

Investigating the Role of Walled City Lahore Authority in Promoting Tourism and Preserving Cultural Heritage

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Abstract— As a successor of World Bank’s sponsored Walled City Lahore Project, the Walled City Lahore Authority (WCLA) came into being with the passing of the Walled City Lahore Authority Act, 2012 by the Government of Punjab. Being an autonomous and dedicated body, it is mandated to run the functions of the entire Walled City Lahore with the help of Government of Punjab, World Bank, Agha Khan Cultural Program, Norwegian Embassy and other international donors and partners. The WCLA has carried out a tremendous job for restoration of Dehli Gate and adjoining areas, Shahi Hammam and Wazir Khan Mosques and has established a need for cultural preservation. Development of tourism enhancing products like Riksha Service, Khaba Ustad, Tourist Bus Service and guided tours of the WCL have positively contributed towards tourism promotion. Many other similar projects are still in the pipeline. Being a nascent organization, the WCLA is facing sustainability challenges (financial, institutional and operational), coordination hurdles (tussles amongst the departments over resources and jurisdiction), setting right the market strategies, addressing mistrust of the stakeholders and converting cultural preservation, restoration and urban improvements into phenomenal tourism business opportunity for the residents of the Walled City. The success of the WCLA lies in making itself sustainable and replicable model by improving the framework about implementation of building codes and land zoning, targeting international tourist market to capture maximum boon for Pakistan, providing livelihood to the vulnerable or displaced strata concentrated in the Walled City of Lahore. Having said this, it is also important to formulate an overarching national conservation and tourism policy which is bound to serve as a beacon for managers of the Walled City to make it best international tourist destination.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Lahore Walled City (WCL) is the product of the cultural influences of at least three major empires in the subcontinent of India: the Mogul Empire, the British colonial presence and modern nation-state of Pakistan. As a result of its position along a major trade route, many other less dominant cultures, such as Afghanistan and China, have also influenced it. In addition to its object value, the Walled City plays a central role in the daily functioning of Lahore. It remains a bustling centre of commerce and represents the ‘living culture’ of the city, an enduring continuation from a much older way of life. As the city contains many heterogeneous physical attributes,

the activities of the Walled City include all aspects of urban life, residential, manufacturing, retail, educational, religious and civic¹.

The Walled City Lahore is the second belt of urban development around the historical centre of the fort as in many other old cities in the world. In the local language it is known as Androon Shehr; on the same analogy as the names of the historical parts of the world, such as Innere Stadt in Vienna, Ichan Qila in Khiva, and Icheri shehr in Baku mean ‘inner city’. The WCL once housed the ruler’s residences and administrative buildings, along with the related infrastructure but nowadays this is home to principal historical monuments and other tourist sites with a unique tinge of Lahore’s true hustle and bustle aura. It has less than 500,000 inhabitants as compared to its total population of about nine million. In some European and American Cities such as London, New York, and Toronto, the term ‘inner city’ has a well-defined meaning: it is the oldest part of town in which the poorest social strata live. The inhabitants of the WCL, too, are not very rich: unskilled and semi-skilled labourers, vendors, craftsmen, and some members of the artistic intelligentsia who use the old buildings as ateliers. The narrow medieval streets in this part of town house no banks, luxury hotels, offices, or other places where money circulates. The traditional bazaar is the Walled City’s main economic entity, determining the work patterns of the local inhabitants. The WCL state of sanitation is also quite medieval (with a little part redone by WCLA), frequent power outages, a poor sewage system, and a water supply that is unfit for human consumption. In spite of its all around-the-clock din and commotion, the WCL is slowly but surely dying. The Walled City Lahore Authority is first serious and concrete effort to launch a process of rejuvenating the culture and conserve the centuries old heritage treasure of Walled City Lahore².

The objective of this study is to critically examine the role of WCLA viz WCLA Act, 2012, its achievements in promoting tourism and preserving heritage in the Walled City Lahore. It will be an analytical discourse that traces impacts of this Authority, identify issues and challenges gaps, suggesting succinct recommendations for improvements and to see whether this model can be replicated in other parts for cultural preservation and promotion of tourism.

