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Understanding Recent Transformation of the Walled City Multan: A Case Study of Chowk Bazaar Area

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Abstract

In recent decades, the Walled City of Multan has witnessed a rapid social and physical transformation due to rampant commercialization. An example of this phenomenon is the Chowk Bazaar area, where, due to many factors, the residential population is decreasing, and warehouses and other commercial functions are replacing historic houses. This transformation affects the built and social fabric of the area, and commercial activity is growing at the expense of historic structures. This thesis aims to understand various mechanisms of this transformation, such as heritage mentality, legal deficiencies, market pressure, and economic conditions. The work will also investigate the changes in land use patterns and urban structure of the Chowk Bazaar area to give an in-depth view of transformation and its effect on locals.

Keywords: Transformation, commercialization, warehouses, historic structures, heritage mentality, legal deficiencies

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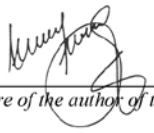
Ahmad Tahir 

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Chapter 1
Introduction to Research

Introduction

"Heritage is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it. It is part of the way identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group or nation-state". (Barbara Bender, 1993)

Heritage has become a contested subject during the last century due to the establishment of a predominantly Western professional discourse of heritage management working through various authorizing institutions like the UNESCO and ICOMOS known as the Authorized Heritage Discourse or AHD (Smith, 2006). However, the approach of this discourse is not limited to international institutions; it has infiltrated national and local perceptions of heritage, influencing their practices. The AHD favors material objects and has been actively involved in redefining, meaning-making, and creating specific values for heritage understanding (Smith, 2006). Following the Foucauldian concept of governmentality, the AHD operates with a mindset characterized as the 'heritage mentality.' With this mentality, the AHD influences legislation, charters, and heritage practices, and it employs experts as its agents to wield power. Users and experts are at odds over the perceived heritage values of the built environment as a result of heritage mentality. On the other hand, these practices and mentalities are not new and are deeply rooted in historical conflicts, particularly in post-colonial states that have continued to play a role in making heritage a source of contention.

In addition, today's market-driven economy dominates factors such as land value, return on investment, and profit maximization of historic neighborhoods' transformation. Nonetheless, the market operates on multiple levels, including global, regional, and local, and involves financial institutions in the development process. This involvement of financial institutions adds to the complication by undermining efforts to revitalize and conserve historic areas due to their agendas. Moreover, if the political economy of the territory is taken into account, the consequences of uneven development carried out due to the agendas of financial institutions also affect historic neighborhoods.

This thesis examines various conflicts affecting historic neighborhoods in the case of Multan's Walled City through the lens of AHD, heritage mentality, and market forces. This objective has been achieved primarily by analyzing recent revitalization projects, legislation for protecting historic buildings, and studying land use transformation patterns.

The Case of Walled City Multan

The city of Multan initially appeared in written records around the middle of the seventh century A.D. (Maclagan, 1902). The city was enclosed inside a wall for the purpose of protection against foreign invasions, hence the name "androon shehar" or Walled City (Qadri, 2011). The Fort and the city rested on sand mounds, and the Ravi River flowed around these mounds. However, due to the rise in population, many suburbs developed around the Walled City, including Kotla Tollay Khan, Basti Peeran, Basti Dab Karan, and Basti Qasban, Basti Baghban Pura, Basti Bawa Safra (Narain, N.D), which all together today constitute Multan's inner city. The Walled City holds many cultural assets, including cultural activities, festivals, and historical buildings. Moreover, the largest wholesale market of South Punjab operates inside the Walled City, making it an economically vital part of the city.

During the past few years, the Bazaars and surrounding residential zones in the Walled City of Multan have started transforming into wholesale markets and warehouses due to various economic and political factors. Simultaneously the neighborhoods in the Walled City face out-migration of the residential population due to dilapidated infrastructure and other social issues. There is a shortage of land inside the Walled City, and the potential ground rent of residential buildings can be increased significantly by using them as a warehouse. Hence, there is a spike in warehousing in residential neighborhoods.

Many of the old houses that have been converted into warehouses are historic structures that accommodated households for multiple generations and could be termed 'ancient' as per the National Antiquities Act of 1975 and Punjab Special Premises Ordinance 1985. Although the purpose of these legislative frameworks is to protect historical buildings, there are conceptual and technical limitations within them that prevent their effectiveness in protecting historic buildings and communities associated with them. These limitations include the selective approach and stringent restrictions that act as a deterrent for people to stay in historic neighborhoods.

There is a lack of administrative and political will at a governmental level to improve living conditions in these areas, which has become a primary reason for the outmigration of the residential population. Moreover, governmental conservation and revitalization efforts are not targeted towards facilitating local users but rather towards generating money through tourism. This approach ignores and isolates the resident population from development processes. The

divergent but interconnected factors playing a part in the present-day transformation of the Walled City of Multan provide an example of how market forces and interpretation of the built environment can combine to activate the transformation of an area.

Bazaar

Traditionally in Pakistan, the Bazaar was not just a commercial entity but an entire urban district, comprising various residential, commercial, and entertainment functions central to the city's communal and social life. The Bazaar served as the city's intellectual and political center because it was deeply integrated into culture and society (Hassan & Polak, 2008). It was one of the most public spaces in the city, open to everyone to interact and experience city life. However, the bazaar was not limited to commercial and public functions; its spatial structure integrated hierarchy from the public and the private by comprising large avenues where trade activities and communal interactions would occur and narrow alleys which were mostly clusters of residential units. These areas were deliberately challenging to navigate for outsiders unfamiliar with them to keep them secluded. This spatial organization of the Bazaar, which incorporated both the public and the private, was essential for fulfilling overt and veiling cultural requirements. In this way, the spatial organization and development of the Bazaar were not instigated formally by a particular authority but instead negotiated locally between people (Hosagrahr, 2005).

Bazaars and residential areas surrounding them have been in existence for centuries and were typically developed and maintained through social and cultural mediation. However, due to rampant commercialization in Multan's Walled City over the last few decades, the mediation process that has historically shaped the Bazaar's physical and social structure, including the balance between residential and commercial land use, has been disrupted, resulting in warehouses and allowing strangers to work in residential neighborhoods.

Figure 1: A view of Bazaar street showing a historic residential structure being used for commercial purposes. Source: Author, 2021

Relevance of Work

In current revitalization projects like the "Sustainable, Social, Economic and Environmental Revitalization" of the Walled City Multan project (SSEER) commenced by a partnership between Italian and Pakistani governments, the decay of monumental buildings and the perceived underutilized economic potential of walled cities are considered an issue. The project's revitalization proposals focus on exploiting historical areas' tourism potential rather than benefiting residents. Problems that arise due to the different valuations and conceptualizations of historic neighborhoods by the state, locals, and market within the phenomenon of transformation have not been given much attention within projects that aim to revitalize these areas.

This thesis criticizes the uninformed approach of revitalization projects like the SSEER, which are primarily targeted towards generating tourism, and argues that it is essential to understand the mechanisms that contribute to transformation before revitalizing any area. A failure to do this results in revitalization projects such as SSEER marginalizing communities while trying to mitigate threats to the historic buildings.

Research Questions

This thesis primarily rests on the fact that wholesale economic activity in the Walled City of Multan is one of the significant factors contributing to the area's structural and social decline by causing the displacement of residents through the transformation of residences into warehouses. The legislation for protecting historic buildings in Pakistan does not give incentives to historic residential buildings or communities living in them but rather helps to perpetuate the transformation of these buildings through its selective approach and restrictions. Considering these facts, this thesis will try to address some of the following questions.

1. How did the transformation start in the Walled City, and how is it connected to the organization of various land uses in the area? This question will further engage with the role of potential ground rent in land use transformation in the Walled City.
2. Apart from the wholesale activity, how does legislation and administrative policies perpetuate the transformation and decline of historic residential neighborhoods in Walled City?
3. How does heritage mentality work through the legislation for heritage protection and practices of heritage management? This question further relates to the concept of antiquity and how it has played its role in shaping the current understanding and value of historic buildings. Moreover, the question will also explore the colonial legacy that has continued through legislative and administrative practices of conservation in Pakistan.

4. What steps are required to sustain the residential population and historic buildings in the Walled City? This question will also explore the concept of community participation and ownership and how that affects the sustenance and maintenance of conservation efforts in an area.

Research Methodology

The methodology applied for this research was a qualitative and explorative case study of the Chowk Bazaar area in the Walled City of Multan. Various land use transformations in the area were studied for a period of five years from 2016 to 2021 to determine their impact on historic structures and residents currently living in the area. The comparative analysis of the

area was limited to five years due to the lack of data and resources such as maps and documentation, detailed statistics about population, and functions. All the data used in the analysis was previously collected by the author in 2016 and has been compared to recently collected data in 2021.

To further support the research, formal and informal interviews with residents, wholesalers, representatives of trade unions, local historians, representatives of government institutions, M.P. of the constituency, and experts were conducted. These interviews have been compiled into a video documentary that portrays different perspectives of users and professionals regarding the transformation of the Walled City. The video documentary can be accessed through the following link:
https://youtu.be/yOFICydqCDI

Chapter 2
Conceptual Themes & Relevant Literature

2.1 Literature Review

Heritage: A Contested Arena

"Heritage is not a 'thing', it is not a 'site', building or other material object. While these things are often important, they are not themselves heritage. Rather, heritage is what goes on at these sites" (Smith, 2006).

According to David Harvey, the tangible and intangible heritage of many communities that provides them with a sense of place and identity has been marginalized due to the transformation of the world's political economy during the last century (Harvey, 2001). This marginalization has a deep connection with the establishment of a predominantly Western professional discourse of heritage that works through various authorizing institutions and decides the authenticity of heritage. Laurajane Smith terms this discourse the 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD). Authorized heritage Discourse regulates professional heritage practices and usually favors tangible objects to be preserved and conserved. The AHD legitimizes its agenda of heritage making through professionals such as architects and archeologists, using their command and expertise over material objects to dictate their value, and through policymakers' abilities to influence national and international legislation that only favors particular kinds of heritage and cultural practices (Smith, 2006)

The AHD particularly privileges monumentality, grand scale, and the idea of inheritance. It claims that objects that have the legitimized qualities of heritage must be 'respected,' 'cared for,' and passed on to the future generations without any alterations unless they are made by the professionals' (Smith, 2006). Barbara Gimblett argues that the idea of respect and care is linked to the commodification of heritage which gives historical objects' second life as heritage' once their original purpose is over. This new life and purpose are to become an exhibit for tourists. Since sustenance of such objects with their original purpose is no longer financially viable, giving them second life provides economic rationality for their existence (Gimblett, 1998).

There are inevitable consequences of creating a particular set of heritage practices such as those stimulated by the AHD. By favoring only material and tangible aspects of historic buildings, the AHD undermines the meanings associated with objects and their cultural value for local communities. As Smith argues, "The past is not abstract; it has material reality as heritage, which in turn has material consequences for community identity and belonging. The

past cannot simply be reduced to archaeological data or historical texts – it is someone's heritage" (Smith, 2006). The AHD perpetuates the idea of passing heritage 'untouched' to the other generations, which restricts heritage to certain practices, performances, and ways of seeing but ignores the particular cultural associations and significance for local communities.

Moreover, by giving the authenticating power to professionals and policymakers alone, AHD excludes social and cultural experiences from the process of heritage making and limits the conduct of people around heritage. The power to control the conduct of people around heritage gives AHD a disciplinary power that produces a particular kind of mentality which Smith refers to as "heritage mentality" and will be elaborated on in the following section. Although Smith characterizes international charters and conventions ratified by agencies like the UNESCO and ICOMOS as the authorizing institutions of heritage, considering the mentality through which the AHD operates gives us a broader perspective on how national and local bodies operate as the institutions of the AHD. From this we can deduce that the "heritage mentality" of the AHD exists locally and works through national and local departments that manage heritage, development authorities of cities, and municipalities who operate largely within the framework of AHD.

Heritage Mentality

The concept of 'governmentality was first established by Micheal Foucault, and refers to the art of government through various techniques to control the conduct of individuals. Foucault summarizes three types of techniques through which power is exercised within human societies; techniques of production, techniques of signification, and techniques of domination (Ewald, Fontana, & Gros, 2017). The concept of conduct is inclined towards the techniques of domination in which knowledge and truth play a vital role in legitimizing the power of the government. Power is produced and exercised through "discourses," which Foucault describes as ways through which knowledge is constituted and legitimized to be widely accepted. A discourse establishes certain forms of knowledge and rejects differences that could challenge its power (Foucault, 1991). Therefore the concepts of governmentality and discourse, when introduced in the domain of heritage, bring out 'heritage mentality' which opens up a new perspective to analyze how the AHD produces and limits knowledge to the hands of experts of certain discourses, which in turn legitimizes particular meanings of heritage and organizes the conduct of people around this interpretation of heritage.

AHD authorizes professionals like architects, archeologists, and policymakers as the guardians of heritage because of their ability to comprehend the importance of heritage (Smith, 2006). The authority of professionals is translated and applied through various legislative measures, which is a 'technique' to determine how heritage will be used and understood. This discourse accepts particular interpretations of heritage and limits the active participation of the general public through the perception that it does not have adequate knowledge about the materiality and value of heritage to contribute meaningfully to this discourse.

The heritage mentality actively discourages heritage being present in a context of everyday habitual use by individuals, therefore controlling the behavior of populations around heritage. This approach becomes problematic specifically in historic residential neighborhoods recognized as heritage zones because residents can not alter or modify their residences per their daily needs. Doing so is seen by professionals as behaving inappropriately around heritage. Since the AHD defines the monumentality and the perceived historical significance of material objects as a critical factor in deciding heritage value, it ignores more modest objects that may hold importance for local communities but do not fit in the aesthetic framework AHD. Another issue regarding the selective approach of heritage mentality, specifically in multicultural societies, is that only dominant perceptions and associations of heritage are glorified while the heritage of minorities is not given due importance.

The concept of heritage mentality shows that heritage is not about preserving and restoring historical objects or buildings, but more about defining and dictating what constitutes heritage and what does not, assigning values to objects, and then legitimizing objects and practices according to these values (Silva, 2015). The objects that professionals value as constituting heritage and the objects that local communities value and understand as heritage create a conflict as to what legitimately counts as heritage. Heritage mentality is not always universally accepted, and various subjects challenge it resulting in a "counter-heritage mentality" derived from Foucault's idea of 'counter conduct' (Ewald, Fontana, & Gros, 2017). This conflict happens when people resist governmental restrictions and specified conduct regarding historic sites, specifically in residential areas. This opposition is due to a strong sense of ownership and community valuing these sites differently. In such cases, people consider a defined code of conduct as an illegitimate use of power against their rights to their private spaces and engage in actions termed 'vandalism' due to conflict of perceived value.

Heritage: A Conflict of Perceived Values

To understand the conflict between the notions 'heritage mentality' and 'counter heritage mentality,' Dina Shehayeb provides a lens to understand how perceived values result in friction between professionals and users (Shehayeb, 2010).

Shehayeb argues that every place has an inherent meaning and a character that is not only defined by its built form but is extensively linked to the living context within and around that place. Various activities, functions, and practices of everyday life that exist within a place influence its character and meaning because they define how different user groups and stakeholders value it. In historic areas, the character of a place changes when different stakeholders value these areas differently and then act according to these perceived values (Shehayeb, 2010).

As Shehayeb demonstrates, everyday users of a place are more interested in maximizing social, cultural, and economic values, and while maximizing them, users sometimes 'vandalize' historic properties through their acts. Some of the user activities that vandalize historic areas are the appropriation of historic properties for users' present needs, like encroachments to carve out more space and modification of historic structures in a way that professionals do not deem appropriate. Users also sometimes vandalize historic places through inappropriate improvements and maintenance works such as making changes to facades, replacing old materials with new lower-quality materials. Lastly, historic buildings can be appropriated for unsuitable functions that are usually performed to maximize economic gains, including commercial, manufacturing, and industrial activities which sacrifice the building's historic and aesthetic value (Shehayeb, 2010).

Shehayeb argues that professionals are likewise involved in the vandalism of the character of historic places through various activities like enforcing vague regulation and the weak implementation of laws. This professional vandalism includes a lack of guidelines for new construction in historic areas, which leads to the construction of modern buildings that are insensitive to the historical and cultural milieu of an area. Professionals also vandalize the character of historic places by limiting their conservation efforts to just the beautification of buildings while ignoring various non-physical qualities that actually constitute the meaning of heritage. Professionals are most interested in prioritizing aspects that will pay off development costs quickly and take advantage of an area's historicity to maximize the economic potential of tourism. With this in mind, professionals focus on making tourists

more comfortable in historic places through their input rather than making these areas meaningful for the local community. This 'vandalism' at the hand of professionals that prioritizes perceived "aesthetic" value above other factors results in bans on activities that are important to local users of particular places or allows activities that disrupt the balance of control amongst the locals (Shehayeb, 2010).

The conflict of these two perceived values becomes a significant issue in historic areas leading to the change in the character of these spaces. In order to safeguard the character of historic areas, Shehayeb proposes that it is crucial to balance out disparities between different perceived values through participatory design practices, awareness-raising, and governmental assistance in the renovation of historic structures (Shehayeb, 2010).

The depreciation of a historic place's cultural, economic, historical, or aesthetic value is an important issue. However, through this discussion, we can learn that by defining activities of users and professionals as 'vandalism,' one is ignoring many layers of power and control that exist in these areas and play a significant role in shaping their character. For example, activities like the appropriation of buildings and public space as well as the inappropriate maintenance practices that Shehayeb has criticized as vandalism are, in fact, sometimes traditional and cultural ways of exercising control over one's own private space and also marks hierarchies in territorial ownership. These activities are some of the cultural traditions that have created longstanding senses of security, ownership, and belonging in these areas and therefore arguably form an intrinsic part of the character or meaning of a place as defined by Shehayeb (Shehayeb, 2010). Conflicting values is another problem but terming all these actions as vandalism highlights aspects of the heritage mentality in her argument. Therefore, we can understand that historic buildings are valued differently, leading to the various conceptualizations of the built environment. As a result, many legal and cultural regulations are formulated through which these areas are governed.

Colonial Evaluation of Heritage and its Repercussions

The different valuation of the built environment has historical roots, and revealing those roots can help us understand how the British's heritage mentality undermined historic settlements important to locals.

According to Khalid Bajwa, the decay of the historic neighborhoods in Pakistan has historically evolved, and their deteriorated conditions today are traceable to the physical,

economic, and cultural neglect precipitated during colonial times (Bajwa & Smets, 2013). The heritage mentality of the colonizers consisted of a particular gaze and cultural discretion that overlooked and ignored native historical settlements that they deemed unworthy of their attention. For colonial rulers, the historic inner-city neighborhoods in India were a chaotic accumulation of narrow streets lined with tall houses associated with unhygienic conditions that were seen as quite the opposite of the prevailing Victorian aesthetic of order. Hence they focused more on developing new regions outside the inner city, moving the elite to outer suburbs, and depriving the Walled City of its elite and political power. It was not the lack of funds that prevented the colonizers from maintaining these neighborhoods, but their intellectual vision, cultural gaze, and political motivation ignored deterioration concerns. They chose to devote their attention to protecting and preserving few monuments taken as the most valuable objects of what they regarded as the dead native material culture (Bajwa & Smets, 2013).

