel dönüşü, Seyahat programları olarak yollar

1. INTRODUCTION

The city of Lahore may be understood as essentially an Urban Palimpsest [1]. Its fragmented, violent, but ardent history is a testament to the city's struggle to define and redefine its role as a place of vital cultural, economic, political, and social significance in the sub-continent and even worldwide. It is established that Lahore has been a seat for political, cultural, and economic importance for centuries. However, the city observed the peak of glory during the Mughal and Sikh regimes; its significance was acknowledged earlier by various invaders who came to conquer and rob the town before the Mughals. We see that the urban morphology of Lahore is a diverse mixture of different urban textures, highlighting that the reason and the era of their development have differed. These textures also point toward the multiple forces and agents involved in their evolution over time. Thus, at one end, one observes organic urban form based on pedestrian itineraries developed during the Mughal era and further elaborated during the Sikh regime.

On the other hand, a rigid urban form based on a gridiron pattern was imposed on the urban structure of Lahore in the shape of a Cantonment by the Colonial British. It is done to facilitate car movement and establish autonomy. The Post Partition / Post-Colonial era is a mixture of organic and regular urban forms rapidly appearing on the city's urban fabric.

Roads are one of the enthralling factors connecting these diverse urban forms in Lahore. A road is a *route or way to an end, conclusion, or circumstance* and *an open path for vehicles, persons, and animals* [2]. If seen in the context of pathways, roads are then defined as the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves [3]. Thus, the definitions limit the use and scope of roads as only "a route for the movement of people". Therefore, roads are often seen merely as a tool for the transportation and movement of people. However, roads have much more to offer, especially in the global south. They are instrumental tools in developing the city, acting as itineraries defining the city's trajectory, growth, and scale.

Western theory has been forefront in theorizing cities and their development over time. This has impacted the overall comprehension of towns in the east which are vastly dissimilar from the west. To superimpose western philosophy onto the east has led to the oversimplification of eastern culture and its link to the urban fabric. The role of roads in these theories is also categorized, while roads play a diverse pivotal role in eastern urban. To understand this in-depth, it is required that eastern cities and the character of routes may be studied and comprehended from their perspective of culture, growth, and development. Also, as the paper analyses, these roads are often responsible for marking the periphery and limit of the cities, especially in the global south.

The research then primarily questions the significance of political and economic factors that have contributed to the development of selected itineraries as roads responsible for transforming and expanding the city's periphery. How the evolving trajectory and scale of Lahore have impacted the selected itineraries as roads and the link between roads and the city's growth. The aims of the study include identification, documentation, and analysis of the evolving trajectory and periphery and providing a critical approach to the factors that have contributed to the development of these roads within the scale of Lahore city, resulting from the development of selected itineraries as roads developed in specific eras.

Cities are constantly in flux, yet it's a fact in a state and time [4]. They are living organisms that breathe, evolve, change and even deform. The western theory linearly understands cities as cause and effect where they can be read and interpreted through a chain of events or historical movements. In contrast, the eastern cities cannot be read through the eyes and perspectives of theories manifested from the study of western cities. It is primarily due to the chaotic and superimposed events (like colonization) which change the notion of the linear path of development that a city might take. A case in point is Indian histo-

ry, which, when colonized by the west, changed the social structure, cultural identity, economic growth, and the country's politics and the continent at large. It can be better understood as a superimposition of the western mindset driving towards industrialization in a mainly rural society. Spivak [5] explains in her chapter on "Can the subaltern speak?" which reinforced the line between the east and west, black and white, elite and subaltern, colonizer and colonized, ruler and local with brutal force.

Said (1978) better explains the conditions of eastern cities in his concept of "Orientalism" [6]. According to him, Orientalism can be best understood as a way of coming to terms with the Orient based on the Orient's unique place in the European Western experience. Hence it is crucial to understand the role of the east within the theory of western cities and the diverse complexity which may or may not configure to existing philosophies, eventually being termed as Orient. In Soja's own words, Orientalism is expressed as a western-style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient [7]. Said (1978) further employs Foucault's (1991) ideas in Discipline and Punish [8] to identify the Orient. Foucault (1972-1977) is influential as he establishes the notion of the other in society which forms the basis for power and authority [9].