This study is a treatise on the Walled City Lahore Authority (WCLA), which is working on challenging task of conservation and restoration of heritage and promotion of tourism of the WCL through master planning, maintaining

¹ The Massachusetts Institute of Technology ‘Conservation of the Urban Fabric – Walled City of Lahore, Pakistan’ by Kron, Zacharay M., web.mit.edu/akpia/www/AKPSite/2.239/Lahore.html (accessed on 29 October, 2015)

² Anna Suvorova, *Lahore: Topophilia of Space and Place* (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2013)

and converting this cultural treasure into improved living place for residents coupled with its conversion to marketable tourism product in Lahore. From a management and policy perspective, assessment of the WCLA's achievements, its impact on preservation endeavours and promotion of tourism, identifying gaps its working and making doable suggestions for its improvement. As walled city culture does exist in other prominent cities of Pakistan – and in shambles - like Peshawar³ and Bahawalpur so it aims to serve as a guide for them for preservation of culture and promotion of tourism. This can also be taken as a policy document to establish such an authority at provincial level to preserve cultural heritage of other cities in Punjab or elsewhere in Pakistan.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

It has become a constraint that although much literature is available on the cultural, historical and architectural heritage of the Walled City Lahore by prominent national and international historians, conservation specialist, architects and other travellers but very material is available on the working of the WCLA – being relatively a new organization. However, it is important to highlight that the WCL has remained an attraction for many of the research analysts from an urban development conservancy/ perspective. Several studies/ reports/ lectures/ background papers by the Pakistan Environment Planning and Architectural Consultants (PEPAC) regarding urban uplift and conservation of the WCL were generated; Lahore Development Authority/ Metropolitan Planning Wing, with the World Bank/IDA “Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study” (Final Report/ Vol.4 Walled City Upgrading Study, August 1980); Pakistan Environment Planning and Architectural Consultants Ltd. Lahore Development Authority, ‘Conservation Plan for the Walled City of Lahore’ (Final Report. Vol I. Plan Proposals. 1986). Both these studies contain the discussions about the development of urban paraphernalia in Lahore and also touching the improvement of urban structures in the WCL. Ali Reza H. “Urban Conservation in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Walled City of Lahore.” (Architectural and Urban Conservancy in the Islamic World. Papers in Progress. Vol.I. Geneva: Agha Khan Trust for Culture, 1990) explores the necessity and builds a case for the rehabilitation and restoration of the WCL. Nadeim, Ihsan.H. “Lahore: A Glorious Heritage” by Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1996; “Background Paper: Lahore Pakistan” prepared for Design for Islamic Societies Studio (MIT Department of Architecture and Planning, 1992); King, John and St. Vincent, John, “Lonely Planet Travel Survival Kit” by Lonely Travel Publications, 1993; and Samina Qureshi’s “Lahore: The City Within” (Singapore Concept Media: 1988)⁴ where she says ‘though the city is constantly building itself it has maintained over twenty nationally recognized moments and buildings of cultural value representing its 1500 years of recoded history’ and suggests to preserve the culture of this area. In the recent times, Lucy Peck’s “Lahore: The Architectural Heritage” (published by

³ Ghaffar Ali, “Walled City of Peshawar”, Daily Times, 14 February 2005.

⁴ Samina Quraeshi, “Lahore: The City Within”, in *The illustrated Beloved City - Writings on Lahore*, ed. by Bapsi Sidhwa (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2012), 70.

Ferozsons, Lahore, Pakistan) that highlights cultural and architectural assets of Lahore from a knowing traveller’s point of view and Anna Suvorova’s “Lahore: Topophilia of Space and Place” by Oxford University Press, Karachi, Pakistan is an excellent discourse on philosophy of topophilia – love, relationship and passion for cities and then employs this concept to explain Lahore and the Walled City Lahore. All the aforementioned studies basically highlight cultural and heritage value of the WCL and build a conceptual framework for revival of cultural niceties and preservation of unique treasure of architectural blend of Moghal, Sikh and British era - concentrated within the bounds of the WCL.

This IRP will examine the concept of establishing special body namely the Walled City Lahore Authority, and its place in the backdrop of history-culture-heritage context for the restoration of cultural and architectural heritage of WCL and WCLA’s specialized role in promoting tourism in Lahore.

This study employs descriptive and analytical techniques coupled with qualitative data for conduct of this research. It will be a review of primary sources; interviews with key stakeholders and several formal and informal visits and secondary sources including work produced by the eminent architects and urban planners on the Walled City of Lahore. The personal observations during visits are also an important tool, being a student of management and policy-making, in understanding dynamics and cultural paraphernalia of the WCL.

This study is divided into three sections. First section dilates upon the introduction of the WCLA and critically examine the role of the WCLA viz WCLA Act, 2012, its achievements in promoting tourism and preserving heritage in the Walled City Lahore. It also deals with the mandate and functions of the Walled City Lahore Authority. It discusses jurisdiction, tasks and powers entrusted to this Authority. It will also map a gap analysis whether legal stipulations, institutional mechanism/ arrangements and availability/ allocation of resources are sufficient for making it a viable Authority/ Business Model. The second section highlights issues and challenges for the WCLA in conservation and preservation of the Walled City by the WCLA. Having identified challenges faced by the WCLA, the third section suggests succinct recommendations for preserving cultural heritage and promoting tourism in Lahore by presenting a successful brand of the WCL.