Jyoti Hoshagrahr offers a historical perspective that gives an insight into the heritage mentality of the British when they described India as a "land of ancient glory fallen into decay," and this description justified colonialism in India as a power that was reforming a declining culture (Hosagrahar, 2005). As critics like Darryl Wilkinson have explained, colonialism entailed a way of seeing, recording, and knowing, which led colonizers to favor some particular things over others. In the sixteenth century, a tradition had emerged amongst the British for collecting antiquities from the Romano-British period, which was tied with the idea of restoring antiquity to Britain (Wilkinson, 2011). This tradition continued when British scholars came to India and began searching for classical antiquities to add to the collections they had been already restoring in Britain. As a result, they favored ancient archeological remains and significant monuments. Hosagrahar explains that when scholars like James Fergusson and Alexander Cunningham wrote architectural histories of India, giving importance to only isolated monuments, they were, in fact, looking for pure and authentic styles according to their sensibilities (Hosagrahar, 2005).

In 1861 the British established the Archaeological Survey of India due to their interest in antiquity, which led the institution to favor isolated monuments and archeological sites of great architectural wealth and cultural heritage which "they could show abroad as trophies for the preservation work in their colonies" (Cheema, 2021). ASI's biased attitude towards mainly built monuments that possessed great material value ignored the rest of the historic buildings in India. Moreover, the ASI's preservation work also isolated monuments from their

everyday environment, making them culturally meaningless to the local communities (Hosagrahar, 2005). The other aspect of colonial heritage mentality is connected to ASI's classification of structures depending on their religious lineage. In literature, buildings were injected with moral and religious characteristics that were contemplative of their creators and shifted the focus from the complexity of meanings of buildings and how locals valued them.

This colonial legacy that was concretized through the 'Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904' served as a tool of British heritage mentality in India that decided the legitimacy and value of heritage. Simultaneously, by devising a procedure for preserving and maintaining, they also defined a code of conduct for the local population. The act gave them the institutional power to declare selected buildings as protected to control them. However, this mentality also had its dualities of treating the heritage of 'colonizers' and the 'colonized'. These dualities could be understood from the following quote from Lord Hailey, the British administrator in India: "The colonial empire constituted not only 'a living laboratory' in the field of scientific knowledge but was also an arena for legislative experimentation." (Hailey in Tilley, 2011). The ancient monuments preservation Act 1904 imposed on India was initially proposed as a bill to the British Parliament and was rejected due to its powers to acquire any heritage property that would affect private property rights. However, the heritage mentality of the British did not stop them from enacting the same law in India, giving them authoritative power to acquire any heritage property and punish anyone involved in its vandalism (Basu & Damodran, 2015). This act was to test the 'conduct of conduct' and how a foreign power would guide the locals about the importance and value of their history. However, the heritage mentality in Pakistan's legislation to protect historic buildings has its roots in the British heritage mentality. Therefore, the Department of Archeology in Pakistan, the successor of ASI, continued its operation with a similar approach of favoring isolated monuments, resulting in the ignorance of the built environment of ordinary people.

Historic Neighborhoods vs. Market

The prior arguments provide an insight on the conflicting issues related to heritage; however, a discussion around the commodification of historic neighborhoods is also needed. Market forces play a significant role in the transformation of historic areas. Although rooted in the North American context, Neil Smith's theory of gentrification nevertheless gives an insight into the process of transformation of inner-city neighborhoods or, in our case, historic areas and displacement of the people from them. The theory of gentrification does not directly deal

with historic areas, but with Smith's theory, one can account for the transformation process led by profit maximization.

Smith argues that gentrification is the result of land and housing markets instead of the cultural and economic preferences of the users as described by other theorists (Smith, 1979). Like in the case of Pakistan, Arif Hassan limits the same process to cultural reasons and argues that much of the better-off population of the old city has relocated to the newly developed housing schemes because of the deteriorating conditions (Hassan, 2013), which to an extent is the case but is not a complete explanation for transformation. Smith argues that along with cultural and economic reasons, the capital depreciation in the inner city is one of the factors in the transformation process comprising different stages of 'new construction and the first cycle of use,' 'homeownership and landlordism,' 'blockbusting and blowing out,' 'redlining' and last being the 'abandonment.'

Smith argues that the improvements (building construction) on the land are also a commodity and show certain reactions to the market along with the land. Land and improvements are fixed, but their value keeps changing depending on the upkeep and the environment's condition. This value can be earned from a building in the form of 'capitalized ground rent,' the actual return that an owner gets from his property, and 'potential ground rent,' which is the maximum return that could be capitalized in the best scenario. These two factors determine the 'rent gap,' which is one of the prime factors in gentrification. The rent gap is the difference between potential ground rent and capitalized ground rent. Smith asserts that redevelopment is more likely to occur when the rent gap is the highest because at this stage, the potential ground rent and property value both depreciate significantly, and it becomes profitable for developers to buy the land and redevelop it to sell in the market which leads to gentrification (Smith, 1979).

The process by which land value and potential ground rent depreciate is the critical factor in understanding the transformation of historic neighborhoods. When a neighborhood has gone through various cycles of uses and is not maintained due to lack of public investments, the property value starts decreasing in a neighborhood. Simultaneously, buildings also stop receiving maintenance from the owners because they can not earn enough money to pay for the expenses of the building. This lack of maintenance results in a disparity between potential ground rent and capitalized ground rent and eventually causes redevelopment (Smith, 1979).

When this concept of rent gap is applied in the case of the historic areas in Pakistan, it explains the reason for transformation due to capital depreciation. Therefore, buildings, when used for many generations, became structurally unstable and required reinvestment that could not be paid through the capitalized ground rent; owners either sold them in the market or converted their residences to more profitable, usually commercial usage. There are two economic factors behind the change of land use, 'first is that the reconstruction of a house does not increase capitalized ground rent because of deteriorating environmental conditions in the neighborhood. Secondly, a commercial function offers a better return on investment' (Butt, 2021).

The result in the case of Smith and the historic inner-city neighborhoods in Pakistan are different, and the latter is certainly not gentrification as it is not replacing the poor class with wealthy people but with commercial functions. This end product of the inner city neighborhoods' transformation could be termed 'development-induced displacement,' as explained by Arif Hassan. This process causes a decline in physical and social terms by displacing people from residential neighborhoods and converting housing stock into semi-commercial and industrial functions. Thus, transformed areas in the inner city flourish economically, and their land value becomes much higher than non-transformed neighborhoods. (Hassan, 2013).

A prime limitation of Smith's theory of gentrification is that in North America, financial institutions through mortgage systems and speculative residential developments by the hand of land developers play a significant role in gentrification. However, in Pakistan, financial institutions are not key actors in housing markets; for example, until 2005, mortgage finance was still less than 1 percent of GDP (World Bank, 2006) compared to the USA's 51.8 percent in 2017 (OECD, 2018). The other factor is that state institutions play two types of roles in the process, first, by not giving adequate development funds to the deteriorating historic neighborhoods due to financial constraints and secondly through weak regulations that allow land use transformation where it is prohibited.

From both Smith's and Hassan's arguments, it becomes clearer that transformation occurs in the historic neighborhoods where there is a potential to extract more value out of the land. The market is a significant player in urban transformation. Therefore, it has to be considered an active agent along with the authorizing heritage discourse.

Development Induced Decay:

From Smith's argument, we can understand how inner-city neighborhoods decay and transform due to market forces. However, to understand this decay, we need to look beyond the areas where decay occurs.

Claudio Acioly describes urban decay as the process by which a gradual shift occurs in the social class of the inhabitants of an area due to outmigration, resulting in a change in the character and functions of that area and leading to the appearance of dilapidated sites (Acioly, 1999). In such cases, sub-renting, overcrowding, and high population densities are all linked to the process of social, spatial, and economic segregation. As a result, declining areas demonstrate a high degree of social, spatial, and economic problems affecting both people and the historic structures.

David Harvey's concept of urban entrepreneurialism can also help understand the concept of decay and question it further. Harvey explains urban entrepreneurialism as the shift in urban governance to enhance local development, economy and attract capital investments in the cities. While raising some issues linked to urban entrepreneurialism, Harvey argues that it focuses more on the political economy of a place rather than territory through development projects like housing, retail and commercial functions that are targeted to improve conditions of a particular area. The effects of such developments are not limited to an area but cast a beneficial shadow on the region (Harvey, 1989).

However, the negative aspects of urban entrepreneurialism are also worth noticing, leading to the decay of specific areas. Since urban entrepreneurialism favors initiatives that can enhance the circulation of capital, property values, and employment growth, areas that have fewer chances of offering a better return on investment are ignored due to uneven development and imbalanced distribution of governmental funds.

Nevertheless, the concept of urban entrepreneurialism can help us understand how the term urban decay focuses more on the political economy of place while ignoring territorial consequences of development. The term decay usually used to explain the decomposition of organic matter, does not consider the environmental factors. Similarly, using this term to explain urban transformation asserts the process to be natural while ignoring the consequences of uneven development. Moreover, the term decay suggests a loss of social and spatial qualities resulting from a transformation in residential, economic, and entertainment

roles. However, in the case of inner cities in Pakistan, the term decay does not explain the situation adequately as the decay is more closely linked to the residential population and historic structures while commercial functions are flourishing.

Urban Renewal and its Consequences

The development of one area and loss of vitality in the other areas, or the rise or decline of some particular functions in an area are associated with the term 'urban renewal.' However, academics such as Chris Couch have argued that urban renewal is not limited to development but associated with a change of any kind. Couch defines urban renewal as "the physical change, or change in the use or intensity of use of land and buildings, that is the inevitable outcome of the action of economic and social forces upon urban areas" (Couch, 1990)

Urban renewal, like gentrification and decay, is primarily a market-led process because areas that undergo renewal usually offer better potential for capital investment. As a result, demand for particular land uses increases, and areas offering such potential adapt to economic forces, enhancing market activities concentration while areas offering less potential get ignored. Therefore, due to market appropriation, various areas experience renewal through renovation, decline, land use changes, reconstruction at large, affecting the urban fabric. To further elaborate the market logic behind the transformation, Couch illustrates the rise of the service sector and trade in British cities during the nineteenth century that required certain facilities, infrastructure, and clustering of similar functions such as banking and finance. Due to the high profitability that such functions offered compared to the other land uses, they began to replace less profitable former land uses and became a dominating force by building a network of services and operations. As a result, the transformations started to alter the social and functional structure of areas leading to urban renewal (Couch, 1990).

However, this process is not just market-led, and the state also plays a significant role in it, first, by investing in infrastructural developments to increase the business potential for private investments. Secondly, the state plays its role in the process through weak regulations for the functioning of market forces in any sector, including housing markets. While discussing entrepreneurial governance, David Harvey has also termed similar behavior as the creation of a "good business climate" to attract all kinds of capital investments for making better division of labor and spatial division of consumption (Harvey, 1979).

Couch's theory of urban renewal is vital to consider because it addresses some of the factors that lead to the movement of people to and from certain areas due to spatial adaptation to the economic forces. The concept offered by Couch does not associate renewal only to development but treats it as a transformation process, whether the resultant is development or marginalization.

In the case of Pakistan, Bras Menezes (Menzes & Mumtaz, 1983) has discussed urban renewal specific to historical cores. However, his use of the term 'urban renewal' is limited to formal initiatives by the government and financial institutions for community infrastructure, conservation, and upgrading utility services. He explains that authorities usually aim to modernize traditional areas by updating basic infrastructure facilities such as water supply systems, sewage, and waste disposal. However, a lack of resources for these improvements results in competition for government funds between different regions in cities. Moreover, the financial uncertainties of undertaking such renewal projects in historic areas act as a disincentive for local municipalities. As a result, governments adapt to an alternative approach for the renewal of historic areas to save money and attract investments from local, national, and international institutions.

The involvement of financial institutions in renewal projects results in their objectives linked to rapid cost recovery and affordability. To achieve these objectives, commercialization is heavily induced in areas in the form of a particular set of activities. Due to infrastructure renewal and induced commercial activities, the property value and rents go up, and as a result, the poorest of the people are under the threat of displacement from historical areas (Menzes & Mumtaz, 1983).

From Menezes' argument, one can learn that the objective for the involvement of financial institutions in urban renewal is to strengthen their position as a key actor in the urban development process and not for the betterment of the local population

Historic Neighborhoods: A failed Effort of Renewal

Samia Rab argues that to understand the failure of state-sanctioned renewal projects for historic areas, it is essential to compare the issues of historic areas and conservation plans that are proposed by the authorities because they are usually limited to the physical organization of the city and do not differentiate between spatial, structural and economic activities. As a

result, authorities tend to implement city-wide development policies in historic neighborhoods (Rab, 1998).

Taking the whole city as a planning unit, planners usually ignore the distinct and individual problems that historic areas face. Therefore, Rab argues that it is essential to analyze the urban growth and understand its linkages with the historic inner-city areas to propose any revitalization plans so that t modern and older sections of a city are integrated equally in a development plan (Rab, 1998). Moreover, there is usually a clear distinction and different growth patterns inside and outside of the walled cities in Pakistan, and this differentiation becomes a conflicting point between the two regions of Pakistani cities.

By analyzing inner-city renewal projects in India, Gita Verma argues that most urban development projects do not succeed because of the scale at which they try to address some of the issues. Either the focus of such projects is very narrow, trying to resolve those issues in the inner city connected to the broader impacts of urbanization of cities. Alternatively, these projects generalize inner-city problems and try to implement city-wide developmental goals inside the inner city. Such approaches do not respond well to the complexities of the inner city by creating ambiguity in the goals of developmental plans. These ambiguities become vulnerable to political interference, and their implementation can be diverted easily for political gains (Verma, 1993).

While criticizing conventional administrative approaches to de-congestion of commercial activities inside the inner city, Verma argues that forced relocations are not a long-term solution and are not likely to work in the long run because they do not give any incentives to users. Verma proposes that inner-city renewal should balance residential and non-residential functions that provide adequate economic opportunities to the local population without affecting the area's residential character. Therefore, inner city renewal should adopt different approaches for residential and non-residential functions. In areas where commercial functions create issues, renewal should aim at economic de-vitilisation, a process that discourages commercialization in residential areas, and where stagnant economic concerns exist, a revitalization of economic activity should be the center of attention. Hence, renewal should take an issue-based approach as well as an area-based approach depending on the problem it is trying to solve (Verma, 1993).

From the above two cases, it can be concluded that renewal projects that lack the understanding of land use transformation and local socio-economic processes in the broader context of inner-city and outside the inner city are vulnerable to failure. Therefore, it is essential to understand commercialization inside historic neighborhoods and its connection to the broader context of city growth.

Sustainability of What?

Today, it is generally believed to be impossible to take care of all-natural and artificial resources, solve serious concerns of extreme poverty and benefit everyone without the concept of sustainability (Megna, 2012). However, the implementation of the concept of sustainability in various developmental circles is relatively vague

Subharata Banerjee has criticized this vague approach of sustainability and argues that sustainable development is based on an economistic approach rather than ecological or social rationality, which results in a transformation process that has significant implications on how development should proceed (Banerjee, 1999). One of those implications is the colonization of spaces that, in the developer's point of view, are underutilized and need to be made efficient to be brought under the process of capitalism. Hence, under various developmental schemes, the interpretation of the term sustainable is quite vague and does not define what is being sustained exactly.

The Western concept of sustainable development relies more on effective resource management. When these terms are used in developing countries, they bring assumptions of incomplete knowledge of western concepts. This results in a danger of marginalizing traditional knowledge of the indigenous population and follows a trajectory unknown to the regional expertise. Due to this, locals have to play a role of "catching up development," which in many cases leads to underdevelopment, debt crises, and exploitation. The sustainability of the local population and their culture is not addressed in the schemes of "sustainable development"; instead, global economic stability is the goal of sustainability. This approach benefits only particular environmental concerns, predominantly Western, and gives dominant international agencies power to control rights and make decisions for others. (Banerjee, 1999)

Jonathan Inda has associated the governmentality concept with three aspects, 'reasons of government,' 'techniques of government,' and 'subjects of the government' (India, 2005).

Using these three aspects, we can dissect how the heritage mentality uses the concept of sustainability. In conservation, the 'reason' of the heritage mentality is to mitigate the effects of resource loss or lack of sustainability which can be compensated through touristic activities because tourism increases the spatial division of consumption of an area (Harvey, 1989). The 'techniques' of heritage mentality links to the protocols and restrictions enacted by the government and become a widely accepted knowledge to control the conduct of the people and ensure that sustainability of economic resources is achieved (Smith, 2006). The 'subjects' of heritage mentality are both the tourist and the users, who are to be controlled through various techniques.

Apart from that, whenever a conservation or preservation project is being executed, its maintenance and sustenance are also part of sustainability. In developmental projects, public participation plays an integral role in ensuring the long life of the project. This means that participatory planning and involving locals in decision-making are crucial for the future of historic areas because locals are the custodians of that place. Enhancing ownership and addressing the interests of the local community affect the success of any project. However, planning and decision-making in Pakistan are carried out by professionals and politicians without involving the local population, and their needs are usually ignored (Cheema, 2021). Due to this, the steps taken for the betterment of the areas are not following the needs of citizens, which creates a lack of ownership within the users. If the community does not own any developmental project, then the project can never become sustainable. Moreover, this limitation of community participation also links to the heritage mentality. Community participation is ignored or, in most cases, limited so that the local people do not challenge the authority of professionals on the materiality and meaning of historical areas (Smith, 2006).

2.2 Case Studies

Saddar Bazaar Karachi, Pakistan

The Hawkers of Saddar Bazaar Karachi was a research study conducted in 2001 and 2002 to understand the process of transformation and decay in the Saddar area of Karachi to formulate a revitalization plan for the area, hawkers, and other agents.

Saddar was developed in 1939 by the British and quickly transformed into an elite shopping area. Apart from the market, the area also consisted of residences, religious facilities, and

communal functions like clubs and recreational centers. However, after the partition of India, a mass influx of migrants settled in areas surrounding the Saddar bazaar, which also consisted of many writers, artists, and poets. These literary figures and cultural activities made Saddar into Karachi's intellectual and entertainment center (Hassan & Polak, 2008).

After a few years, notably around the 1960s, the area became congested, and the city started expanding. Wealthier and more influential people of Saddar migrated to newly developed residential areas, depriving it of its political power. Simultaneously, remittances and investments from the Middle East increased the purchasing power of families and created a demand for various consumer products in the market. The bazaar in Saddar also started to transform as per the demand and converted from mixed-use retail, residential, and entertainment center to a wholesale market (Hassan & Polak, 2008). Further, Saddar became even more isolated because of the decay caused by wholesale activity, warehouses, and small manufacturing units.

Many encroachments and land-use practices in Saddar were considered illegal by the authorities. In 2001, the local government carried out a significant drive in Saddar to evict hawkers informally working there. The government proposed an alternative settlement on side lanes around the same district, but hawkers rejected this relocation, and after three weeks, they were able to bribe their way back (Hassan & Polak, 2008).