Conzen (1960), on the other hand, understands the city's growth through its physicality [10]. It presents an interesting theory of fringe-belt regarding the city's periphery and role. However, the approach cannot be directly implemented to understand the towns of the global south, as the boundary cannot be divorced from the centre. The periphery has an active role which can only be understood through its context. Although, there are authors who reject the usefulness and centrality of edges. They stress *planetary urbanization* [11] and the global level of cities. The argument is valid from the western view, but the behaviour of towns of global cities negates the theory. The changing peripheries identify the cities' growth, and the social impact may be diverse and even shift the physical growth patterns of any urban space.

Further, ideas like the 'other' [7] also aim to distinguish between east and west. Hence, a significant gap in theory and urban practice is present when reading and understanding the development of eastern cities. Understanding the evolution of cities of the global south and its cities independent of the west may produce original knowledge deeply rooted in the land and context. Therefore, it is pertinent to understand the cities of the global south, their development, evolution, and even spatiality independent of the light of western philosophies and through the lens of their historical trajectories that have helped shape the eastern human geographies.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The research employs two methods for collecting, documenting, and analyzing the data and information vital for the study.

- Literature review of existing material such as reports by the Lahore Development Authority, research papers, books, thesis dissertations, and journals.
- Analysis of visual material such as maps, photographs, videos, etc.

The research methodology starts with identifying important eras and roads as peripheries (Table 1) that have contributed to the demarking and evolution of the urban morphology of Lahore. Each period and periphery identified for the research highlights the road's change and contribution to defining the scale, edge, or trajectory of Lahore City. The cross-section of the eras and streets as peripheries will start from the earliest traceable boundary of Lahore City. The analysis will conclude with the development of the recently developed Ring Road, which has marked the limit of Lahore in recent times and has provided a trajectory for the city to grow south on a definitive scale. The following peripheries will be taken into consideration and define the outline and scope of the research:

Table 1. Identification of itinerary and time era for the research analysis.

Itinerary identified	Time/Era
Circular Road	Mughal
Mall Road (first expansion)	Colonial
Jail Road & Ferozepur Road	
Raiwind Road	Post-Partition / Post-Colonial
Ring Road (Closing the Loop)	

3. MAPPING AND ANALYSIS

3.1. Mughal Era: Circular Road

Nowadays, circular roads represent a chaotic dream ready to be sorted and organized irrespective of the changes incorporated in its width, i.e., from 1 lane to 4 lane road and added infrastructural details during 2014. The chaos has sprung due to its context's unregulated traffic and commercial activity booming. The Southern Circular Road has organized itself into the largest wholesale market in Punjab Province [12]. The road is roughly 7.25 Km long, is located northwest of Lahore, and follows the periphery of Lahore's walled city known as Androon Lahore (Figure 1). The Road borders the contrasting traditional and contemporary neighbourhood to its north and the river Ravi. The northern vicinity features Lahore's Lari Adda (General Bus station), industrial units, central inter-road city junctions, i.e., Bund and Grand Trunk Road at one end, and the World Heritage sites such as Lahore Fort and important historical buildings such as Badshahi mosque at another. Data Darbar shrine is an important cultural and religious site which attracts hundreds of visitors daily. It is located to the south, with the vicinity identified as the commerce hub bordered by the Railway Station [13]. Thus, the multi-use, historical, and culturally important context around the circular road is perplexing and challenging to understand. The road also connects the walled city with the rest of Lahore and provides access to the walled city by connecting all the gates of Lahore. However, the urban road also acts as a barrier between the old Lahore and the new Lahore sprawled away towards the city's south. The road also connects the new and old Lahore with other cities with the help of G.T Road and the recently developed Ring Road of Lahore in the northeast and northwest parts of the road.



Figure 1. Location of Circular Road in Lahore

Circular Road is juxtaposed on the itinerary sketched by the Mughal rulers around the fortified city (now walled city) of Lahore in the shape of the fortified walls. The walls were erected as strategic built tools against any possible attack. It can be viewed as the first attempt to give a recognizable boundary to the city of Lahore Mughals in the shape of a fortified wall around the city. During Maharaj Ranjit Sikh's regime, a moat was developed around the fortified walls. The moat was established to tackle and resist attacks and was filled with water to keep the enemy at bay. The moat remained the sole successor of the itinerary on which the current circular road was based until Maharaja Ranjit Singh's regime [14]. After the annexation of Lahore by the colonial British in 1849, the fortified wall around the city was vandalized for its material, which was to be used to construct a new building. The moat was filled and converted into a garden. Due to their shape and location, the gardens were known as Gol Bagh, i.e., Circular Gardens, thus transferring the name to the road that would soon engulf them (Figure 2). After 1914, a road for cars was developed around the periphery of the Walled City and Gol Bagh. It can be considered the first attempt to mark the city's urban form in terms of boundary (of Lahore) using road infrastructure as a tool. Although the attempt was colonial, it followed the peripheries of the existing walled city of Lahore. Thus, it didn't help the town provide any trajectory or scale to grow in a specific direction. It constrained the city in its scale and trajectory. It can be assumed that the development of the road following the circular course of the walled city was a political decision to contain and segregate a) the locals from the colonials and b) the old urban form with the upcoming colonial morphology.