III. WALLED CITY OF LAHORE AUTHORITY (WCLA)

As a successor of World Bank’s sponsored Walled City Lahore Project, the Walled City Lahore Authority (WCLA) came into being with the promulgation of the Walled City Lahore Authority Act, 2012 by the Government of Punjab. Being an autonomous and dedicated body, it is mandated to run the functions of entire the Walled City Lahore with the help of Government of Punjab, World Bank, Agha Khan Cultural Program, Norwegian Embassy and other international donors and partners.

3.1 Coordinates of Walled City Lahore

According to Schedule 2(XLI) of the Walled City Authority Act, 2012, the WCL comprises of Union Councils 27, 28, 29 and 30 of the Ravi Town, Lahore with their boundaries including the outer circumference of the circular road around the four union councils. It also includes Minto Park and Iqbal

Park situated in the north of the Walled City including the road surrounding it.



Figure 1: Location of Walled City Lahore Authority

3.2 Background of the Walled City Lahore Authority

The efforts to preserve the cultural heritage of the WCL were started just after the partition of British Colonial India into Pakistan and India in 1947. To its sequel, there was inter-communal strife that destroyed wide areas of the Walled City fabric. Some of that area was repaired under the 1952 Punjab Development of Damaged Areas Act, 1952⁵. Many of the arriving Muslim families from India moved into the emigrating Hindu residences, although the lower land values of the old city further established the concentration of lower income groups in the city centre, with wealthier families residing outside. In 1950's an organization called the Lahore Improvement Trust attempted to reinstate a plan for commercial development in the old city. But due to its poor facilities, between 1970's and 80's, 29% of the old city population moved out. Commercial interests, mostly small-scale manufactures and wholesalers largely filled the space left by the emigrants from the old city; resulting into commercial encroachment demonstrates pattern of abuse of building stock through inappropriate re-use of structures intended for small scale (cottage) industry and residential use, as well as destruction of older buildings replaced with quickly erected lower quality structures.

With the purpose of conservation of the WCL heritage treasure and urban development, the Lahore Development Authority (LDA) and the World Bank did a project 'Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study (LUDTS)' jointly in 1979. This study highlighted four areas of improvement and its findings also identified the precarious position of the physical drapery of the city. The report suggested (among other things) that any development and upgrading program that the city initiated should include measures 'to protect national and regional cultural heritage'⁶.

Despite these efforts, as the heritage was being neglected, in 2005 the World Bank approached the Government of Punjab, urging them to restore and develop the WCL. Ideas from

⁵ <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/70.html>

⁶ The Massachusetts Institute of Technology 'Conservation of the Urban Fabric – Walled City of Lahore, Pakistan' by Kron, Zachary M., web.mit.edu/akpia/www/AKPsite/2.239/Lahore.html (accessed on 29 October, 2015)

Italian experts and specialists from the Agha Khan Trust for Culture gave the concept of a concrete shape in 2006. Finally, with the inputs and efforts of the professionals and lovers of heritage, there emerged a World Bank funded Sustainable Development of Walled City Lahore Project (SDWCLP). To move forward a public private partnership was signed with the Agha Khan Trust for Culture in 2007 for technical assistance in the project. A comprehensive strategic plan was prepared which paved the way of reconciliation between heritage preservation principles and urban development⁷. Having achieved some basic milestones, the SDWCLP was converted into the Walled City Lahore Authority (the WCLA) under the WCLA Act, 2012.

3.3 Salient Features of WCLA Act 2012

This act was promulgated to provide for the conservation, planning, development, management and regulation of the Walled City Lahore in 2012. It promises to enhance the quality of life, conduct of business of the WCLA and commercial activity and ancillary methods. The salient features are as follows:

3.3.1 Composition of the Authority

The Walled City Lahore Authority consists of members from government and private sectors with Chief Minister of Punjab as its chairman while Director General acts a member/ secretary to the Authority. The meeting can be convened on the written request of five or more members along with clear agenda items for conservation of heritage and promotion of tourism.

3.3.2 Powers and functions of Authority

The WCLA is mandated to implement and execute master heritage and conservation and re-development plans, identifying and assessing authenticated heritage value, preparing and executing schemes for conservation of the Walled City through establishing, maintaining and revising planning controls and building regulations. It shall also maintain a record of owners and occupants of the buildings or immovable property and regulate the transfer of property in the Walled City.