This anti-encroachment drive failed because of two reasons. The hawker activities corresponded to the user group and created a need for them. The second reason was the bribe system that existed, due to which hawkers from the area could not be removed permanently. Relocation efforts did not succeed because it broke the connection of informal hawkers with their target audience, i.e., the ordinary middle class transiting Saddar's station

To conclude, one can learn from the case of Saddar that if any rehabilitation work has to be done for an area, it should realize the legitimate cause of every informal actor in the area, and without providing solid economic alternatives, the organically developed sector of the market can never be uprooted. The issues and requirements of all stakeholders should be addressed through dialogue, mobilization, and collaboration rather than taking an authoritative approach which is not a long-term solution. The involvement of all stakeholders in dialogue would become the best assurance for the area's future success and continuity in development.

Walled City of Delhi, India

Delhi's Walled City is the central historic core of the city dating back to the seventeenth century, and during the past few decades, it has become a central commercial hub for a big part of the country. The areas proposed mainly for residential and some associated usages have been taken over by commercialization, causing inadequate infrastructural services, congestion, and deterioration of building stock.

However, the decline of the Walled City started due to the expansion and establishment of new city regions isolated from the Walled City, which shifted the focus of authorities to the new city. The Walled City intended to house a few thousand people today faces all kinds of unintended activities and extreme population density. Because of its commercial and economic position, Walled City is quite distinct from the rest of Delhi in its characteristics. Even though the business is very successful in the Walled City, most people who occupy this area are economically challenged, usually coming from different regions as economic migrants and are exploited by business owners. (Verma, 1993).

The Walled City of Delhi plays an integral part as the primary wholesale market for many goods, manufacturing center for different products, and cottage industry for many handicrafts. Moreover, it also acts as a significant recycling center for the city, and it is facing severe issues like decongestion due to commercial activities while most of the residential population is migrating to newer areas. The commercial pressure can be illustrated from the fact that there were 22,000 commercial businesses in 1961, which crossed 150,000 in 1993 (Verma, 1993).

Many efforts have been carried out to decongest and revitalize the historic core of the Walled City, but they all appeared too short-sighted to capture the origin of all the problems that lie beyond the boundaries of the Walled City. The initial plan for revitalizing the Walled City aimed to streamline traffic issues, restore facades, and improve infrastructure. However, fundamental issues related to the organization of these functions were not addressed.

To summarize, the issues of the Walled City exist primarily because of its separation and isolation from the rest of the city's growth. The inner-city issues do not need to follow the city revitalization process but need to adopt a city integration process that would provide services for the whole city and solutions for inner-city issues (Singh, 2006). If informal actors are removed from the Walled City, they will come back for their livelihood. Therefore a

rehabilitation plan is necessary before relocation, which should be considered the requirements of different actors (Verma, 1993). Moreover, the planning and development of the Walled City should have a close relationship to the historical practices and everyday use of the space that represents current social needs.

Chapter 3
Understanding Walled City of Multan

3.1 Multan and the Walled City

The research is based on the Walled City of Multan. It is essential to look at the study area in relation to the economic changes within the country, the city and its connection to different neighboring towns, and the economic situation. This will enable an understanding of the evolution and transformation of different activities in the research area.

Pakistan

Pakistan is a country in South Asia bounded by China, India, Iran, Afghanistan, and the Arabian Sea coast. Due to its strategic location, Pakistan forms an integral part of the trade route between China and the Arabian Sea, which historically was known as the Silk Road, an important ancient trade route. The country has four administrative provinces: Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh, and Balochistan. As per the census report of 2017, the country has a population of 207.8 million, out of which 64 percent is rural, and 36 percent is urban with an average household size of 6.45 persons (Javed, 2018). In 2019, the country's GDP per capita was 1284 US$ (WorldBank, 2019). As per its population, Punjab is the largest province of Pakistan where Multan is situated.

Figure 2: Map of Pakistan. Source: One Stop Maps, 2021

Multan Today

Multan is the seventh-largest city in the country by population, which in 2017 stood at 4.7 million (Javed, 2018). It is considered one of the oldest inhabited places in the world. The city has been governed by many foreign invaders including, the Arabs, Afghans, Turks, Sikhs, and the British (Bo & Bignami, 2014).

The city is geographically located in the southern part of the Punjab province. The city region of Multan has an area of 286 square kilometers (Punjab, 2017), out of which the Walled City spreads on an area of 1.2 square kilometers (Bo, Bignami, Bruno, Cardinale, & Perego, 2019). It is situated at the intersection of prime trade routes linking North to South and East to West making its location strategically crucial for trade. The city is immediately surrounded by Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, and Bahawalpur and is usually referred to as the capital of South Punjab. Administratively the city is divided into six autonomous towns and 81 Union Councils (Punjab, 2017). Being the largest city in South Punjab and having its strategic location, Multan has become an important market for trade and commerce.

Figure 3: Walled City in relation to the city of Multan. Source: Stamen Maps, 2021

The Walled City of Multan

The founding date of the Walled City of Multan is unknown, but the first actual appearance of the town in history is in the middle of the 7th century A.D (Maclagan, 1902). During the Middle Ages and later on, the city was a vital hub for trade and commerce. Multan was one of the few cities in Punjab known for trade with Europe and Central Asia, which significantly influenced local crafts, culture, and architecture (Khan, 1983).

The current area of the Walled City falls under the administrative unit of "Multan City District." The same Walled City, which had a population of 31,875 people in 1881 (Punjab, 1883) and 39,705 persons in 1901 (Narain, N.D), currently houses around 127,000 people (Bo et al., 2019), which portrays the amount of pressure this area is facing due to increased population. Many local arts and crafts were born and developed in the walled cities, and some of those local crafts like jewelry making, blue pottery, leather works, and embroidery are still alive, and numerous shops inside the Walled City deal in them. The Walled City has approximately 3500 shops in different bazaars, and over 15,000 people are associated with these commercial enterprises (Bo et al., 2019). The inner city was fortified with a wall for security purposes historically, but currently, a road runs on top of this wall which is locally known as "alang," surrounded by dense markets and shops. This commercial activity is further supported by secondary and tertiary transport networks and the City Railway Station, roughly 1.2 kilometers away, and Mini Bus Stand, roughly 1.9 kilometers away from the Walled City. The Walled City currently houses one of the most prominent electronics wholesale markets in Multan, while other bazaars specialize in hardware equipment, clothes, leather products, and crockery. While the alang and circular road are dominantly commercial, the inner areas of these bazaars still house a big part of the residential population and warehouse functions.

Form and Typology

The Walled City of Multan is a heart-shaped central core, consisting of narrow streets and various sizes of structures, built right next to each other, which is an outcome of successive unplanned interventions and construction activities over centuries.

The Walled City of Multan and the adjacent fort are situated on a high sand mound, and the city has been destroyed and built over several times. Alexander Cunningham pointed out that

originally the city stood on an island in the Ravi River, but it changed its course in the twentieth century (Khan, 1983). The fortification wall was partially brought down for better ventilation inside the city during the colonial period. The streets inside the city are generally narrow, varying from 0.75 meters to 5 meters in width (India, 1924).

Although the Walled City, according to some findings, dates back to prehistoric times, its urban typology and characteristics are similar to many Mughal cities. However, the deviation from the Mughal city can be traced through the fact that the city walls do not correspond to the fort structure, which is a critical component in understanding the entire urban setting of the city (Bo & Bignami, 2014). The fort was destroyed during the siege of Multan in 1884 (Ram, 1916), which has resulted in the incomplete city's physical form and the weak relationship of the fort with other surrounding functions.

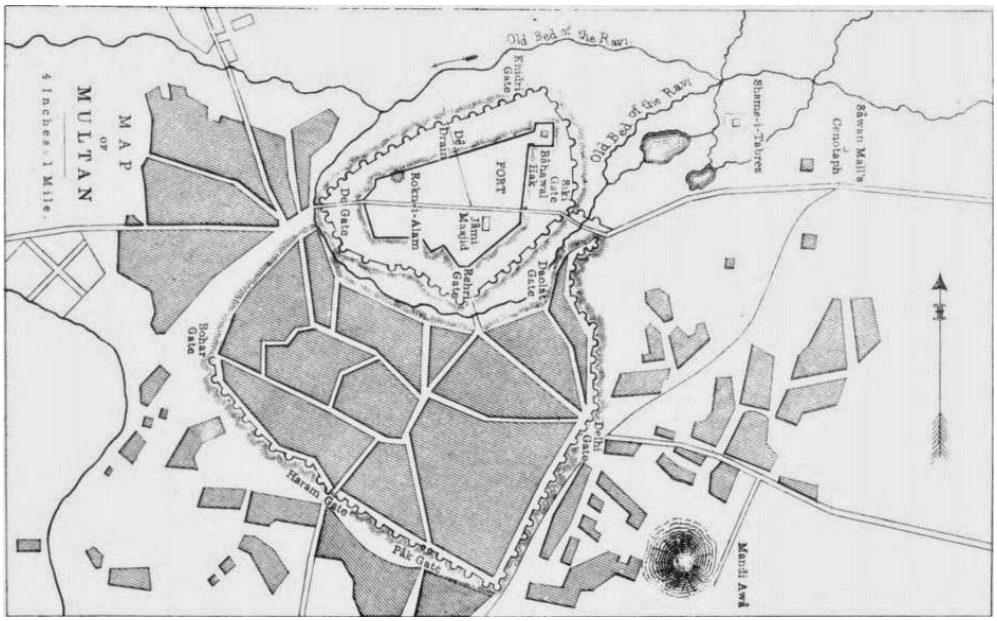


Figure 4: Multan city layout - Early 19th Century. Source: Multan history & architecture - Ahmad Nabi Khan, 1983

Socio Economic Status

Since the partition of India in 1947, the Walled City of Multan has seen a significant transformation in the socio-economic status of its population. After partition, most of the Hindu population of the Walled City, comprising of the elite, migrated to India, and economically distressed Muslim migrants came and settled here. Due to the consequences of migration, the Walled City's population's socio-economic status remained relatively low, and

this became one reason for the lack of investment in the upkeep of the built environment on the part of its dwellers. People who grew stronger economically eventually left the Walled City and settled in newly developed areas. The remaining residents of the Walled City were primarily economically disadvantaged people. Moreover, today, many economic migrants from neighboring towns have come and settled in Walled City and work for various commercial enterprises.

Figure 5: Children playing in a courtyard between houses due to a lack of nearby play areas and parks. Source: Author, 2021

Historical & Cultural Significance

As an ancient city, Multan has several sites that are more than 75 years old, which is the criteria for being protected by the National Antiquities Act of 1975. The city has numerous structures of historical significance, but only 46 of them are currently protected (Archeology, 2017). Many protected buildings are situated inside the Walled City and belong to different periods from Sultanate to Ghaznavid and British. According to a report, 131 buildings inside the Walled City should be given legal protection under the Antiquities Act of 1975 (NESPAK, 2012). However, as mentioned earlier, according to the criterion set by the National Antiquities Act of 1975, the on-ground figure would certainly exceed 131 sites.

Before the partition of India, Multan was considered a sacred city for Hindus as the festival of 'Holi' originated here (Tabrah, 1934). The majority of the Hindu population migrated to India after partition, and many sacred buildings associated with Hinduism fell prey to bigotry.

However, the Muslim Sufi influence that came to the city from central Asia is still alive, and locals value Sufi traditions. The city is also known as the city of saints.

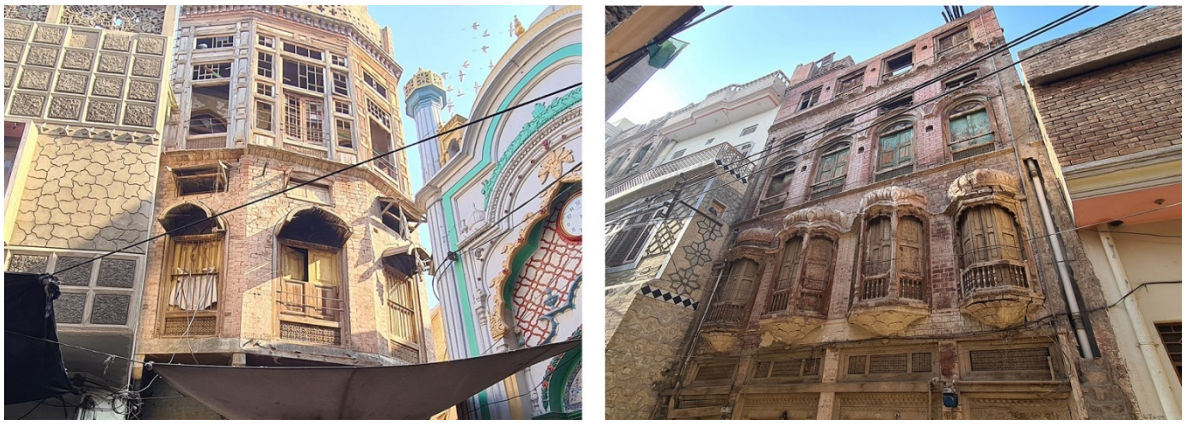


Figure 6: Left – Mid 19th Century Sheesh Meh (legally unprotected) currently used as a waste sorting facility, Right – Early 19th Century Residential structure (legally unprotected). Source: Author, 2021

Figure 7: Left – Early 20th Century Jain Pathshala Temple (legally unprotected), Right – Late 19th Century Haveli (legally unprotected). Source: Author, 2016

Infrastructure and Social Services

The Walled City of Multan currently lacks significantly in providing social services, exemplified by the fact that there are no government-level secondary or high schools, nor are there any dispensaries or emergency response facilities inside the Walled City. The condition of infrastructure is poor with a growing population and almost no maintenance. The current infrastructure has been run down and overburdened due to mismanagement and ad-hoc development (Chaudhary, 2006). Similarly, the condition of road infrastructure is getting worse with time and suffers consequences of commercialization, unable to cope with present-day mobility requirements (Bo & Bignami, 2014).

The poor management of existing systems and services is due to two reasons. One is a lack of financial resources and, on the other hand, a lack of will and inefficiencies. Both these factors point towards bad urban management of natural, human and urban resources, leading to the incapability of institutional problem-solving.

Moreover, the Multan Development Authority (MDA), which currently performs various planning, development, and maintenance projects, is focused mainly on developing new areas on the periphery of Multan. This is illustrated by the fact that in the last decade, MDA has approved 48 housing schemes on an area of 7,817 acres (Ahmed, Imtiaz, & Khan, 2019). The development of new regions in the city resulted in a competition of funds among new and old areas. Most of the development funds were used in providing infrastructure facilities to new regions, and as a result, the maintenance concerns of the existing infrastructure of the Walled City were ignored.

Presently, many residents of Walled City are fed up with the bad management of urban services, which also plays a pushing role in their out-migration. During interviews, many ex-residents of the Walled City confessed that one of the reasons for their migration was linked to commercial pressure, water, sanitation, and cleanliness issues, affecting their communal life.

Figure 8: A residential street showing poor sanitation and waste management. Source: Author, 2021

Economic Context of the Walled City

The Walled City is known for its high population density and various commercial functions, such as retail and wholesale shops of different consumer goods, crafts, and locally made products, showing its connection to tradition and modernity. Historically, Multan has always been an important commercial center due to its location in the region and important trade routes. It was famous for many crafts and industries, which were mentioned in the gazetteer report of 1883.

"The industries for which the town of Mooltan is noted are glazed pottery, vitreous enamel, ornaments in silver, cotton and woolen carpets, silk fabrics, mixed textures of cotton and silk, and cotton printing in color […]. Mooltan is a place of the first importance; for being connected by rail with Lahore, and by water with the whole of central Punjab […], it collects into focus the more significant part of the trade of a large portion of the province with Karachi, and through Karachi with Europe." (Punjab, 1883). However, even with the trade, all the commercial activities were limited to main bazaar streets with a mixed land use model of a shop on the street level and residence on upper levels.

Furthermore, after partition, the situation changed. The post-war period of 1965 and 1971 led to a slowed economic growth, and bilateral trade with India reduced significantly (Bo & Bignami, 2014). This economic halt affected the trade activities of the Walled City and led to a decline in commercial functions until the 2000s (Butt, 2021). With the rise of bilateral trade relations of Pakistan with China, many cheap Chinese goods have flooded local markets and

replaced formerly domestically produced goods due to the cheaper cost of production in China. The declining commercial markets in Walled City changed their nature to wholesale centers for Chinese products and raw materials. Therefore, today, the Walled City of Multan acts as the primary wholesale market for neighboring towns and provides livelihoods for surrounding areas' workforce.

One of the prime factors for the economic activities to be successful inside the Walled City is the rise of commercial clusters for historical and geographical reasons that allowed economic forces to grow stronger and become self-sustaining over time (Porter, 1995). The second reason for the success of wholesale markets is the smooth operation of the grey economy that runs on word of mouth and helps businesses with tax evasion (Kron, 1996). The third cause is linked to the shift in the nature of property ownership rights due to new economic policies that have made the land into a valuable commodity rather than a hereditary right as it was for generations (Hosagrahar, 2005). In the past, it was not considered a good practice to sell inherited properties to someone outside the family. However, in the past two decades, inhabitants started to maximize returns from their properties by subdividing, adding extra built areas, and eventually selling them.

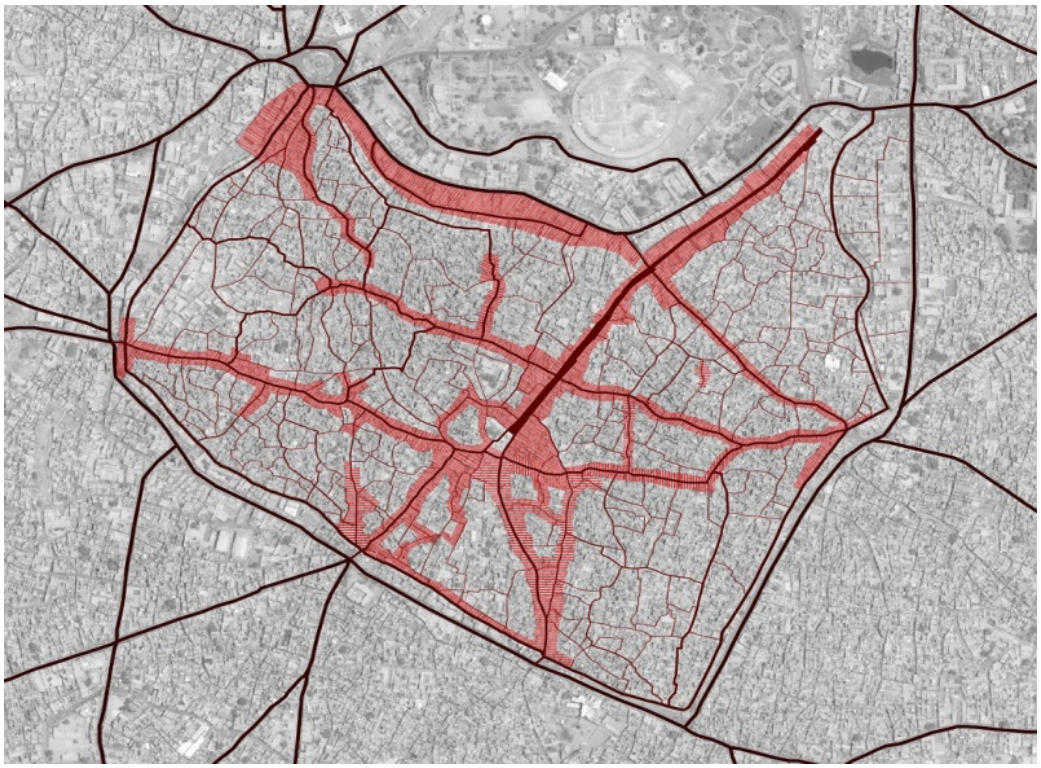


Figure 9: Map of growing commercial activity into residential neighborhoods inside the Walled City. Source: SSEER Project Multan, 2011

Warehousing in Residential Zones

Most wholesale markets in Mulan's Walled City operate in dense bazaars where shops are narrow and small, sometimes two meters or less in width. However, the wholesale activity requires a large stock of goods nearby. Wholesalers only keep samples of different products in their shops, but the main stock is stored nearby in warehouses.