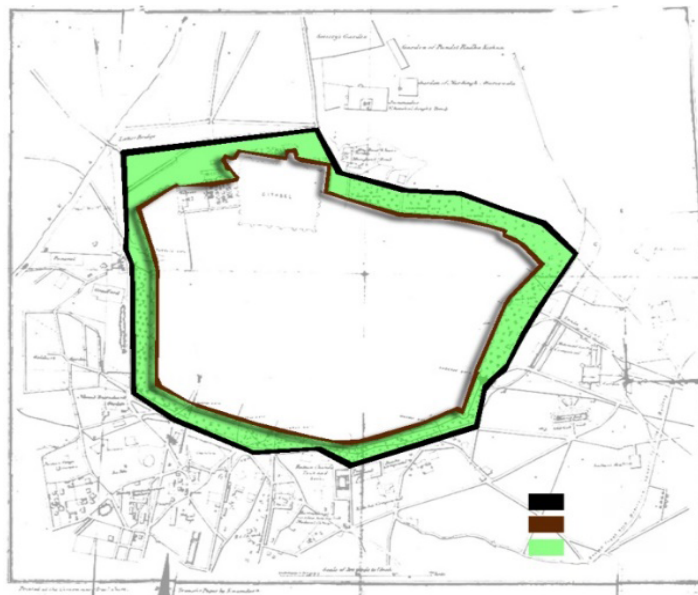


Figure 2. The itinerary around the walled city, which will later be converted into a circular road

3.2. Colonial Era; Mall Road

The strategic geographical location, land, and economic value brought Lahore to light during colonial rule. By the end of Mughal rule, Lahore had gained importance as an important city with a rapidly growing trade market, skilled workers, and craftsmanship. The society at large remained agrarian, with vast untouched countryside and gardens around the walled city. 1848 saw the British establish their seat in Lahore and initially used the existing tombs and buildings for administration, housing, and even religious use. The walled city was the first challenge the British faced as the intricate fabric of the medieval town in the east starkly contrasted with the typical cities of the west. Hence, the British spent the first few decades understanding the city and its working and eventually decided against intervening within the fabric (except for proposing specific improvements to the infrastructure and services).

The city was also expanding, with well-to-do Hindu communities residing outside the periphery of the wall in areas such as Gawal Mandi, Mozang, Kila Gujar Singh, etc. The task at hand was to establish an efficient rule in the Punjab region through the seat of Lahore. The obvious solution was to build outside the city and as far away from the webbed city with wide-spreading disease (Cholera spreading widely at that time) as yet close enough to maintain control. Henceforth, in 1851 Mall Road (previously known as “Lawrence Road”) was proposed by Colonial Napier [15], which connected the Mian Mir Cantonment in the southeast with the walled city, bringing together the fragmented city and the scattered communities around the walled city. Interestingly, the original Mall Road was not directly connected to Walled city and divided into three portions: Lower Mall, Mall, and Upper Mall. Each section of the mall housed important buildings and had a significant character that played an essential role in the governance of the Raj. The road was proposed to be a straight paved road instead of the zig-zag roads of the inner city and wide enough to withstand the fast-moving horse-driven carriages.

Presently, Mall Road is a 6.5 km (4.1m) long, dual carriage road which acts as one of the primary spines for the whole city. (Figure 3). The road cuts through Nasir Bagh (previously known as Gol Bagh) and directly connects with the Lower Mall and Walled city. Mall Road is important for two primary reasons. It marks the first colonial imprint, giving future direction to the expansion and growth of the town.

Consequently, it forcibly stretched the city when Cantonment was placed some 6 miles away from the inner city. Does the question then arise: How can it be read as a periphery of the town? The Mall Road was not just a thoroughfare or a link between the old (walled city) and the new (Cantonment). Still, it represented the *colonial spatial imagination* [16] through its design, location, and spatiality. It was built as a symbol of power and control to state the difference between the locals and the rulers. Although maps may not act or spell out a periphery, in reality, they marked the town’s start (from Walled city) and the end (till Cantonment) limits.