3.3.3 Heritage Conservation Board

The Heritage Conservation Board is 7-member Advisory Body to the WCLA on conservation and preservation and other related matters. A member of this Board shall be a person having knowledge or experience in respect of one or more fields in history, culture, archaeology, architecture, the conservation and conservation of monuments, buildings or settlements, cities, town planning, tourism and community development.

3.3.4 Power to Act as Local Government

The Government of Punjab may allow by notification in official gazette authorize the WCLA to exercise and perform such powers and functions in respect of the Walled City as a local government under the Punjab Local Government Ordinance 2001 or under any other law relating to local governments.

⁷ www.walledcitylahore.gov.pk

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3.3.5 Master Conservation and Re-Development Plan for the WCL

The WCLA is assigned, in consultation with the Heritage Conservation Board, to prepare master conservation and re-development plan including;

- Land use and zoning plan
- Plan for conservation of heritage of Walled City
- Plan for development, improvement and maintenance of municipal services
- Plan for development, improvement and maintenance of public passages, urban open spaces, public areas
- Plan for development of enterprise and economic activities

3.3.6 Heritage and Zones of Special Value

The WCLA, in consultation with the Heritage Conservation Board, may declare any building, structure, land, building fabric, urban open space or work for the purposes of conservation. It can also declare any area of special architectural or historic interest or appearance, which is desirable to preserve, enhance or develop, as a zone of special value.

3.3.7 Building and Land Use Control

The WCLA is authorized to employ sanctions on making any alteration or enlargement of any building detrimental to human safety and environment and using the building other than specified purpose. No building or structure, located within the WCL shall be demolished, destroyed or removed by any person except with prior approval of the Authority. It is also empowered to stop and remove encroachments.

3.3.8 Community Mobilization/ Trade Councils

With a view to effectively achieving the objectives of the WCLA, community mobilization and establishing communication channels is of paramount importance. Citizen Community Boards have been constituted to mobilize stakeholders for community involvement for conservation of heritage and Trade and Business Councils act as coordinator between traders or businessmen of the WCL.

3.3.9 Financial Sources of WCLA

The Walled City Fund (WCF) is the financial window with the WCLA to fund its initiatives for conservation and preservation of culture and promotion of tourism. It also has powers to borrow money, with the prior approval of the Government. The WCF shall comprise of the grants received from the Government through budgetary allocations, grants received from the Government for maser conservation plan or scheme, money received from the Federal Government or any international organizations as a grant, loan, advance or others, money received from the disposal of movable and immovable property of the Authority; fee, tax, rate, charge, rent or fine received by the Authority and any other money received by the Authority.

3.4 Achievements of WCLA

The achievements of WCLA can be summarized in three sections as follows:

3.4.1 Conservation of WCL Architectural Heritage

For conservation and rehabilitation of Walled City Lahore, the WCLA launched a pilot project namely 'Pilot Urban Rehabilitation and Infrastructure Improvement Project Package – I' from Dehli Gate to Chowk Purani Kotwali WCL with total cost of PKR 500 Million (50 % World Bank Share and 50% Government of Punjab Share). It was started in 2012 and completed in May 2015 with major components of façade improvement of more than 600 properties including; replacement and improvement of water supply system, improvement and removal of old electrical system with designated STORM Water lines are laid in the streets as well as in the Royal Trail (Main Bazar), streets surfacing of 37 streets and Royal Trail (Main Bazaar) and all the encroached area is demolished and put the buildings on the actual revenue line.

Another project with the same nomenclature 'Pilot Urban Rehabilitation and Infrastructure Improvement Project Package – II' has been recently started for Purani Kotwali to Akbari Gate Lahore Fort through Chowk Chuna Mandi and Moti Bazaar. Budgetary outlay is PKR 890.600 Million. Against contract awarded amount of PKR 770.5 Millions, PKR 300 Million have been released for FY 2015-16. Components of this package are façade improvement of 186 properties, replacement and improvement of water supply system, improvement and removal of old electrical system, designated Storm Water lines in streets, underground sewerage system and telecommunication system up-gradation. It also entails uplift of Azam Cloth Market including Pakistan Cloth Market, Gurdawara Janamastan of Guru Ram Arjun Das, Government Fatima Jinnah Girls College and Maryam Zamani Masjid.