Since the Walled City is very densely populated and without any free vacant land for new construction within it, wholesalers have started moving into residential areas nearby for warehousing purposes. Most of the residential buildings in the narrow streets of the Walled City were old and structurally damaged. Moreover, due to inadequate infrastructural facilities, residents were looking for opportunities to sell their deteriorated buildings. The residential land value of buildings in these neighborhoods had reduced significantly due to the depreciation of their capitalized ground rent and redevelopment of these buildings as houses would not have increased the potential ground rent due to environmental degradation. Besides, residential structures required more investment than warehouses because they needed utilities, especially water and sewage connection and better finishes in materials. However, a warehouse did not require any of those provisions (Ahmed, 2021). Therefore, wholesalers started to exploit these factors to their benefit.

Today, speculative wholesalers buy buildings in worn-out conditions unsafe for living and convert them into warehouses or demolish them to build new storage spaces. This demolition has a catastrophic effect on the stability of the adjacent structures because, in the tightly knit physical fabric of the Walled City, connected buildings provide each other with structural support. In this process, residents in the adjacent buildings are also forced to sell their properties to wholesalers. Traditionally strangers were not welcomed inside residential zones of the Walled City. However, due to warehousing, unfamiliar workers are now present within these residential zones, which plays a significant role in the displacement of people because warehousing disrupts the cultural balance of an area.

Despite these changes, the transformation has not taken place abruptly and is not dramatically visible. Instead, it is happening gradually with the activities that happen inside the old buildings that cause the dramatic displacement of people. In many cases, it is not visually possible to differentiate between warehouses, shops, or residential buildings because many warehouses are functioning inside residential buildings, and many shops in narrow streets are being used as warehouses.

Figure 10: Left - An under-construction commercial structure adjacent to a partially demolished Early 20th century residential building. Right - Under construction basement of a commercial structure that has damaged back walls and foundations of a Mid 19th Century residential building. Source: Author, 2021

Figure 11: 20th-century residential building used as a warehouse. Source: Author, 2021

Figure 12: Outside and Inside view of a residential building used as a warehouse. Source: Author, 2021

Figure 13: Shop-styled structures in narrow streets used as warehouses. Source: Author, 2021

Chapter 4
Analyzing the Deficiencies

This chapter tries to make sense of the recent transformation in the Walled City by analyzing the current revitalization project ‘SSEER,’ heritage legislation, and land use transformation. By analyzing these three aspects, the following section will explain how historic neighborhoods in the Walled City are perplexed between tourism agendas, restrictions of heritage mentality, and market appropriation of neighborhoods for profit maximization.

4.1 Revitalization for Commodification?

In 2006, a partnership between the Italian and Pakistani government started through a debt swap agreement in the form of “Sustainable, Social, Economic and Environmental Revitalization” in the Walled City of Multan, where the former would assist in safeguarding Multan’s built heritage and enhancing socio-economic conditions of the locals. The tasks related to research, planning, and design were solely carried out by an Italian institution, ‘Fondazione Politecnico di Milano’ or FPM, and a local body, ‘Project Management Unit’ or PMU performed the execution work.

During the research phase, the FPM realized the importance of preserving ‘built heritage’ and identified a pilot area for testing their revitalization efforts. The pilot area was the “Musa Pak Shrine Complex” in the Walled City. Many locals argue that the area was selected due to the Prime Minister’s political interference, as the shrine belonged to his ancestors. Apart from the Musa Pak Complex, conservation of an entrance to the Walled City ‘Haram Gate’ and revitalization of ‘Sarafa Bazaar Street’ through general infrastructure improvements was also part of the project. However, the project primarily aimed to conserve selected monumental buildings in the Walled City due to their historical significance to be “preserved for collective citizen memory” (Bo et al., 2019).

One of the project's primary aims was related to generating tourism in the Walled City of Multan. According to the project team, this aim was included because of Pakistan’s new tourism policy for economic growth. Therefore, the project deemed it necessary to make the Walled City more attractive for tourist activities, assuming that it would benefit the local economy and attract foreign capital investments into the country (Bo & Bignami, 2014). The project also proposed a ‘tourist trail’ surrounding significant monuments and vistas, which has not been implemented yet.

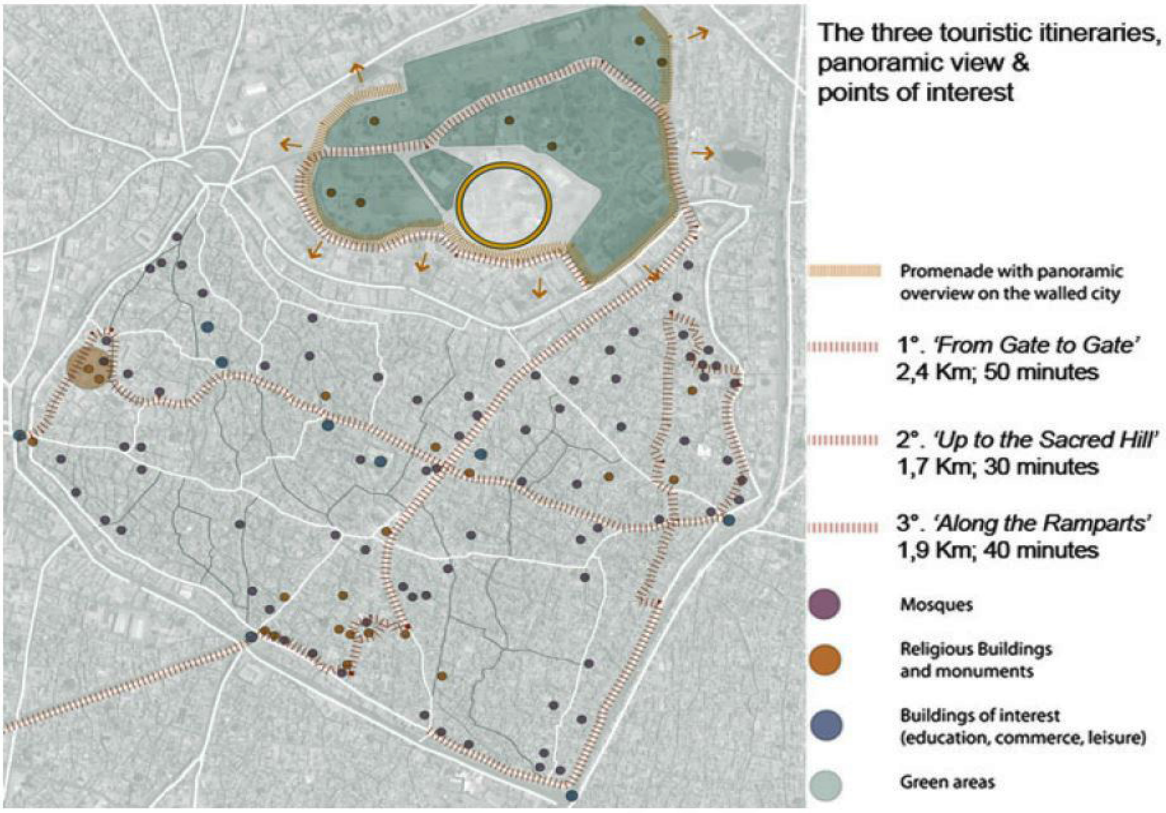


Figure 14: Proposal for development of tourist trails inside the Walled City. Source: SSEER Project, 2011

However, the goals of tourism also bring with themselves some assumptions and limited knowledge to locals, which can be understood from a statement of an official of the Project Management Unit:

Translation: "Everybody talks about sustainability in the world. However, the concept needs some mechanisms to be implemented. The planned mechanism that can ensure the sustainability of our project is 'tourism.' If we can attract tourism through our conservation efforts, our concern of sustainability will be adequately addressed" (Hassan Ali, 2021)

Although the project, for various technical, administrative, and political reasons, could not achieve most of its goals, including tourism, the project's agenda highlights the AHD approach to glorify monumental buildings and its aims to commodify historic structures and influence the understanding of certain concepts at the local level. Simultaneously, the statement mentioned above also emphasizes that the project's sustainability was limited to an economistic approach to bring historic neighborhoods under the process of capitalism to increase their spatial division of consumption.

Moreover, the project also proposed conservation guidelines as a report to guide users and designers about appropriate ways to ‘valorize’ historic buildings in the Walled City (Giambruno & Pistidda, 2015). However, little work was carried out to deal with social and cultural issues of people using historic buildings. The project failed to engage and mobilize locals due to its limited approach during the planning and did not consider local values for conserved structures. As a result, the conserved Musafir Khana buildings lie isolated, locked, and unused by the community. The Haram Gate preserved has already started deteriorating due to rampant commercialization around it.

Figure 15: Left - Conserved Haram Gate, Right - Conserved Musafir Khana. Source: Author, 2021

One of the project contributions worth mentioning is the detailed documentation of the pilot area and various surveys of the Walled City that had never been conducted in the past. However, the project left the country under debt of millions of euros with few long-term benefits to the local community. Similarly, a significant amount of ‘debt’ money was paid back to the Italian “FPM” as their consultancy charges (Hassan, 2021).

Through this project, we can understand that revitalization projects carried out by foreign institutions bring their agendas in development and inject the heritage mentality in local institutions to glorify historic buildings as ‘heritage’ and take economic benefits from them. Such projects endanger historic neighborhoods with commodification through tourism when development should be carried out to increase the residential value of historic neighborhoods that benefit the local community. As a result, conservation efforts limited to certain monuments become meaningless for the users.

4.2 Legal Protection: A Threat to Historic Neighborhoods?

The following section analyzes existing legislation for the protection of historic buildings in Pakistan and tries to understand the heritage mentality within these laws that becomes a threat to historic neighborhoods. These laws protect selected buildings to become exhibits and limit modest residential buildings from being protected. The selective approach of these legislations is one reason why historic neighborhoods are not given adequate funding and attention compared to monumental structures.

National Antiquities Act, 1975

After the formation of Pakistan in 1947, it adopted the British Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904 and named it the Antiquities Act of 1947. The Act was simply a change in the name and considered necessary after establishing a new country (Awan, 1993). The law received further name changes in 1964 and 1968 to suit the cultural and political realities; however, the essence remained similar to the British Act of 1904 (Mughal, 2011). In 1975, the parliament passed a new law to protect ancient objects and named it the 'National Antiquities Act of 1975'. This law retained many clauses from the British law and added new provisions. However, currently, it remains the legislative structure protecting antiquities on the federal level.

The law divides relics into two categories, 'ancient' & 'antiquity.' As per the law:

1. "Ancient means antiquity that has been in existence for a period of not less than seventy-five years" (Section 2-b)
2. "Antiquity means any ancient product of the human activity, moveable or immovable, illustrative of art, architecture, craft, custom, literature, morals, politics, religion, warfare or science or any aspect of civilization of culture" (Section 2-c)

The law gives the Department of Archeology (DOA) the power to take necessary steps for the custody, preservation, and protection of 'protected antiquities,' but only the DOA can declare an ancient object as 'protected antiquity.'

The law prohibits using any protected antiquity for a purpose that is inconsistent with its 'character.' Moreover, destroying and damaging any protected antiquity is prohibited in the law and considered a punishable offense. Renovation and alterations in the protected

antiquities are also not allowed without prior approval from the DOA. Furthermore, any development and new construction are prohibited within a radius of 200 feet (60 meters) of protected antiquity without prior approval from DOA. It is clear from some of the points mentioned earlier that the DOA has significant powers to legitimize antiquities, restrict their use, and control them.

The issue of Antiquity:

Asif Nativ argues that antiquity refers to something that used to exist but is no longer present, and Archeology as a field of study aims to revive and preserve antiquities using accessible material. Therefore, antiquity serves as both the focus and a rationale for archeology (Nativ, 2020). However, restricting living buildings to the concept of antiquity also limits them as remnants of pasts and does not consider the social and cultural meanings associated with them.

Yasmeen Cheema, a conservationist, also argues that using antiquity to define living buildings is a strange tradition that started from British colonialism and limited living heritage to mere historical objects that had no connection with the rest of the city and culture (Cheema, 2021). However, this ambiguity of antiquity created by Colonialism was not just about limiting buildings as objects. For example, in legal language, the word antiquity was first used in Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904 to define ‘moveable objects of historical or archeological significance’ (India, 1904). The same term was used to describe the ancientness of a city in the Imperial Gazetteer of India (Hunter, 1886). In the District Gazetteer report of Multan 1924, the term described an ancient Temple where the festival of Holi originated (India, 1924). The term was used in official documents in different ways to create values and assign meanings to different things.

However, there are other conceptual issues related to antiquity in the present law, and one of them is the age required to be defined as such. For example, in the Antiquities Act of 1975, age is the criteria for being an ‘ancient’ object, but there is no age clarification present for being an ‘antiquity.’ Therefore, ancient objects defined in the law do not get any protection yet, antiquities do. This fact illustrates that a provision has been kept in law to protect not-so-old buildings if favored by the heritage mentality and ignore historical buildings that are not favored politically.

The second issue related to antiquity is the aim of archeology to ‘preserve’ them, which requires an object to be retained in a particular state, restricting further engagement. Following this logic, the law prohibits using protected antiquities for any purpose inconsistent with their ‘character.’ However, the definition of ‘character’ is not present, and the DOA has the authenticating power to decide if an activity compromises the character of antiquity or not. Moreover, the law prohibits many activities for safeguarding the character of antiquities that includes intervention, alteration (Section 20), bathing, washing clothes, cooking, and parking vehicles inside antiquity (Rules for regulating antiquities).

Following Dina Shehayeb's definition, the character of a building is the living context in and around it (Shehayeb, 2010), but the law indicates character to be something that is limited to the built form. Using terms like ‘character’ without defining them creates a conflict of perceived values, as discussed in Chapter 2. The conflict is apparent because the law practically requires buildings to be frozen, preventing habitation, which is not possible in residential buildings. Therefore, instead of saving buildings along with their living context, the law only focuses on physicality and becomes an active threat for people living inside historical buildings. Moreover, the law becomes a discouragement for users when every practice in a building requires permission from the DOA. The threat associated with the law is an essential factor in understanding why owners are scared for their properties to get state protection and prefer to demolish them.

<u>The issue of categorization:</u>

The DOA has divided antiquities into three categories to decide the best approach to deal with them

1. Buildings that, due to their current state or historical or archeological significance, should be kept in good repair and maintained
2. Buildings that are only feasible or possible to save from further deterioration by procedures such as removing vegetation and preventing water from entering the walls
3. Buildings in an advanced state of deterioration whose preservation is impractical or unnecessary

Historic buildings are classified by the current state of repair and not by their qualities or how locals value them, which means that those belonging to the third category will be left out to decay. Buildings in the second category will only get maintenance required to eliminate

vegetation or seepage. However, the damage already caused due to these two factors will not be reversed to consolidate buildings further. The department's focus for maintaining buildings is limited to the first category, which only includes significant monuments. This categorization becomes a way for the DOA to direct state funds to monuments already consecutively maintained and save additional effort required to conserve new buildings. As a result, most residential buildings that require maintenance and attention are deprived of state funding and assistance.

Punjab Special Premises Preservation Ordinance

In 1985, the federal government encouraged provincial governments to engage in heritage conservation by enacting the required provincial legislation (Awan, 1993). The Punjab government constituted a law, 'Punjab Special Premises Preservation Ordinance' based on the Antiquities Act, 1975. Therefore, in Punjab, this ordinance provides legal cover for the protection of 'special premises.'

This ordinance defines 'special premises' as premises of historical, cultural, or architectural value, including the land that belongs to them as declared by the government (Punjab, 1985).

Some of the primary highlights of the law that apply to 'special premises' are the following:

1. No alteration, renovation, demolition, or re-erection on Special Premises is allowed without prior permission (Section 5).
2. Developmental plans that concern Special Premises cannot be approved by any government body or authority without permission from the special committee (Section 6).
3. Destroying, breaking, damaging, defacing, and engraving any inscription on any part of Special Premises is not allowed (Section 7)
4. If any work has been carried against section 5, 6, or 7 on the Special Premises, the government can direct the owner to restore special premises to their original position (Section 8)
5. If Special Premises are not being appropriately preserved or conserved, the government can direct the owner to take necessary preservation and conservation steps. If the owner fails to take such steps, the government can take all such measures, and the expenditure shall be recovered from the owner (Section 9)

6. Any development plan or scheme or new construction can not be executed within a distance of 200 feet except with the approval of a special committee. (Section 11)

This newly formed law followed the specimen of the Antiquities Act while retaining its gaps and creating new ones. For example, it retains the ambiguity of the age criterion for special premises. Secondly, consideration to declare buildings as “Special Premises” entirely depends on the DOA.

Apart from these issues, there are other aspects of the law that are rather vague. For example, section 8 of the law is about restoring special premises to ‘original position’ if altered by inappropriate renovations or demolition. However, the definition of ‘original position’ has not been elaborated in the law. Many historical buildings that are centuries old have gone through many cycles of uses and alterations. In such cases, how can one decide the ‘original position’? Therefore, the law gives the DOA power to decide the authenticity of the ‘original position.’

Moreover, the law does not hold the government responsible for maintaining and conserving special premises but leaves it as a liability on owners. All general repairs or alterations that the owner wants to carry out in special premises have to be under the guidance of the DOA. If special premises are in danger, the DOA can direct the owner to maintain and conserve them, but any financial assistance will not be provided. If the owner fails to do so, the DOA will carry out all the necessary steps to protect special premises, and the owner will be liable to pay the cost.

However, the government can use its resources to protect special premises if it is not under residential or commercial use. This approach in the law shows the lack of interest in protecting residential buildings excluded from the government's financial assistance. Like the Antiquities Act, this law is also inclined to protect monumental buildings as objects rather than giving protection to historic residential buildings, which explains why many residential structures are not protected under this law.

Legal protection: A threat to Historic Neighborhoods!