Figure 3. Location of Mall Road in Lahore

3.3. Ferozpur Road and Jail Road

Lahore was a significant city as it stood at the junction of trade routes with other cities towards the east, west, and south. One of these routes connected Lahore across borders to the Indian town of Ferozpur. This

road now presently connects Lahore to Kasur but is known as the Ferozepur Road to date. (Figure 4) The initial trajectory seen in the early maps of Lahore marks the road not as part of the city turbine but as an inter-city road. The route traced another city boundary when a new development based on Ebenezer Howard's Garden city [17] was planned some 6.4 km (4 mi) southwest of the town. N. Varma proposed the plan in the 1920s following the circular plan with roads crossing the radial geometry. Inspired by the English homes and the new shifting paradigm of a car-oriented city, the development offered an opportunity for the affluent locals to build houses on large open plots with wide roads and beautiful gardens. The Model town marked another end to the city, and the Ferozepur Road manifested into a periphery, engulfing the Ichhra to the ever-expanding city.



Figure 4. Location of Jail and Ferozepur Road in Lahore

On the other hand, the Jail Road (5 km in length) on the other hand is sometimes read as another ribbon among the emerging roads in Lahore. To understand it as a border and periphery to the city, one needs to closely look at the fragmented town of that time and its role in enfolding and encompassing the various communities spread around Lahore. The road starts from the Mozang area (an established area of the time) and follows the eastward direction culminating at the Mian Mir Cantonment. A minor (in length) road enforces the city's expansion towards the southeast, crossing over the Canal. Still, it does not bypass the established boundary of the Cantonment.

Presently, both of these roads are amongst the main trajectories of Lahore, handling heavy traffic loads and forming vital connections within the city. In 2013 and 2016, projects were initiated to make Ferozepur Road and Jail Road signal-free, and Rapid Bus Transit System was introduced on Ferozepur Road. Where these projects aimed to facilitate the city's people and guarantee smoother traffic flow, it cannot be argued that they favoured and supported the dominant car culture in Lahore. The result is congestion or fast-moving traffic zooming through the city without regard for its counter-movement of pedestrians, generating isolated islands of long roads. At peak times, the heavy traffic jamming on the wide streets acts more like a border of cars, further sub-dividing the city and causing more nuisance than necessary for its people.

3.4. Post-Colonial/Post-Partition Era: Raiwind Road

Raiwind road is an important road that links the old north part of Lahore city with the upgraded and recently developed south part. Raiwind used to be the district of Lahore, not part of the city itself. It was a major agricultural trade center before Ferozpur Bhatina Road was opened and recorded as an area with industrial importance [18]. The Raiwind vicinity still holds factories and agricultural land compressed between residential colonies, a thread linking the Raiwind to its past. The Raiwind road connected the district of Raiwind with the central city, thus bearing its name from the community. The late development unfolding in the context of Raiwind road and ultimately affecting the Raiwind district has made the section a vital part of the city itself; we see the city expanding more from Raiwind towards the southwest.



Figure 5. Map indicating the location of Raiwind and Raiwind road in Lahore

The roads connect Canal Road from one end to the Ring Road and pass through many newly emerged residential vicinities of Lahore. (Figure 5) The road, which runs parallel to National High Way, is 27 Km long and varies in width from 02 to 04 lanes throughout its running length. The road is essential not only because of the role it has played in determining the trajectory and scale of the city but also because it links the “once” residential Lahore to the once “industrial” (Raiwind district) zone of the city. One of the primary reasons for the development and up-gradation of the road was because it was the only road that linked the political seat (residence) of one of the ruling parties of Pakistan, i.e., Pakistan Muslim League N, with the rest of the city. The road has also played an instrumental part in determining the trajectory, i.e., towards the south, and urban morphology, i.e., exclusive gated communities, of contemporary Lahore. With the development and up-gradation of this major road, the periphery of Lahore city was stretched towards the south, and the city saw an unprecedented pace of growth in terms of scale (Figure 9). It is also interesting to note that the road has played a significant role in the gentrification process of the various villages and agricultural land near its running length. As with the up-gradation of the road, exclusive gated communities started developing along and off the road, and rural land facing the road was sold for commercial activity. Many industrial units and factories have also relocated, and more universities and restaurants have sprung up along the route.