The WCLA has been successful in tapping resources for conservation of historical sites and heritage monuments and have signed MoUs with international donors coupled with co-funding of AKCSP. The following table shows the details:

S. No	Donor	Funds	Projects
1	Royal Norwegian embassy	PKR 70 Million	Preservation Work of Shahi Hammam
2	US Ambassadors Funds	USD\$ 1,120,096	Chowk Wazir Khan
3	Royal Norwegian Embassy	PKR 10 million	Northern Wall of Wazir Khan Chowk
4	Royal Norwegian Embassy	PKR 10,963,000	Documentation, Presentation and Promotion of Picture Wall Lahore Fort.
5	Master Conservation Plan of WCLA	-	-

The WCLA's contribution towards conservation, renovation and reviving the pristine glory of 17th century Royal Bath (Shahi Hammam) - that was built by Hakim Ilm-ul-din in the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan - is worth mentioning. It has hypocaust system in hot bath area. This heritage monument was used as Police Station in the British times and

subsequently after 1947 served as a boy's school, dispensary and TDCP office. The monument corroded due to ageing, negligence and encroachments. At present Shahi Hammam is the only monumental building in Pakistan that represents the Central Asian, Turkish and Irani traditions of public hot baths.⁸ It was first regained from the illegal encroachers (52 encroachments removed) all around, cleaned up from commercial mess-up and then renovated in a professional manner with the technical help of Agha Khan Culture Trust. The marble floor excavated and Jacuzzi revealed. Fresco work with immaculate details re-done on the walls and ceilings of cold bath area.

3.4.2 Revival of WCL Culture Colours and promotion of tourism

With a view to reviving the cultural colours of the WCL and promotion of tourism, the WCLA has established a dedicated Directorate of Marketing, Tourism and Culture in 2013. It is responsible for promotion of pilot projects, development of promotional and publicity material, effective presence of the WCL and WCLA on social media and internet, guided tours of the WCL, revival of festivals and events, uplifting the artisans, reviving the dying crafts and culture of WCL, promoting the intangible culture and finding sponsors and donors for the WCL restoration and rehabilitation. After its creation, the WCLA has done the following on this note:

- A. Launched guided tours in 2013 of Royal Trail (Delhi Gate, Shahi Hammam, Wazir Khan Mosque, Dina Nath Haveli, Chitta Gate, Dina Nath Well), Bhati gate, Lahori gate and Mochi gate.
- B. Conducted tourist guide courses (youth of WCL trained as guides) to generate livelihood opportunities for residents of WCL.
- C. WCLA has come up with dynamic website of WCLA (www.walledcitylahore.gov.pk) that provide details for tourist.
- D. Social media presence (FB⁹, Twitter, Bloggers, Pinterest, Flickr, Instagram)
- E. Registering WCL on Google Cultural Institute
- F. Gathering street performers (intangible culture) to re-live the died culture of WCL
- G. Revamping fort road food street
- H. MoUs signed with University of the Punjab, NCA, University of Management Sciences, COMSATS, Flatties Hotel, Avari, Heritage Cottages and Park Lane for promotion for promotion of tourism.
- I. Appointment of two British and two Sikh era chobdars at the British era main gate of the fort and Ath-Gara area near Shish Mehal respectively to give a virtual experience of history. WCLA has also arranged Moghal era costume for visitors which they can wear and take photos with it¹⁰.
- J. WCLA also arranges special events in/on WCL to promote culture and interest for WCLA like photographic exhibitions in 'Wekh Lahore', photo walks, food festivals under 'Khaba Ustaad Festival',

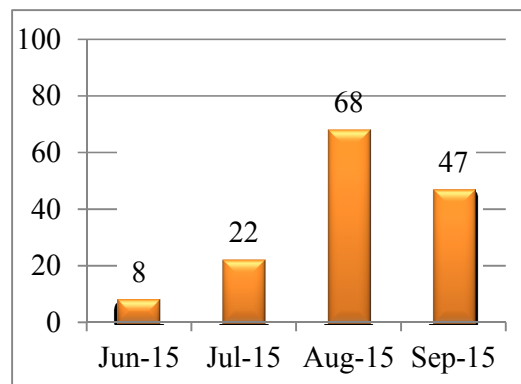
celebration in Royal Trail in 'Jashn-e-Shahi Guzargah' and holding of mushaira.

In addition to above WCLA, in its future cart, intends to arrange cycle tourism, Walled City Shopping Festival, Lahore Film Festival, Vintage Games Festival and Dhol festival. It also envisages reconstruction of old gates including improvement of Dehli gate by re-designing the adjoining area, renovation of old havelis, re-designing of Rim Market, landscaping of Baoli Bagh and restoration of area attached with Maryam Zamani Mosque.