The analysis of these two laws highlights the heritage mentality that uses the Department of Archeology as the authorizing institution to decide the legitimacy of historical buildings to be recognized as ‘protected antiquities’ and ‘special premises’ and control people's conduct living in them. Moreover, with vague terms like ‘character’ and ‘original position,’ the law

gives experts authoritative control to decide how these buildings will be used. Furthermore, there is an apparent prejudice towards materiality, which undermines cultural meanings and values and is also utilized by authorizing institutions to commodify historical buildings by making them into an exhibit. However, the laws fail to address user concerns and incentivize them by any means. The stringent restrictions in both laws control the conduct of users and limit their engagement. Due to this heritage mentality, these laws threaten users and historical buildings rather than playing a facilitative role and make transformation a more viable option.

4.3 Market Appropriation of Historic Neighborhoods

This section of the thesis examines the current land use transformation in the last five years based on the empirical data collected from the 'Chowk Bazaar' area. Due to a lack of official data, the research was limited to five years, and data was surveyed solely by the author. This study highlights the role of market appropriation of deteriorating residential buildings due to depreciating potential ground rent.

Chowk Bazaar:

The study area of Chowk Bazaar was selected because of its historical significance as a commercial and residential center. Furthermore, the area houses one of the oldest residential neighborhoods in the city, 'Hannu ka Chajja,' which is currently transforming due to warehousing. Culturally and politically, the chowk bazaar was very important, which can be understood from the following statement:

Translation: "This area was quite important as the majority of the elite, writers, journalists, and artists belonged to this area. Balkrishan Batra, Raizada Teerath Ram, Anand Sharath, and many other historians, lawyers, and doctors used to live here" (Bhatti, 2021)

The Chowk Bazaar area hosts various activities, including mixed-use, commercial, warehousing, and residential functions. Nonetheless, the area holds importance for locals who have lived here for decades. Most people who live in the chowk bazaar area are economically disadvantaged and work as unskilled laborers in various businesses. Even though residential neighborhoods remain intact, they are rapidly transforming due to warehousing that has begun to infiltrate residential zones.

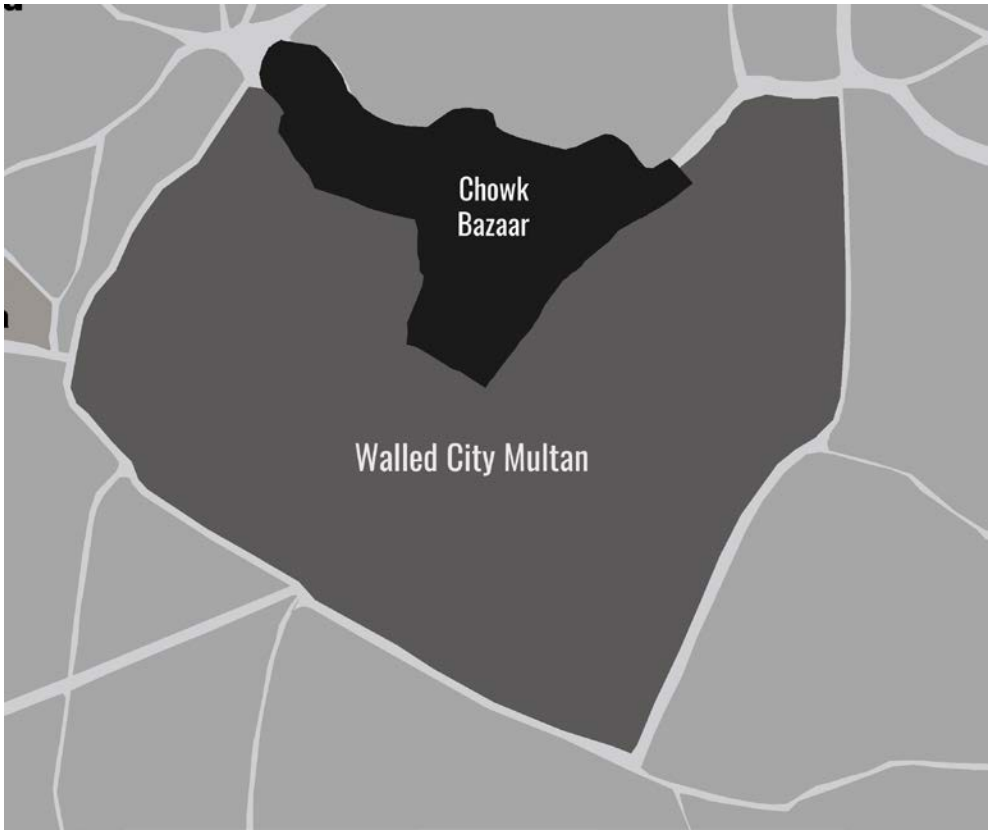


Figure 16: Walled City & Chowk Bazaar Area. Source: Author, 2021.

Demographics

Population

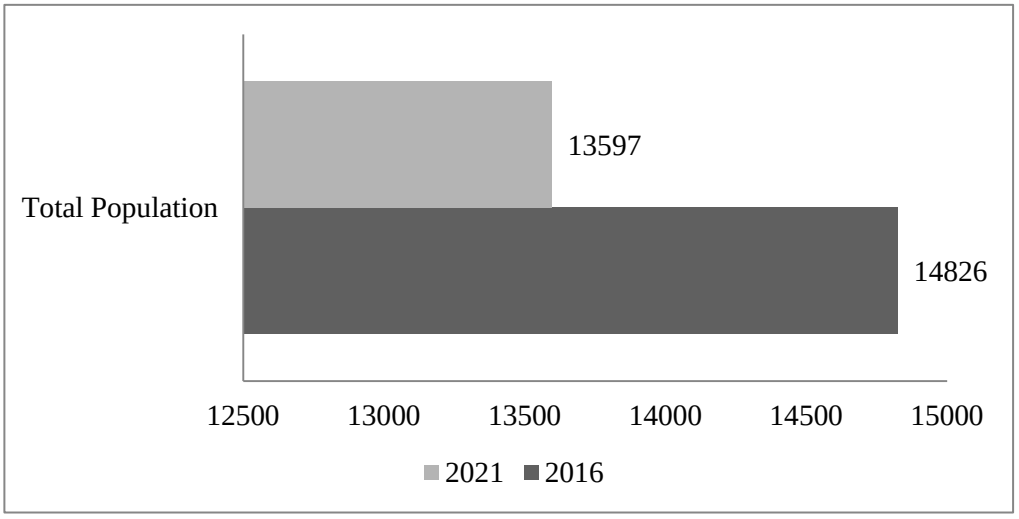


Chart 1: Population difference between 2016 & 2021. Source: Author

Age Distribution

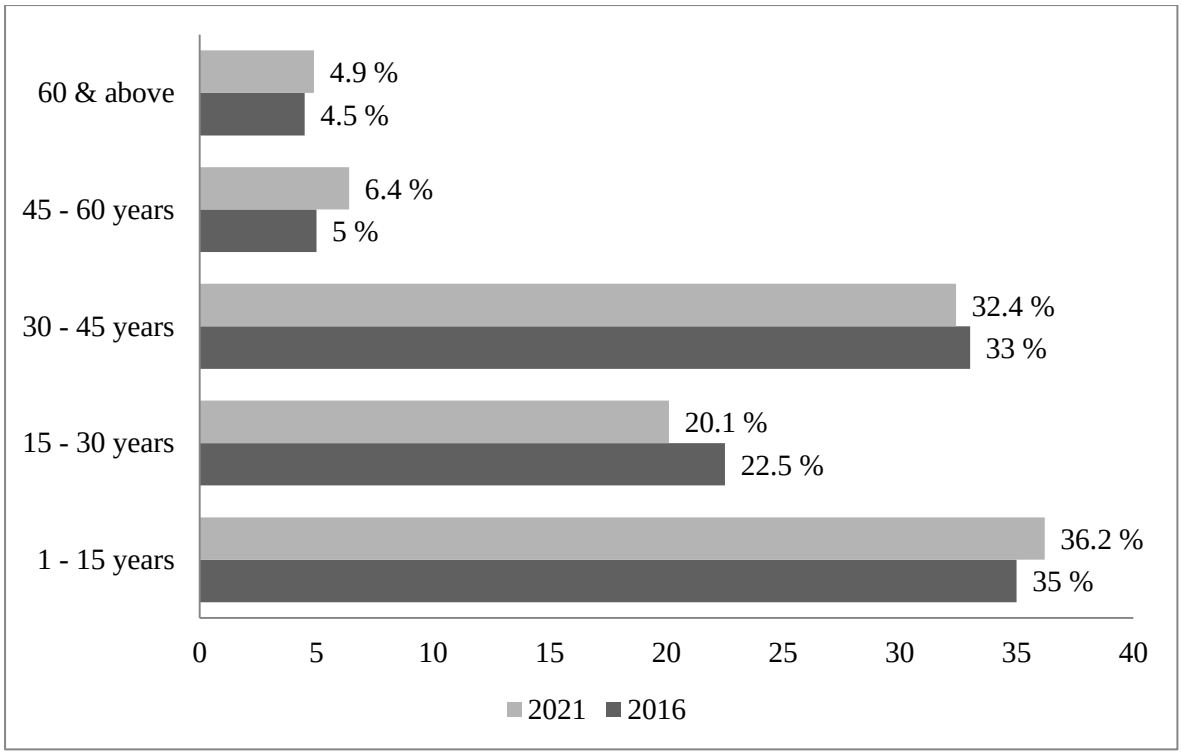


Chart 2: Age Distribution of the population in 2016 & 2021. Source: Author

Literacy Rate

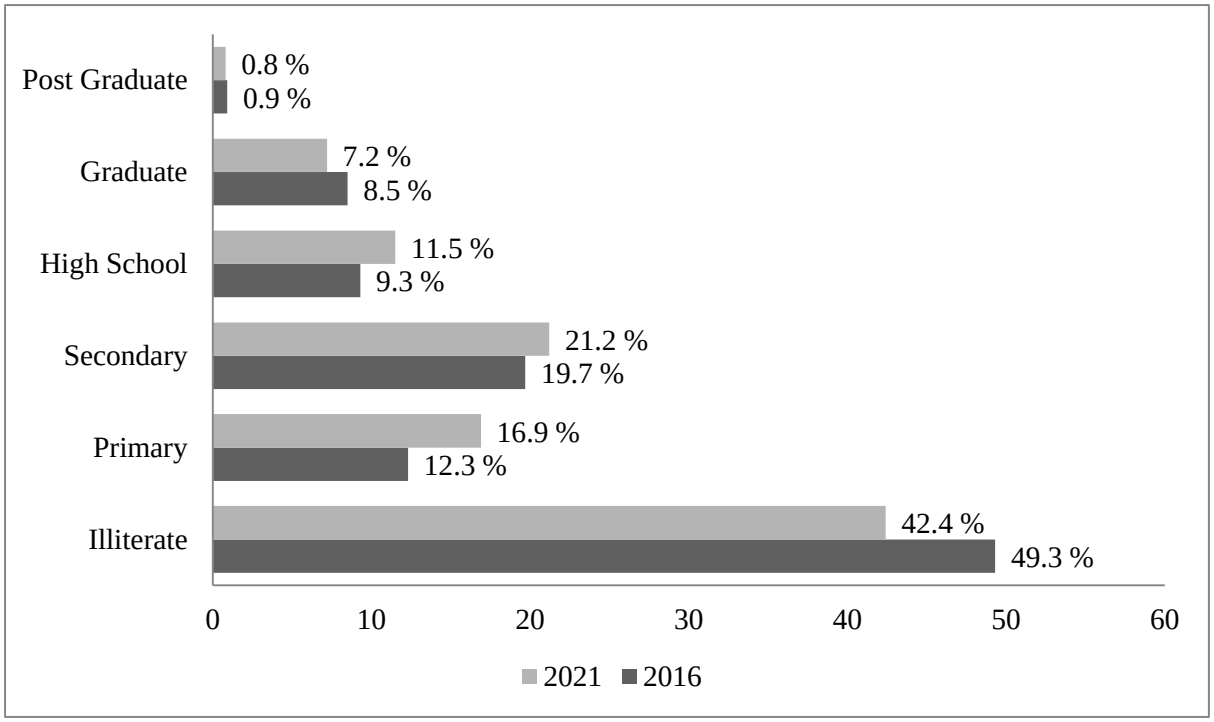


Chart 3: Literacy rate difference in 2016 & 2021. Source: Author

Employment Status

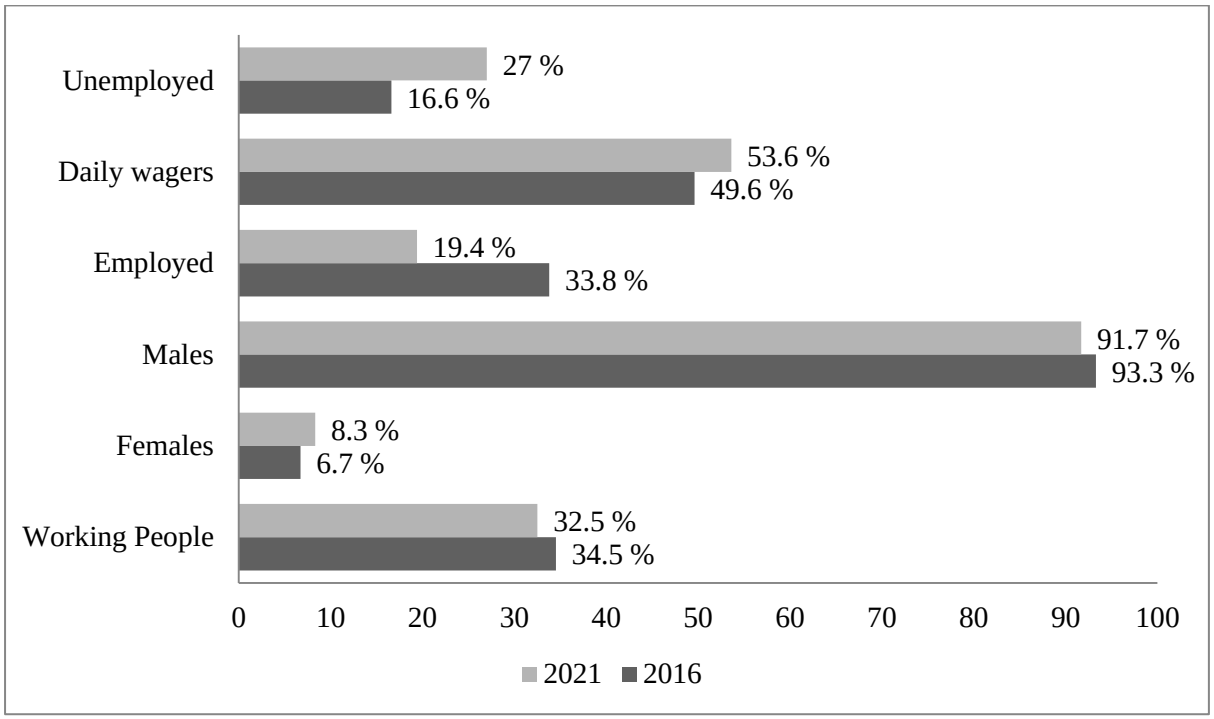
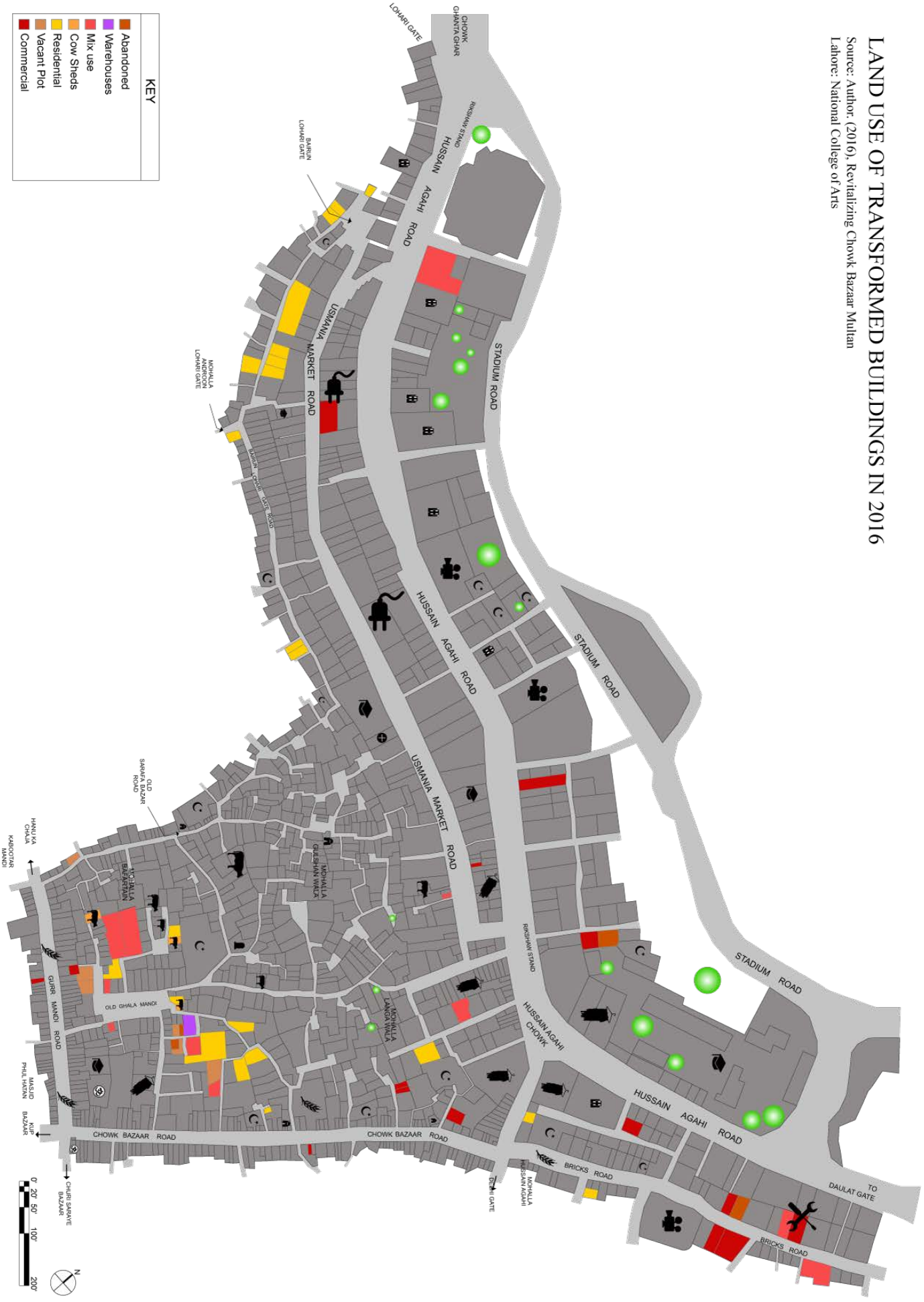


Chart 4: Employment status of the population in 2016 & 2021. Source: Author

The demographics data presented above highlights that a shift in the population has occurred in the past five years. The overall residential population has declined by nearly 1250 persons, with the younger generation accounting for most of the decrease. Moreover, the number of people employed in various sectors has also decreased, and the number of people working as daily wagers has increased.