3.5. Ring Road

The project Ring Road was initiated in 2004, and it took the government approximately 13 years to complete the 85 km long, six-lane road encircling the city. The project was completed in 2 phases, namely the northern loop (built first) and the southern loop (recently finished) (Figure 6). The Road is 103 km long and has as many as 20 interchanges and emergency lanes which may be accessed through the existing points [19]. The Ring Road aimed to provide a faster, quicker (in terms of time, not distance) route around the city for people wanting to access from the periphery or from one end to another. Numerous communities, projects, and agricultural land were cut through, destroyed, and even bulldozed to make way for this Haussmannian project.

The need for Ring Road arose with the expanding city stretching its boundaries, causing traffic congestion on the main access routes and limited public transport. The result is an elevated mass of concrete enclosing the city in a tight ring. Ring Road, in reality, was a necessary evil that does facilitate everyday users. What is essential to notice is that a megaproject like this is still designed and built for the speeding car and bikes, which are in multitudes, and public transport is not allowed and discouraged from entering the Ring Road.



Figure 6: Map indicating the location of Ring Road around Lahore

4. DISCUSSION

The predicament of post-colonial cities is the struggle to overcome the colonial effect. Many societies don't recognize the ever-lasting impact that a few years have had on generations. The years passed in suppression, and being a colony leaves a permanent, tangible, and intangible impression on their culture, politics, economy, built environment, and traditions. Rapport [20] insists on the importance of cultural landscape defined by cities built and their history. To study the people and the city of Lahore, it is integral to understand the town first and foremost as a post-colonial by-product, the struggles it has surpassed, and the difficulties it has overcome. The research analysis highlights those roads in one of the global south cities, i.e., Lahore, connecting the diverse urban textures scattered within the city limits and influencing the city's growth patterns. The impact of roads as itineraries responsible for sketching the urban growth pattern of Lahore city can be understood through the following:

4.1. Periphery

The city of Lahore experiences its first-ever periphery, marked by the Circular Road around the walled city (Table 2). The first periphery loops around the city of Lahore, making Lahore a city restricted and defended by the boundary. Mall Road marked the colonial texture and era of Lahore city rather than providing the city with a closed physical border. Ferozpur, Jail, and Raiwind Road also provided the city with the itinerary to grow towards the south rather than marking the definitive periphery around the city (Table 2). Ring Road is the latest attempt to once again mark the boundary of Lahore using a road as an itinerary, this time with a vast and different scale compared to the first attempt (Figure 7).

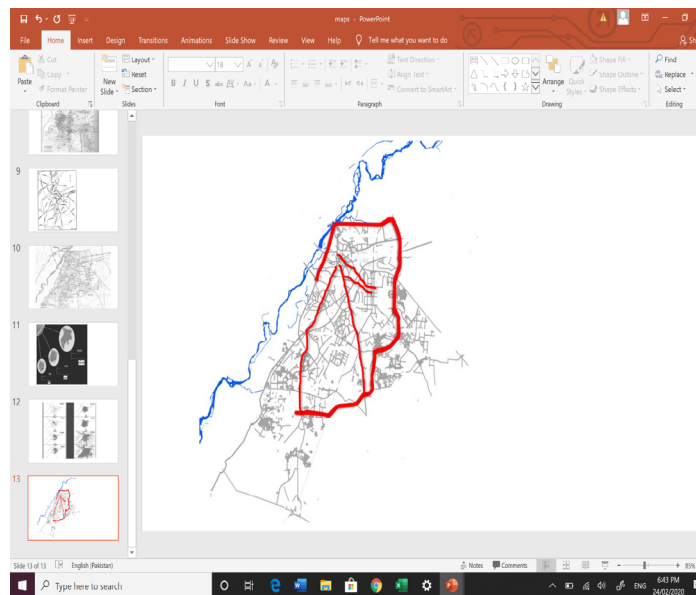
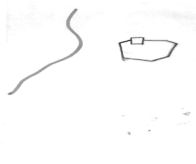






Figure 7: The evolving periphery of Lahore city overtimes.

4.2. Trajectory

Vis (2018) argues the significance of boundaries in the cities in his work [21]. The categorization and hierarchy presented through these edge impact cities at the social, cultural and economic levels. The journey of Lahore as a physical reality on the map of the world started in the northwest part of the city, where the city grew organically within a definitive fortified boundary towards the east of River Ravi. (Table 2). Mall Road marked the colonial era and the future direction of the city. The Road traces its movement towards the southeast, distinguishing between the new and the old, the colonized and the colonizer. The town's focus was forced towards the southwest, crossing the BRB Canal Road and spreading towards the south (Table 2). Ferozpur and Jail Road directed the city's trajectory towards the southeast and connected the city of Lahore with other cities. (Table 2). However, the Raiwind road triggered a fierce development towards the southwest and stretched the city's urban fabric towards the southwest at an unprecedented rate. (Table 2). The ring road has also not closed its loop from the southwest part of the growing Lahore city, encouraging it to grow further in this direction. The trajectory of Lahore city now and in the future will be towards the southwest, further away from the border and river Ravi (Table 2).