3.5 Impacts of WCLA

Being relatively a new organization, the WCLA has been successful in creating impact in preserving cultural heritage and promoting tourism in Lahore and Pakistan.

- A. It has proved itself as a specialist body in Pakistan; exclusively mandated for cultural preservation and promotion of tourism and has emerged as a model to replicate in other parts of the country. Many voices are there in Peshawar (KP) to restore fast dilapidating heritage of old city on the same analogy of the WCLA¹¹.
- B. Promotion efforts of the WCLA like Rikshah, Khaba Ustad, and other cultural programs, WCLA has been successful in blending the culture of old and modern Lahore; as a major chunk of people visiting the WCLA hail from bourgeois or posh areas in Lahore.
- C. Renovation of the Royal Trail and other culturally important structures and promotional activities steered by the WCLA; there is an encouraging trend in tourist turnover in the WCL. With the expansion of activities and provision of better facilities for tourists, it is expected that WCLA will be able to attract more tourist in the days to come. The following graphs¹² show the number of international tourist and local tourist visiting the WCL in last four months.



Graph 1: Showing the number of foreign tourists visiting WCLA in last four months

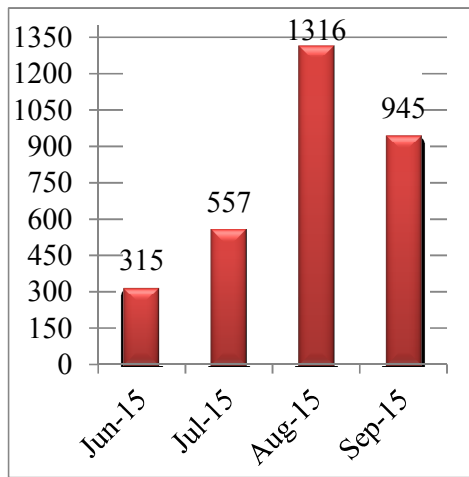
⁸ Ms. Tania Qureshi, Deputy Director, WCLA, Lahore, by the author, Lahore, 15 October 2015.

⁹ <http://m.facebook.com/walledcitylahore>

¹⁰ Faizan Ali Warriach, "WCLA to Impose Fine to Control Wall Chalking at Lahore Fort", Daily Times, 20 August 2015.

¹¹ Hidayat Khan, "Past Glory: Crumbling Heritage in Walled City" The Express Tribune, 19 May 2014.

¹² Source: Walled City Lahore Authority



Graph 2: Showing the number of local tourists visiting WCLA in last four months

IV. ISSUES & CHALLENGES

4.1 Sustainability of the WCLA

The dividends of preservation of heritage-culture and promotion of tourism cannot be reaped till the efforts made by the WCLA are consistent and funding-line is clear and sustainable. The sustainability challenges pertaining to the WCLA can be categorized as;

- Like other organizational set-ups in developing countries, the WCLA is more a personality-oriented organization. What if one Director General with passion for art and culture is replaced with someone having no knack for these finest tastes; the speed, vigor and dimensions of conservation and preservation of culture will be suffered.
- This conservation effort is not internally driven. Had the World Bank has not extended its interest in financing poverty alleviation and livelihood generation through conservation of heritage and promotion of tourism, the WCLA would not have been emerged? Now after completion of the World Bank and other donor's initiatives in the WCL, there is no vivid commitment so far shown by the Punjab Government for the allocation of funds to the WCLA.
- It seems that only the WCLA is interested in conservation and preservation efforts. The real stakeholders - residents of the WCL - take it just cosmetic interventions by the IFIs (International Financial Institutions). There seems to be a failure to establish a rapport and association with the conservation efforts. Without having taken residents on same grid, the sustainability efforts seem a far cry.

4.2 Absence of Functional Clarity

As the WCLA is new entity, there arise some cases of organizational frictions between the WCLA and other departments; pertaining to transfer of assets for administrative control, law & order on monuments and related facilities. Some recent instances are:

Archaeology Department and the WCLA are involved in blame game on various issues upon transfer of administrative control of Lahore Fort and other important monuments to WCLA, causing problems to both local and international tourists visiting the historical sites¹³.

Although the WCLA has been given some magisterial powers to control illegal construction and encroachments in the WCL yet it does not have implementation arm to actually enforce its writ. For this activity WCLA it is dependent on the CDGL and Police. Response from these institutions is not always encouraging and timely.

Building regulation and control, technically speaking, still remains the fold of Lahore development Authority (LDA) and Town Municipal Administration. The WCLA neither have the expertise not have legal teeth to enforce building codes in the WCL.