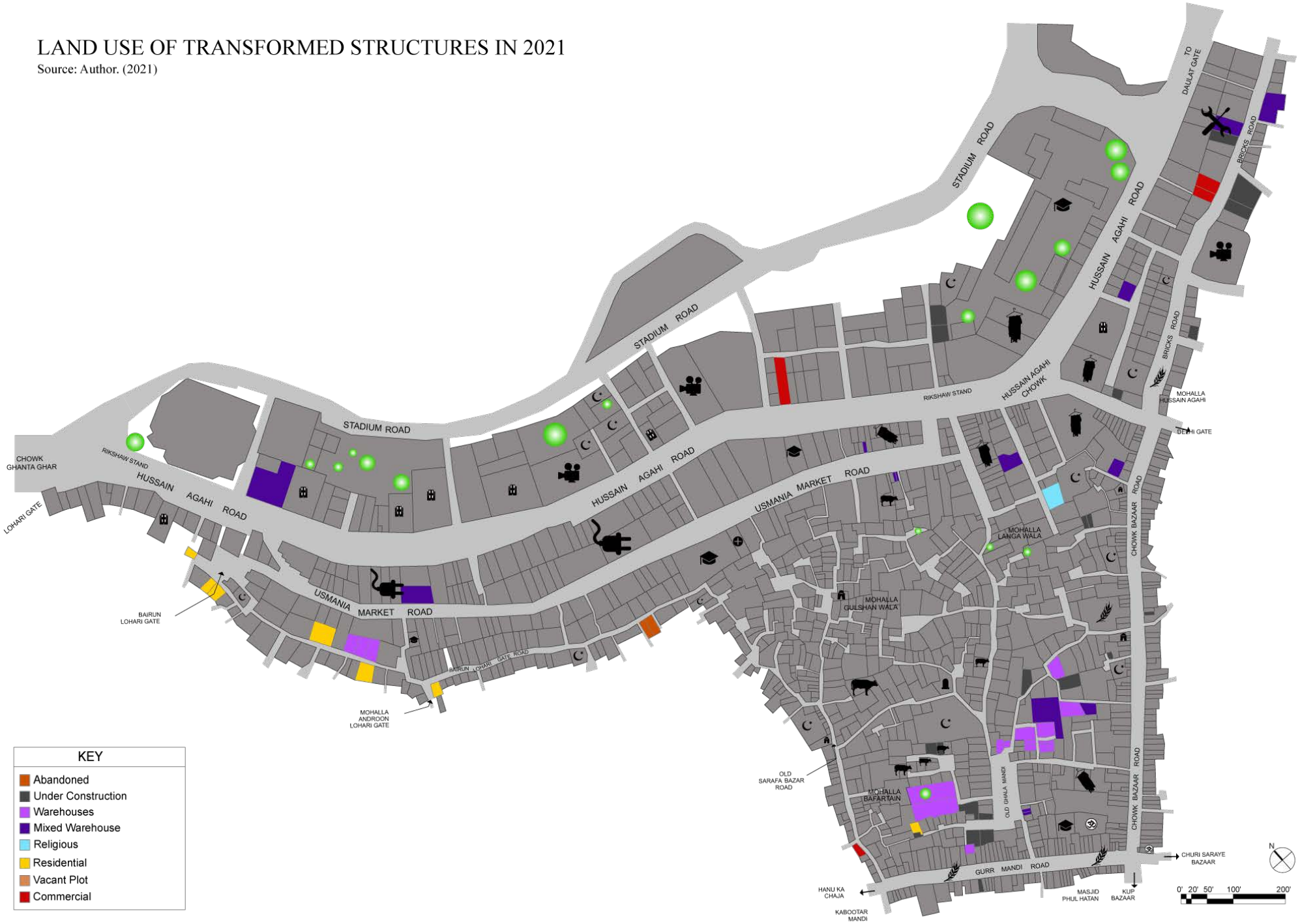
This change in the population's socioeconomic status showcases the migration of the working class that constitutes an area's economic and political power. The migration of economically powerful people results in the loss of political agency of an area at an individual and institutional level. Usually, such people can influence institutions responsible for the maintenance of utilities and services. However, when the political force of an area leaves, the environmental degradation starts increasing due to lack of care and maintenance.

Spatial transformation analysis



LAND USE OF TRANSFORMED STRUCTURES IN 2021

Source: Author. (2021)



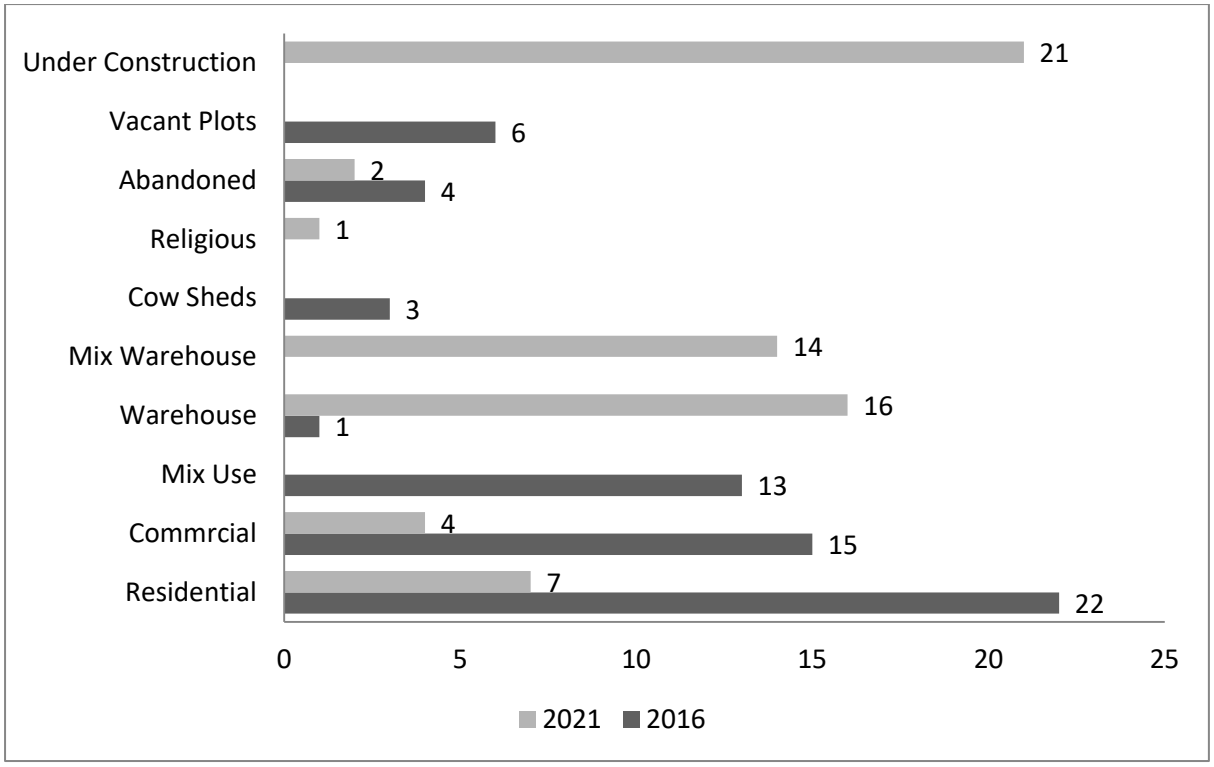
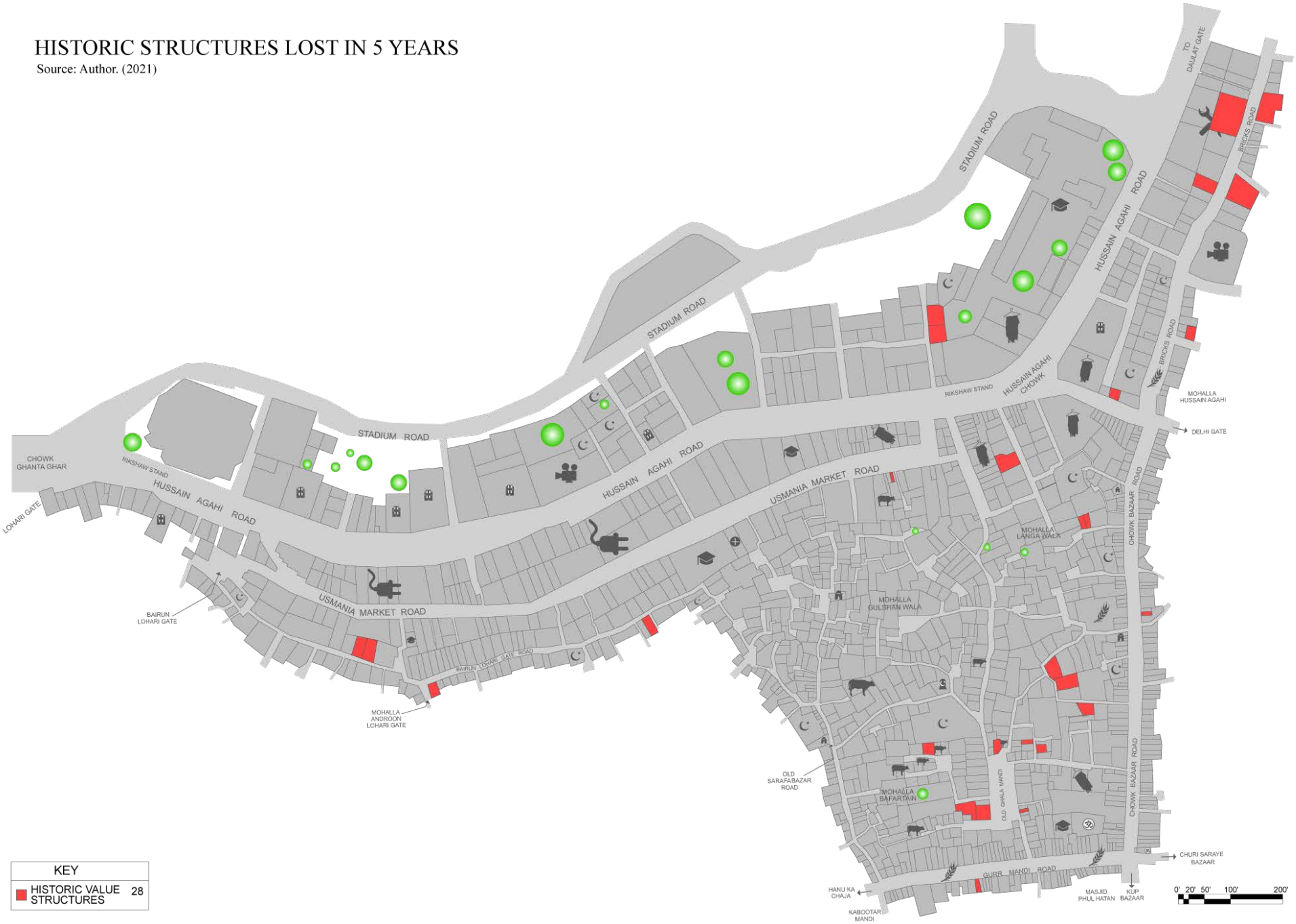


Chart 5: Land use changes in the past five years among transformed buildings. Source: Author

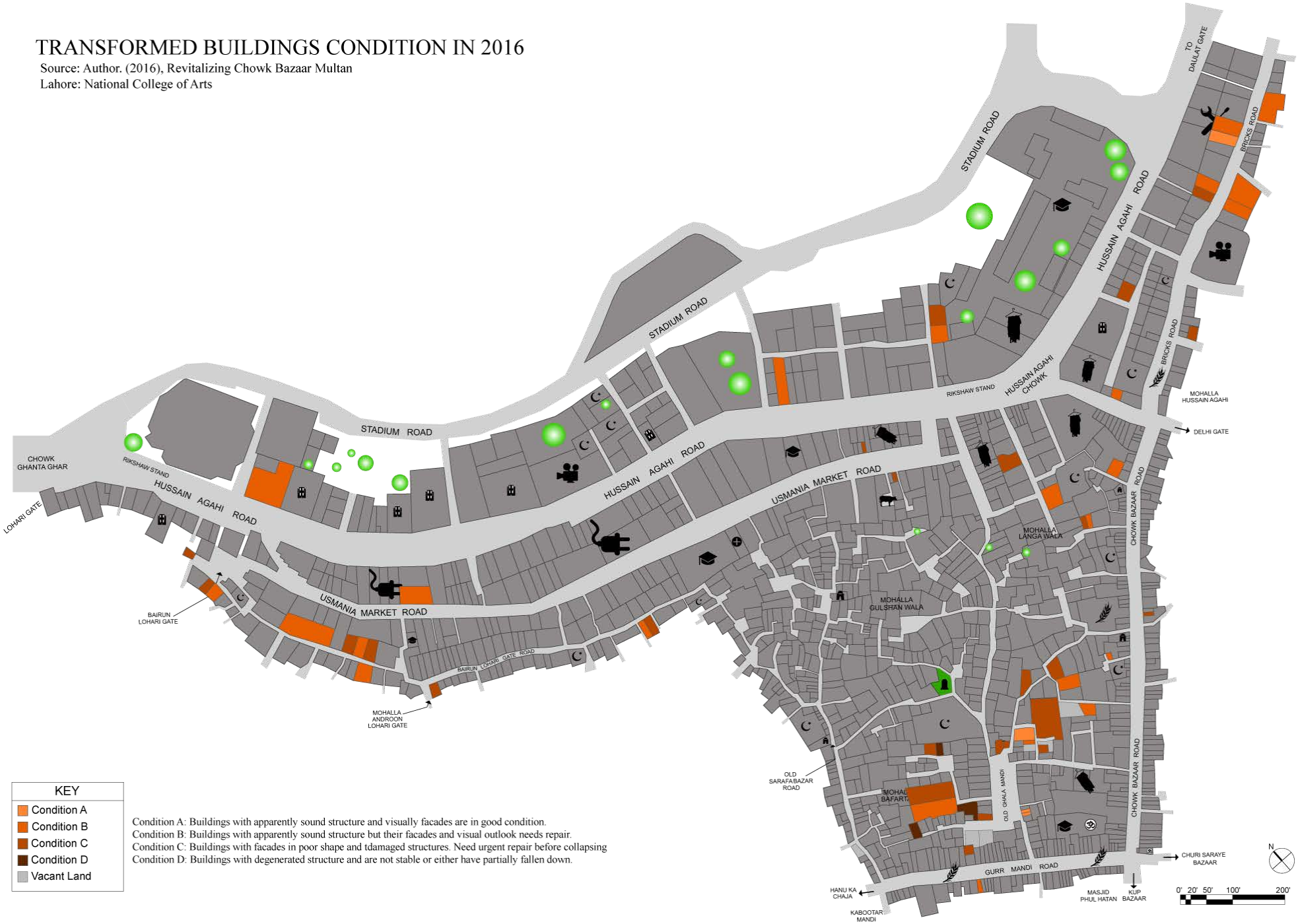
HISTORIC STRUCTURES LOST IN 5 YEARS

Source: Author. (2021)



TRANSFORMED BUILDINGS CONDITION IN 2016

Source: Author. (2016), Revitalizing Chowk Bazaar Multan
Lahore: National College of Arts



KEY
Condition A
Condition B
Condition C
Condition D
Vacant Land

Condition A: Buildings with apparently sound structure and visually facades are in good condition.
Condition B: Buildings with apparently sound structure but their facades and visual outlook needs repair.
Condition C: Buildings with facades in poor shape and tdamaged structures. Need urgent repair before collapsing
Condition D: Buildings with degenerated structure and are not stable or either have partially fallen down.

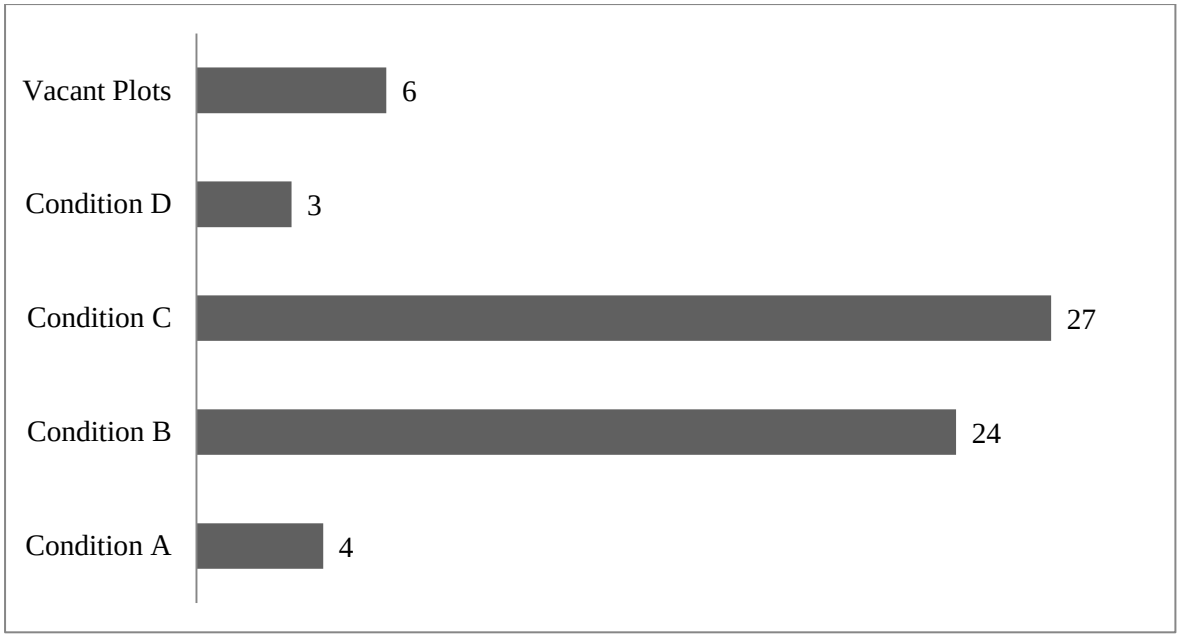
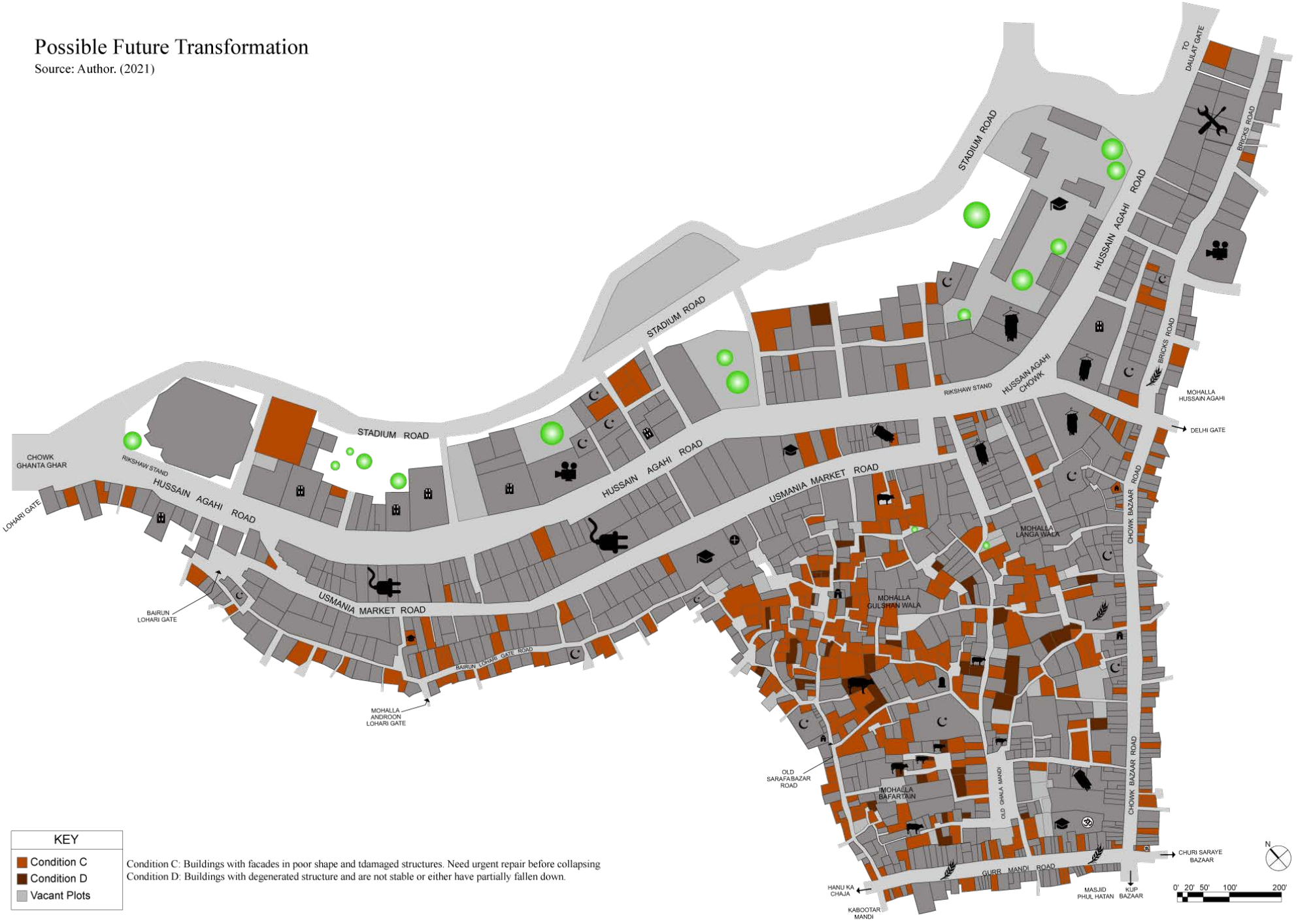