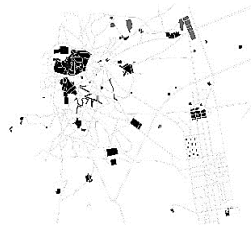
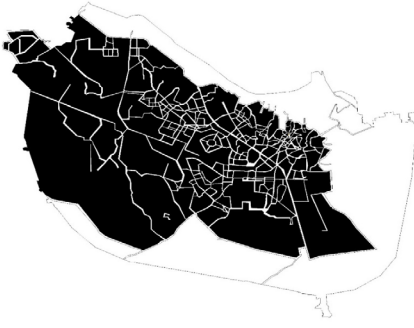
Table 2. Trajectory of Lahore city in the identified time era

Sr No	Time Era	Comparative analysis of the trajectory in the identified era
1.	Mughal Era: The Walled City was developed on the north-west side towards the east of Ravi.	
2.	Colonial Era: Mall Road marked the city's colonial era and future direction.	
3.	Colonial Era: Development of Jail and Ferozpur Road further establishes the trajectory of the Mall Road	
4.	Post-Colonial / Post-Partition Era: The Raiwind road shoots straight from the walled city and expands the city to its peri-urban areas like Raiwind. It stretches the town towards the south.	
5.	Post-Colonial/Post-Partition Era: The final Trajectory encircles all the previous trajectories, closing the loop around the city. The map indicated the city's natural and man-made boundaries, including River Ravi, BRB Canal, and the six peripheries. The map also clearly marks the comparative scale of the first and last loop of the city of Lahore.	

4.3. Scale

Scale is the most prominent and absolute tool to mark the growth and expansion of any city over time. The city of Lahore started expanding in the early stages of colonization when the British started expanding the town towards the south and developing the rural landscape. The city’s population has increased from 120,000 during British times to approximately twelve million (Table 3). It marks an increase of 9900% in less than 200 years which states an increase of almost 50% annually (Table 3). In response to that, the city has also stretched its physical boundaries. It can be understood with a comparative analysis of the physical scale of the city where the Walled City was approx. 2.6 km², and the present Lahore boasts an area of approx. 1772 km² (Table 3). It shows an increase of 6800% over the last 200 years (Table 3). The final maps indicate the comparative scale of the city from the pre-colonial era to post-colonial/post-partition times. It clearly shows the rapidly expanding city, which has stretched towards the southwest of the Walled City. The maps also mark the contrasting urban fabric of the town, where different fabric marks an era of history, leaving their imprint through their physical built (Table 3).

Table 3. Comparative analysis of the Scale of Lahore city mapped 125 years apart

Sr No	Time Era	Comparative Analysis of scale of the city
1	Lahore 1893: The scale and urban fabric are traced through figure-ground mapping. Source: Mapping done by Students of 4th-year Architecture, NCA, 2018	
2	Lahore 2018: The figure-ground map marked the city’s fabric, scale, and expansion compared to 125 years ago. Source: Mapping done by Students of 4th-year Architecture, NCA, 2018	

5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the study identifies different time eras and their impact on the development and expansion of Lahore city with the help of three key parameters, i.e., periphery, trajectory, and scale. In the context of global south cities such as Lahore, the roads have been studied and analyzed as a critical factor in defining the city’s periphery and determining its trajectory and scale. The city of Lahore has evolved from a hamlet town and morphed its shape into a fortified city at the edge of the river Ravi. The road network introduced by the colonial powers and further developed by later governments has helped increase the city’s scale at

an unprecedented rate and has given clues for the cities to grow in a specific direction. The research is a pioneer in this regard as it provides proof of the unique expansion of towns impacted by colonial rule in the global south and its distinction from a typical western city growth. The paper establishes the need to read cities of the global south through their narrative and context and uses different parameters other than one established (in the west) to read the cities of the global south. The methodology also presents cities and their historic expansion in a new light. The study further urges scholars to explore other agents and parameters to read and analyze the cities of the global south to produce a more inclusive and comprehensive knowledge of global urbanization.

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