4.3 Lack of Integration Among Departments

There is a lack of integration among different departments responsible for conservation and preservation of WCL and promotion of tourism. The archaeology department that is mandated, as per Punjab rules of business, for planning and initiating for conservation projects all over the province seems perturbed with the emergence of the WCLA; and subsequent transfer of Lahore fort and related monuments to the WCL. Similarly, Punjab Tourism Department is also pitched at a distance from the WCLA.

4.4 Policy Gaps

It has been noticed that there is no systematic approach for conservation of the WCL and promotion of tourism. There is no policy for connecting and creating links between different parts of Lahore. All efforts towards uplifting of the WCL are in bits and pieces and in disjointed fashion. The WCLA's approach towards restoration and rehabilitation is mostly concerned with improvement of hardware component. It is important to note that the WCLA tends to handle these issues simply as discrete administrative matters, issues of law and order, development projects, promotion of tourism, image building, niceties of heritage conservation, or technicalities of municipal engineering rather than an opportunity of conscious and intellectual paradigm shift of the WCL¹⁴ and its residents.

4.4.1 Demography, Economics and Politics

The displacement of political and economic power from the old city to new developed urban centres led to out-migration of higher income groups and in-migration of low income groups. Development of new commercial markets (Shah Aalmi and Pakistan Cloth Market) within the Walled City resulted in the replacement of traditional urban structures comprising of residential mohallas, bazaars and artisanal manufacture, with modern commercial buildings and motorized transport. These developments brought about profound transformations in social structures and relationships including polarization between super rich non-residents and very poor residents; dramatic loss/destruction of the heritage of the Walled City; physical

¹³ Khalid Husnain, "Archeology, WCLA literally 'fight' Over Monuments Control" Dawn, 30 May, 2015.

¹⁴ Kamil Khan Mumtaz, interview by the author, Lahore, October 19, 2015.

and cultural exclusion and alienation of residents from the state structures and institutions; and economic and political marginalization and impoverishment of residents.

4.4.2 Physical Structures and Infrastructure

Neglect of the old city by the modern state coupled with impoverishment of the resident population and out-migration of the elites led to decay and depreciation of old structures and infrastructure. These properties were purchased by non-resident developers and traders, and converted to commercial markets and warehouses contributing to the rise in economic and political power of developers and traders and an astronomical rise in commercial property values.

4.5 Inertia Among the Stakeholders

Social conflicts and tensions between residents, developers and concerned authorities have placed all the stakeholders in their respective positions. There is multiple tiers of inertia among all the stakeholders to come forward and take part in the conservation and preservation of heritage in the walled city. The scale and complexity of this task is indeed formidable. It will take time to implement. Anyhow, it cannot be achieved without the support and active participation of the local populace.

4.6 Regulation for Building Control Missing

Due to absence of master plan for land use, zoning and building regulations in the WCL, there are trends of illegal/unauthorized construction that are not only disconnected with traditional and cultural aspects but also pose severe dangers to life and properties. The WCL is gradually becoming a hot spot for land mafias and developers due to increased development and tourist turn over. The WCLA, being a nascent organization with inadequate manpower and legal backing, seems weak to enforce the relevant laws and to carry out their legal responsibilities. The WCLA is in process of making building laws, regulations and codes and also seeking help from the Lahore Development Authority in developing its implementation conduits for better regulatory regime¹⁵.

4.7 Issues with Registration of Properties

Although the WCLA has been authorized by the Act to get register all properties viz owners in the Walled City yet issue remains attached with the availability of record. From the land records management perspective, the entire Walled City has only one khasra (parcel #) and no detailed record is available. All the transactions are being done on PT-I. It remains a challenge for the WCLA to conduct a survey, prepare computerized database of land properties records, do the land titling and devise easy methods for property registration and subsequent transfers.

4.8 Weak Marketing Strategies

Success of the tourism sector is dependent on the marketing strategies. It has been noticed that the WCLA's focus is on tapping the local tourist from Lahore and the Punjab. It lacks the focus on presenting the WCL as a 'brand' of Lahore to the broad local and international tourist. There is also a complete absence of the Walled City Lahore from the international media as an ultimate tourist destination on the analogy of

Istanbul for presenting cultural heritage as an international best tourist destination.