Chart 6: Condition of transformed Buildings in 2016. Source: Author

Possible Future Transformation

Source: Author. (2021)



KEY
Condition C
Condition D
Vacant Plots

Condition C: Buildings with facades in poor shape and tdamaged structures. Need urgent repair before collapsing
Condition D: Buildings with degenerated structure and are not stable or either have partially fallen down.

The analysis presented above proves that land use transformation has occurred in the Chowk Bazaar area, converting most residential buildings to other functions. In 2021 the most dominant land use among transformed buildings is warehousing. In total, 64 properties transformed in the past five years (See chart 5), and out of which, 28 buildings were historic structures, i.e., more than 75 years old.

Moreover, a significant factor in understanding the reason for transformation through the 'rent gap' concept is the building's condition. Approximately 52 % of transformed buildings belonged to categories C & D (See chart 6) which means they were structurally damaged and could collapse anytime (Condition C) or were already partially demolished (Condition D).

When a building is structurally damaged, the capital depreciates because the capitalized ground rent is too low. Moreover, due to depreciating ground rent, the owner saves costs through under-maintenance. As a result, the building becomes unusable, and redevelopment is the only option to gain any economic benefits from land. However, if a property is redeveloped as a residence, it requires more investments to provide different utilities, but the potential ground rent will not increase significantly due to continued environmental degradation.

In contrast, a warehouse only requires storage space without the provision of any utility services. Therefore the investment is comparatively low, but the return on investment is higher as the land use is linked to a commercial function, and the ground rent does not depend on environmental conditions. Therefore, warehousing happens due to two primary reasons. The first is the difference between supply and demand. There is a demand for warehouses due to wholesale activity in bazaars, and the supply is low due to a shortage of vacant land for construction inside the Walled City. The second factor is linked to return on investment, which is higher than residential use and can quickly pay off development costs.

Furthermore, future transformation patterns can also be predicted through the concept of the rent gap and analyzing the building's conditions. Currently, 368 buildings in conditions C & D are most likely to transform because the rent gap of these buildings is already wide enough for redevelopment to be beneficial. Therefore, it can be ascertained that the transformation will continue until the 'residential value' of these neighborhoods is not increased, which can be done either by reversing environmental degradation or improving building conditions for residents.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

This research presents the dismal transformation of the Walled City as a conflict between different conceptualizations of the built environment. As a result, historic neighborhoods are caught between heritage mentality, commodification through tourism, and market appropriation. These issues are rooted in historical, legislative, economic, and social conflicts.

The first issue is the Authorized Heritage Discourse, which rationalizes historic buildings as heritage, antiquity, or special premises, necessitating different goals to pursue them, such as preserving them as remnants of the past and undermining local rights by various regulations. The limitations imposed by various legislations are not intended to preserve "heritage" as such but rather to limit people's engagement in order to commodify the aesthetic value of historic buildings. The legislation makes no distinction between residential buildings and monuments, resulting in factors that favor transformation. Rather than playing a facilitative role, these limitations end up being a challenge to residents, jeopardizing their cultural and private property rights. However, if laws protecting historic buildings are altered to include residential structures and facilitate residents living in them, communities who already live in historic neighborhoods and do not want to leave would benefit from these facilitations. To minimize the threat of protection, new uses for old structures should be legally permitted through a local negotiation process rather than prohibiting all modifications (Qureshi, 1994).

Secondly, saving the aesthetic value of historical buildings allows governments to position the built environment as something desirable and valuable through tourism. Therefore, when historic neighborhoods are revitalized, the aim is to draw tourists rather than facilitate residents. As a result of this revitalization, commercial functions for tourist attraction are induced in historical areas, driving up property value higher and poor people are displaced. Thus, before undertaking a revitalization project, it is essential to consider whether the work would benefit or displace residents and make decisions accordingly. Rather than forcing proposals on residents, it is important to take into account their needs and concerns before planning these projects.

Furthermore, as we have seen from foreign-funded revitalization projects like the SSEER, the goal of sustainability is limited to what will generate more economic gain rather than what will sustain residents. This approach limits all the funding to a few monumental buildings

resulting in uneven development by focusing on the political economy of a place rather than the territory. Due to this uneven development, sustainability agendas linked to commodification deprive locals of the required attention by the state. Simultaneously, historic residential buildings are also excluded from projects' funding. As locals are not involved in the decision-making process, conservation efforts also fail, and the community does not own such projects resulting in substantial debts and little local benefits.

The third issue concerning historic neighborhoods is the market appropriation by economic forces. By restricting legal possibilities to alter historic structures, the heritage mentality of current legislation depreciates their residential value. To save buildings from the threat of enlistment, users look for other opportunities to move out of these buildings and save their investments. The informal sector exploits these factors, and the economic benefits move away from residents to commercial forces.

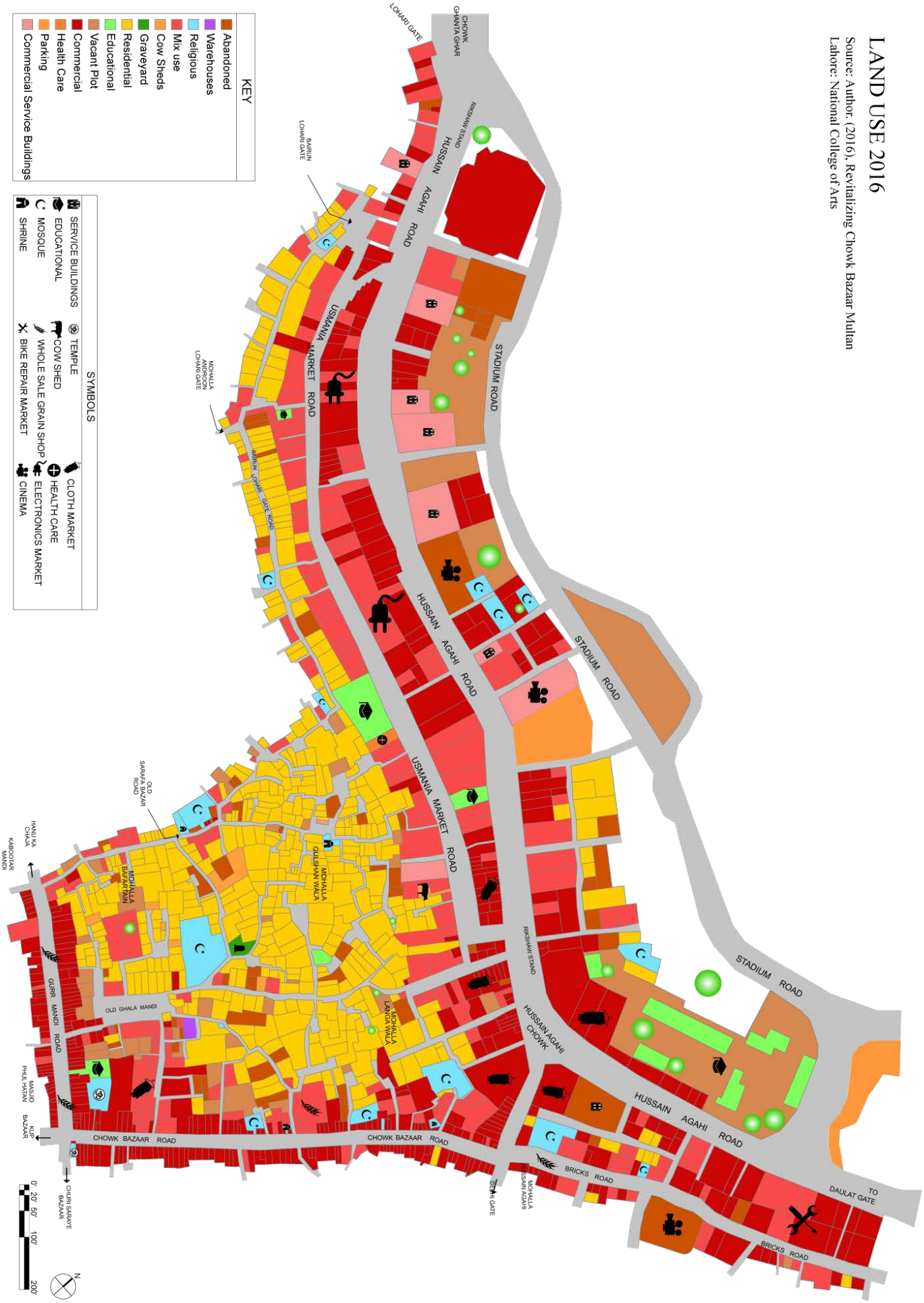
Since the Walled City's land value and land use do not equate in residential zones, transformation is inevitable until the disparity between capitalized ground rent and potential ground rent exists. Right now, warehousing might be a temporary advantage extracted from historic buildings, but it may shift to another method of profit maximization because, under the market logic, the goal is to extract more value from the land. Therefore, uprooting warehousing is not a permanent solution until the rent gap exists. As the cases of Saddar Bazaar and the Walled City of Delhi demonstrate, an organically evolved sector cannot be removed from an area until a better alternative is present.

It is essential to take care of the rights of residents and the informal sector linked to wholesale markets. One way to address this problem is to increase the Walled City's 'residential value' by focusing revitalization efforts on addressing resident's concerns and offering them social and financial incentives such as upgrading these areas to higher living standards and providing modern facilities that are locally suited rather than following the trajectory of tourism. Better management of services and inclusive planning that ensures public participation may be a starting point. The conflict between locals and professionals will reduce if local community concerns are considered and integrated into the planning of any developmental project. Simultaneously, wholesalers have to be given better alternatives for business activities that complement their needs and do not jeopardize the economic balance and livelihood of communities connected with commercial activities.

Moreover, the financial hardships in a developing country like Pakistan are a setback from the maintenance of historic neighborhoods. These problems also exist due to a lack of coordination among various government organizations operating in the same area but with different goals. Different government departments have separate budget allocations for particular areas, which are insufficient on their own but may yield more substantial results if pooled together and geared toward a common target (Qureshi, 2021).

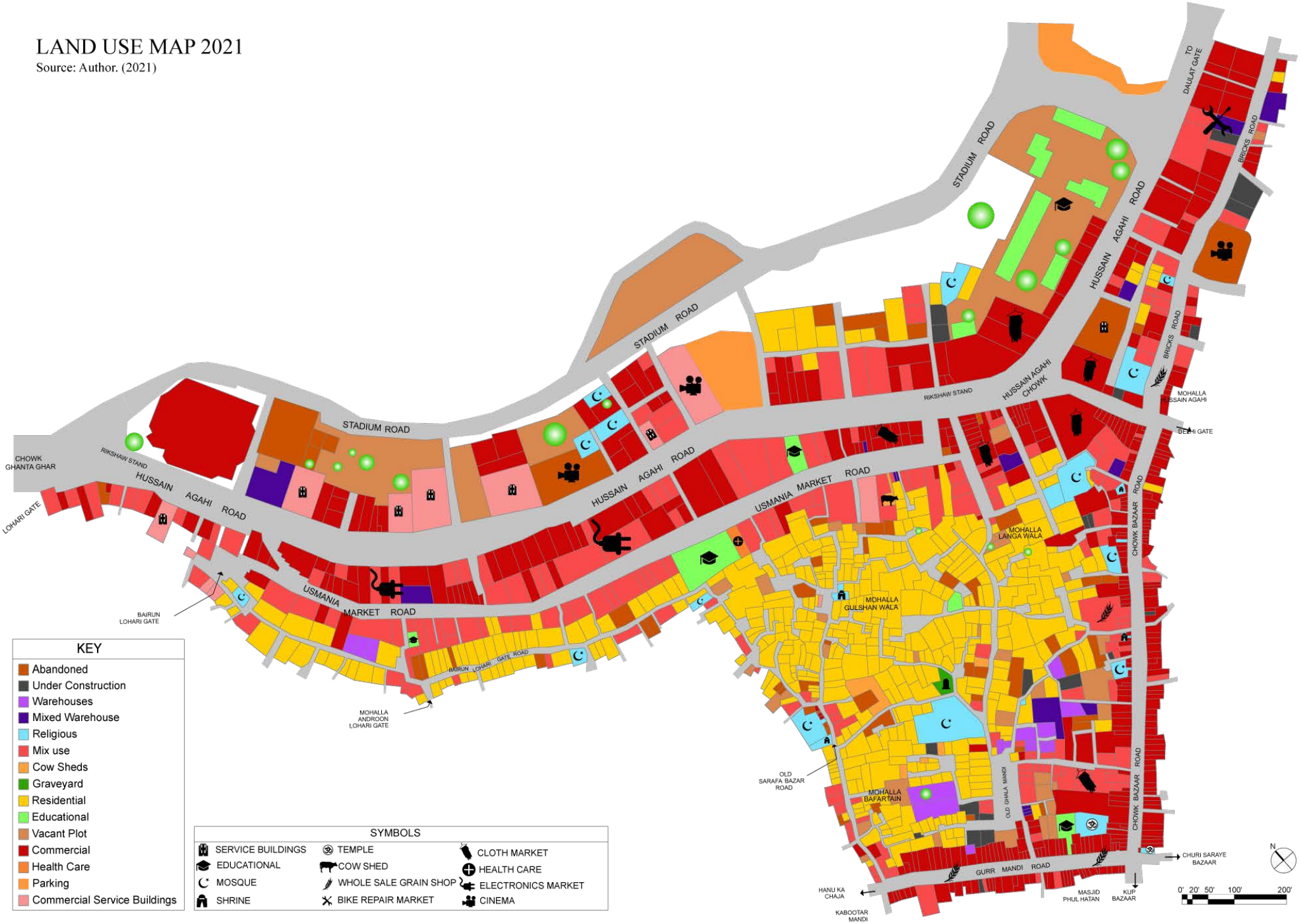
The power of regulating historic areas lies with the Department of Archeology while the rest of the development tasks are performed by local bodies, for example, Multan Development Authority. Thus, there is an accumulation of power within one organization at the provincial level. All other local bodies and residents are excluded from planning and managing historic areas. Therefore, different local bodies that deal with these areas regularly for their maintenance should be made stakeholders in the decision-making process as they are more reachable to local people, and concerns of users can be addressed locally.