CONCLUSION

The Lahore Walled City Authority is a right step in the right direction for the cultural and preservation and tourism development in the Lahore Walled City. It is a unique initiative by the Government of Punjab and probably first of its kind in Pakistan for highlighting architectural value of historical treasure in Lahore. Where the WCLA has been successful in doing restoration work in Dehli gate, Shahi Hammam and Wazir Khan Mosque, the challenge in terms of management excellence and financial sustainability remains ahead of the Lahore Walled City Authority. Dynamism required to be instilled in the Walled City Authority can be achieved through providing consistent funding, improving liaison between all stakeholders including the residents, coming up with an overarching policy and through robust marketing strategies.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND WAY FORWARD

The authorities, including the Walled City Lahore Authority (WCLA), tend to approach these issues simply as discrete administrative matters, issues of law and order, development projects, promotion of tourism, image building, niceties of heritage conservation, or technicalities of municipal engineering. However, these issues are interwoven and deep-rooted in generic realities and dynamics of demography, economics and politics; including conflict of interests between income and occupational groups, power centres and their social facade. For bringing improvement in the WCL, the following suggestions are given:

1. Ensuring the sustainability of the WCLA by minimizing dependence on external/ foreign finance through revenue generation by imposing local taxes on properties and services and deflating commercial property market in the WCL. A departure from the personality or individual driven institutional charisma is required to make the WCLA a successful and replicable management model and continuity of operations and activities of the WCLA. An indicative list of areas requiring attention in this regard are:
 - Use new building regulations to stop conversion of residential to commercial use;
 - High tax/fee for registration of properties transactions;
 - Pre-emption (*Haq-e-Shufa*) legislation to acquire properties offered on sale;
 - Stop conversion of property boundaries by sub-division and/or combination of plots;
 - Reclaim converted premises for community infrastructure;
 - Eliminate/restrict motorized traffic;
 - Locate WCLA office within Walled City.
2. There is a need to formulate an overarching National/ Provincial Conservation Policy with a view to structuring an integrated response in the conservation and preservation of cultural heritage and tourism development. Subservient to that policy, the WCLA's conservation and marketing strategy is bound to flourish emerge. The process must begin with a dialogue between all stakeholders including

residents; developers; traders; and administration to identify key issues, possible solutions, local resources and gaps in implementation conduits. In addition, instead following an incoherent approach, the WCLA's focus be shifted on preparation of Sectoral Plans for different parts i.e. gates, markets, heritage monument and cultural centres.

3. In order to achieve synergy of efforts in the restoration and preservation work, functional clarity between the departments may be removed by promoting a culture of team work for the greater Lahore rather than making it a matter of clash of interests among the WCLA, the Archaeology Department, the Lahore development Authority and Local Town Municipal Authorities. Implementation committees; having representation from all key departments, be constituted at micro/ Mohallah level to complement efforts for development of the WCL.
4. With a view to improving livelihood of the residents of the WCLA hailing from vulnerable strata, it is necessary that the WCLA should create connecting improvement of urban paraphernalia with livelihood generation. Like much of the educated youth in the WCL have been employed in the tourism, there are many avenues relating to cultural preservation, art and literature, architecture and promotion of dying disciplines, there is a space for imparting trainings to the youth of the WCL through specially designed skill development modules in collaboration with National College of Arts (NCA), Technical and Vocational Training Authority (TEVTA) and University of Engineering and Technology (UET), Lahore. This effort necessitates its link with the entrepreneur development to promote small and medium scale enterprises (based on local skills, natural indigenous materials and artisanal manufacture).
5. It has been noticed from international practices that 'there is a clear role for government to ensure that resources that embody broader social and cultural values and benefits, such as landscapes, biodiversity, historic sites, and cultural values, will not be irreversibly destroyed by myopic actions'¹⁶. Once the regulations for building control are finalized after consultation with all stakeholders, zero tolerance policy be adopted in its implementation by the WCLA to safeguard culture and residents of the WCL.
6. To date, marketing approach of the WCLA is directed towards developing products with considerable focus on marketing to attract the Lahorites and local tourist. By making a paradigm shift in marketing strategy, achievable be set keeping in view international tourist markets on the analogy of Indian's experience that projects South Asian Culture as their exclusive brand.

7. Many of the interventions for improvement in the WCL are linked with its land zoning policies. Taking a priority challenge, the WCL may take initiative of preparation of land records leading towards urban property titling. In this effort, active collaboration of the WCL and Urban Unit (UU) Lahore is suggested.
8. Taking a lead from inefficient handling of the fire incident in Shah Alam Market in the Walled City by the District Authorities in 2011, the master planners of the WCLA are supposed to include Disaster Risk Reduction strategies for restoration, cultural preservation and rehabilitation of the WCL.

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¹⁶ Klaus Deininger, *A World Bank Policy Research Report on Land Policies for Growth and Poverty Reduction* (Washington: The World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2003), 174.