Annex


LAND USE 2016
Source: Author. (2016), Revitalizing Chowk Bazaar Multan
Lahore: National College of Arts
KEY
Abandoned
Warehouses
Religious
Mix use
Cow Sheds
Graveyard
Residential
Educational
Vacant Plot
Commercial
Health Care
Parking
Commercial Service Buildings
SYMBOLS
SERVICE BUILDINGS
TEMPLE
EDUCATIONAL
COW SHED
MOSQUE
WHOLE SALE GRAIN SHOP
SHRINE
BIKE REPAIR MARKET
CLOTH MARKET
HEALTH CARE
ELECTRONICS MARKET
CINEMA
LOHARI GATE
CHOWK GHANTA GHAR
RIKSHAW STAND
BARJIN LOHARI GATE
HUSSAIN AGAHI ROAD
STADIUM ROAD
USMANIA MARKET ROAD
MOHALLA ANDROON LOHARI GATE
MUNSIF LOHARI GATE ROAD
OLD SARAFA BAZAAR ROAD
MOHALLA BAZAR WALA
MOHALLA GULSHAN WALA
MOHALLA LANGA WALA
HANU KA CHAJA
KABOOTAR MANDI
GURR MANDI ROAD
OLD GHALA MANDI
MASJID PHUL HATAN
KUP BAZAAR
CHOWK BAZAAR ROAD
HUSSAIN AGAHI CHOWK
BRICKS ROAD
MOHALLA HUSSAIN AGAHI
DEHLI GATE
CHURI SARAYE BAZAAR
TO DAULAT GATE
0' 20' 50' 100' 200'
N

LAND USE MAP 2021

Source: Author. (2021)



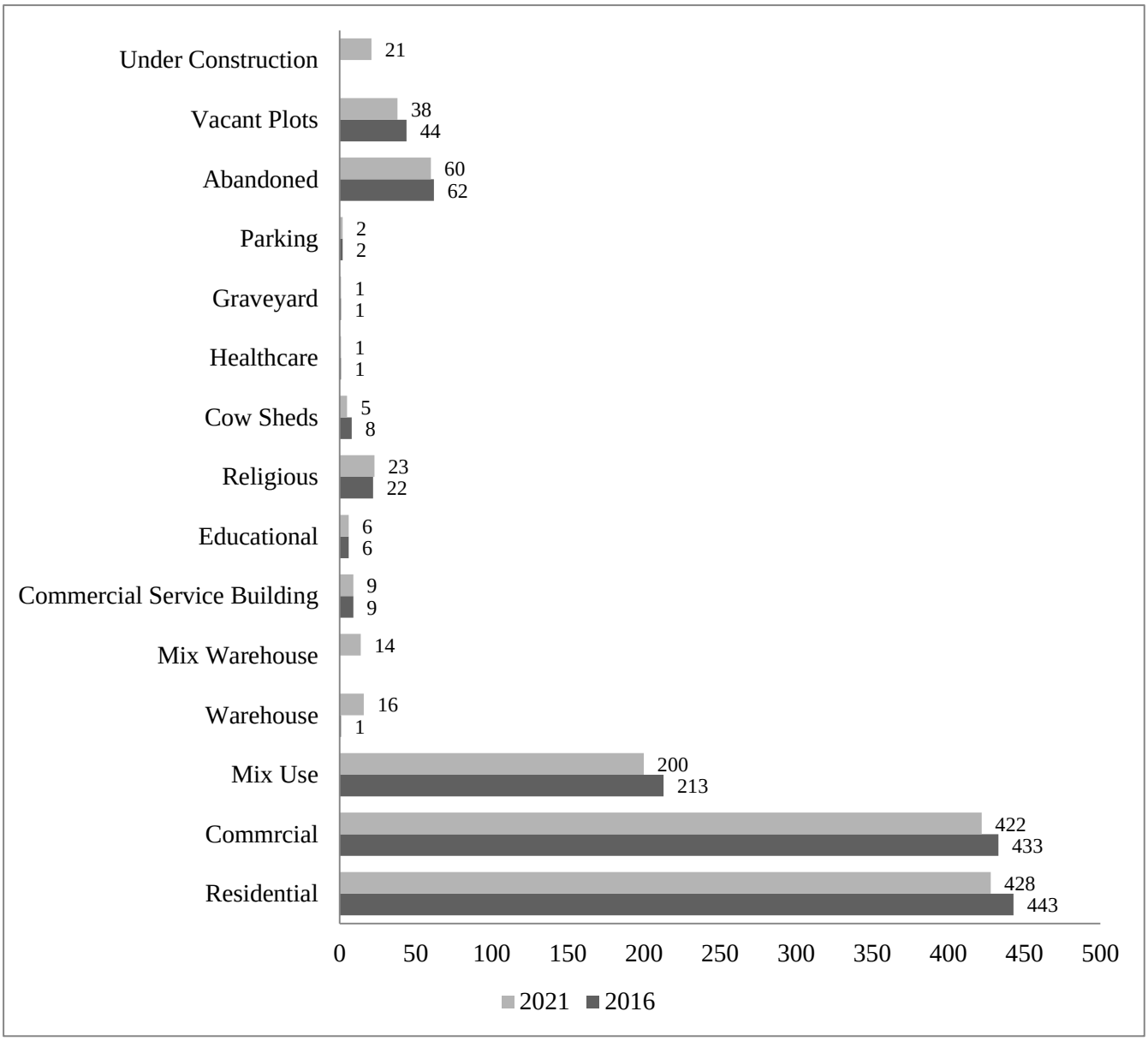
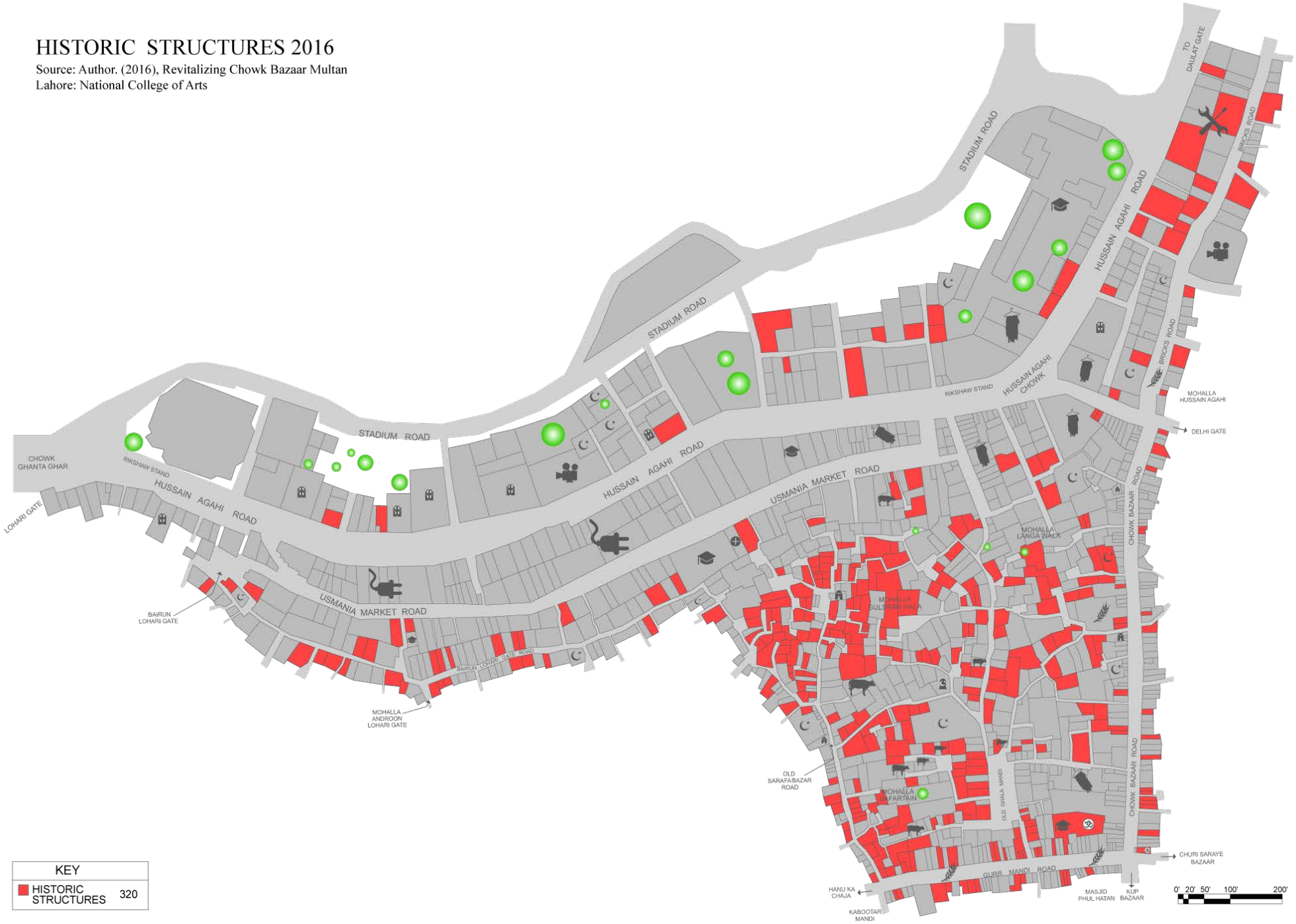


Chart 7: Number of properties under different land uses in 2016 & 2021. Source: Author

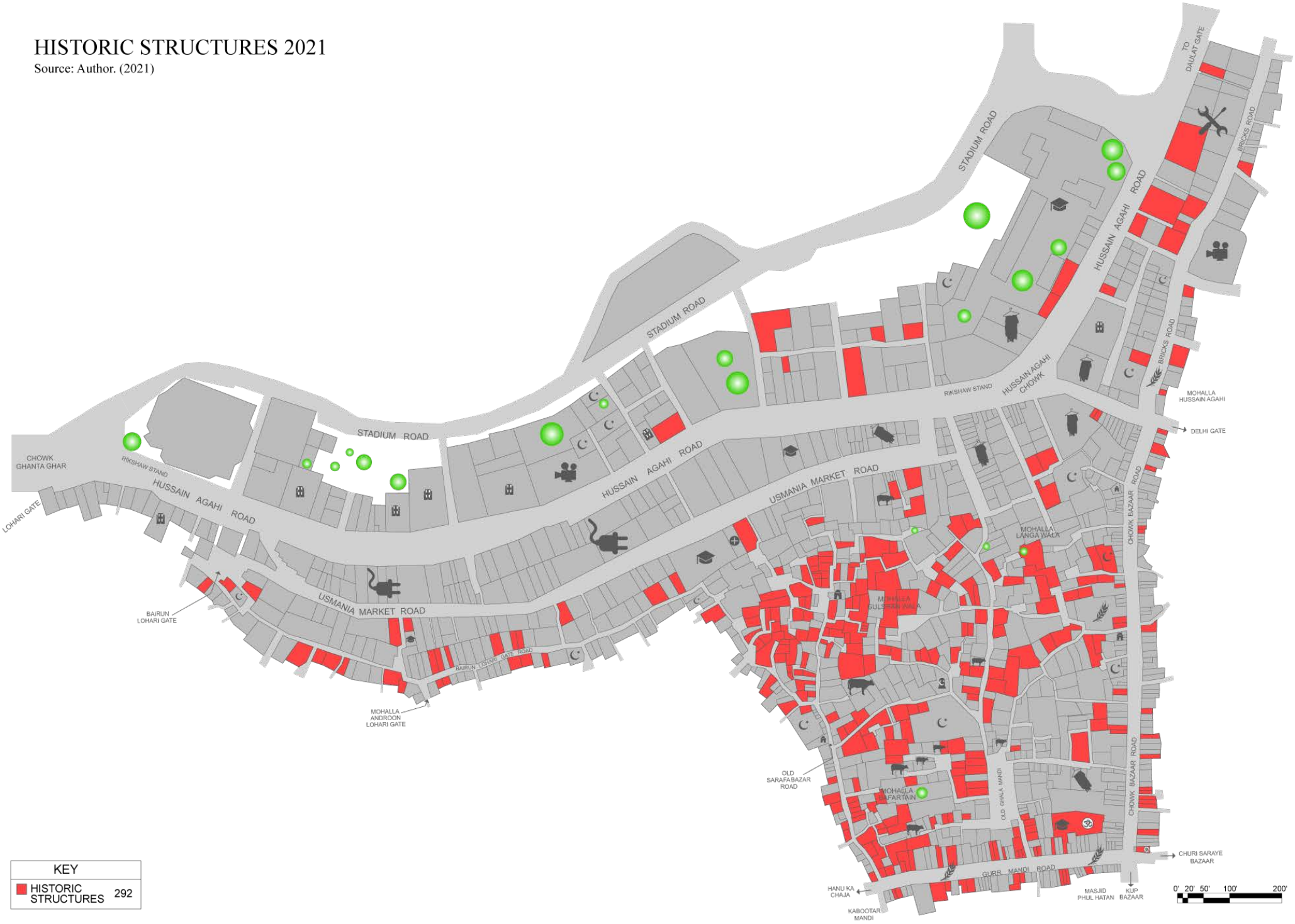
HISTORIC STRUCTURES 2016

Source: Author. (2016), Revitalizing Chowk Bazaar Multan
Lahore: National College of Arts



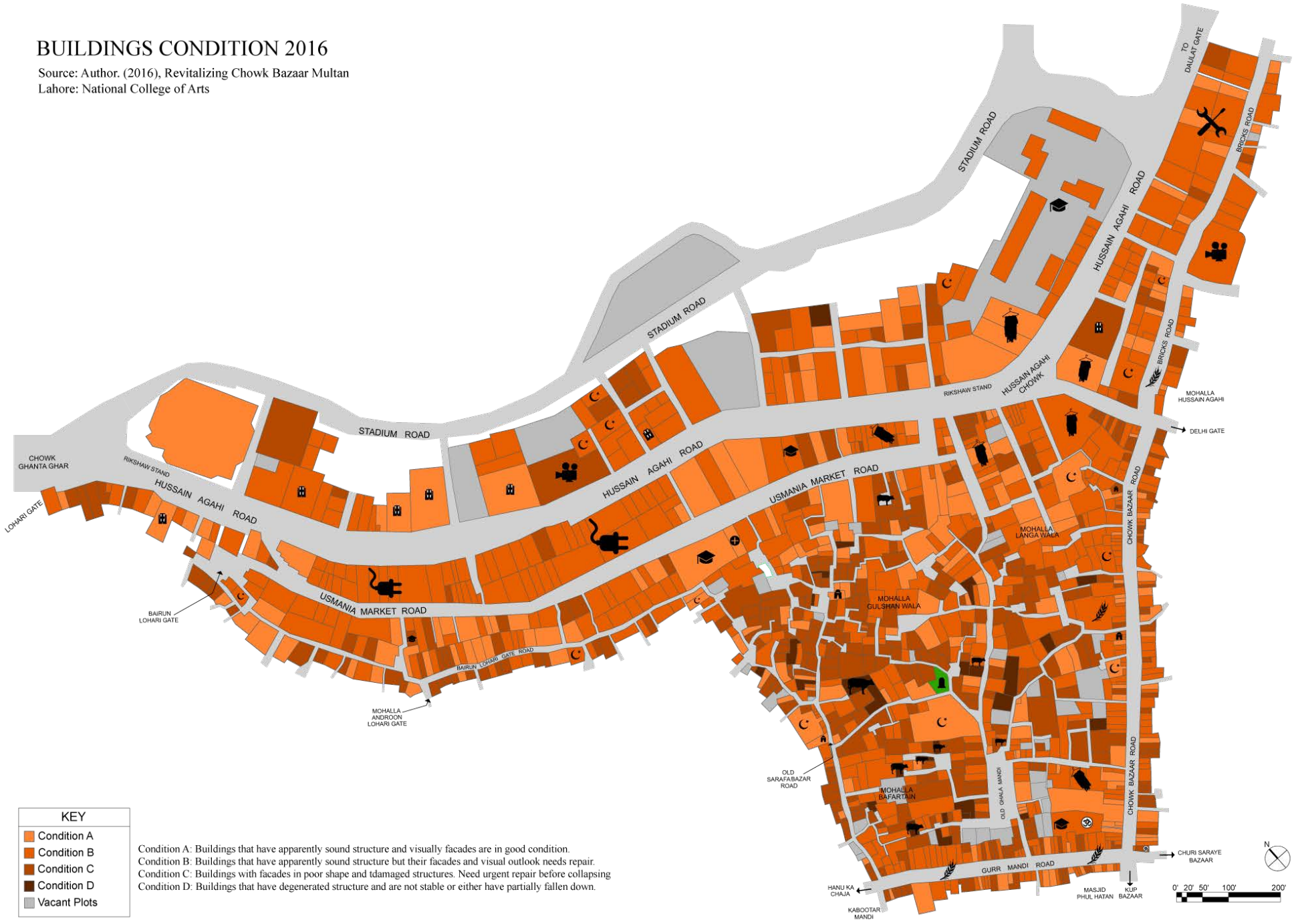
HISTORIC STRUCTURES 2021

Source: Author. (2021)



BUILDINGS CONDITION 2016

Source: Author. (2016), Revitalizing Chowk Bazaar Multan
Lahore: National College of Arts

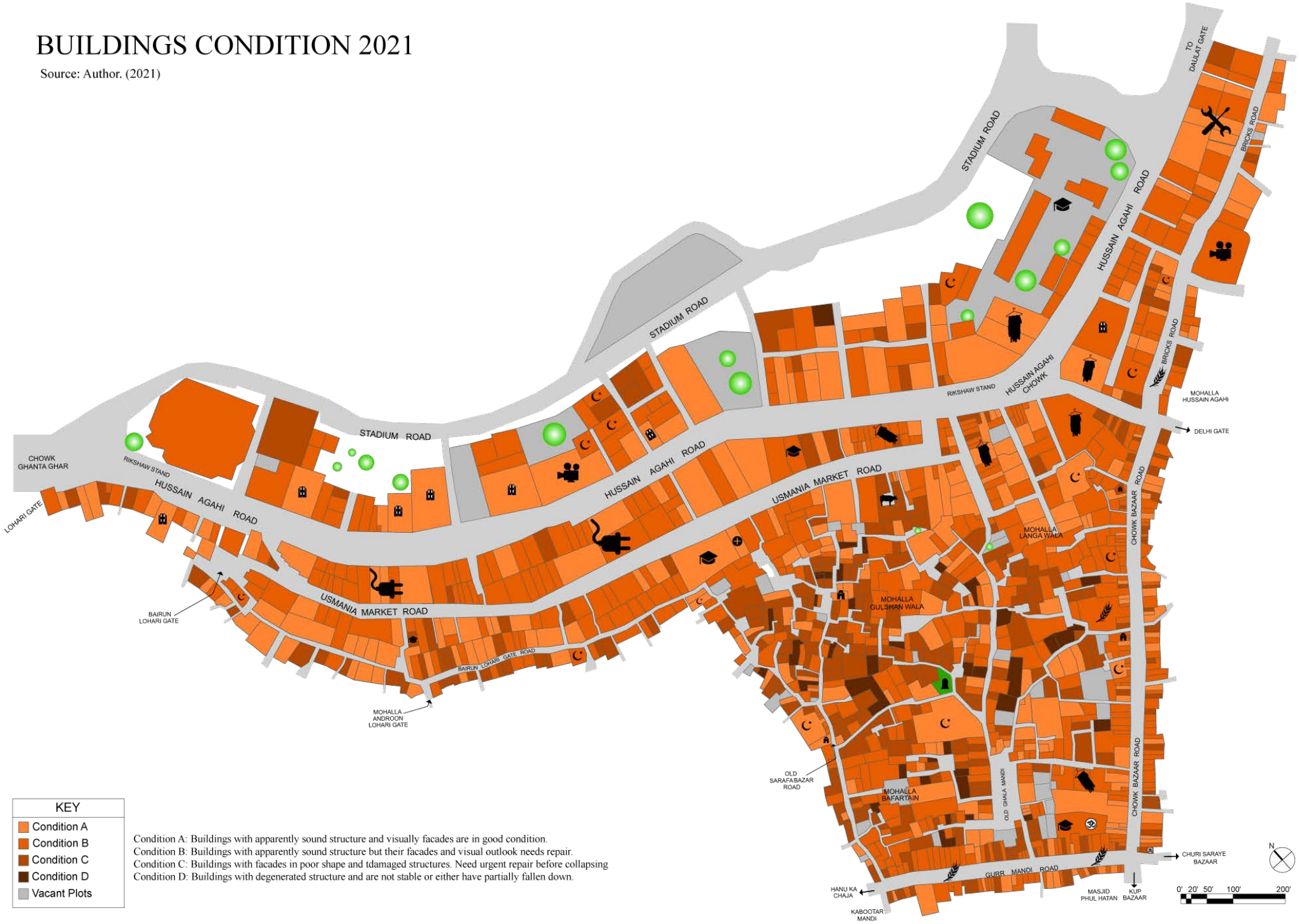


KEY
Condition A
Condition B
Condition C
Condition D
Vacant Plots

Condition A: Buildings that have apparently sound structure and visually facades are in good condition.
Condition B: Buildings that have apparently sound structure but their facades and visual outlook needs repair.
Condition C: Buildings with facades in poor shape and tdamaged structures. Need urgent repair before collapsing
Condition D: Buildings that have degenerated structure and are not stable or either have partially fallen down.

BUILDINGS CONDITION 2021

Source: Author. (2021)



KEY
Condition A
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Condition A: Buildings with apparently sound structure and visually facades are in good condition.
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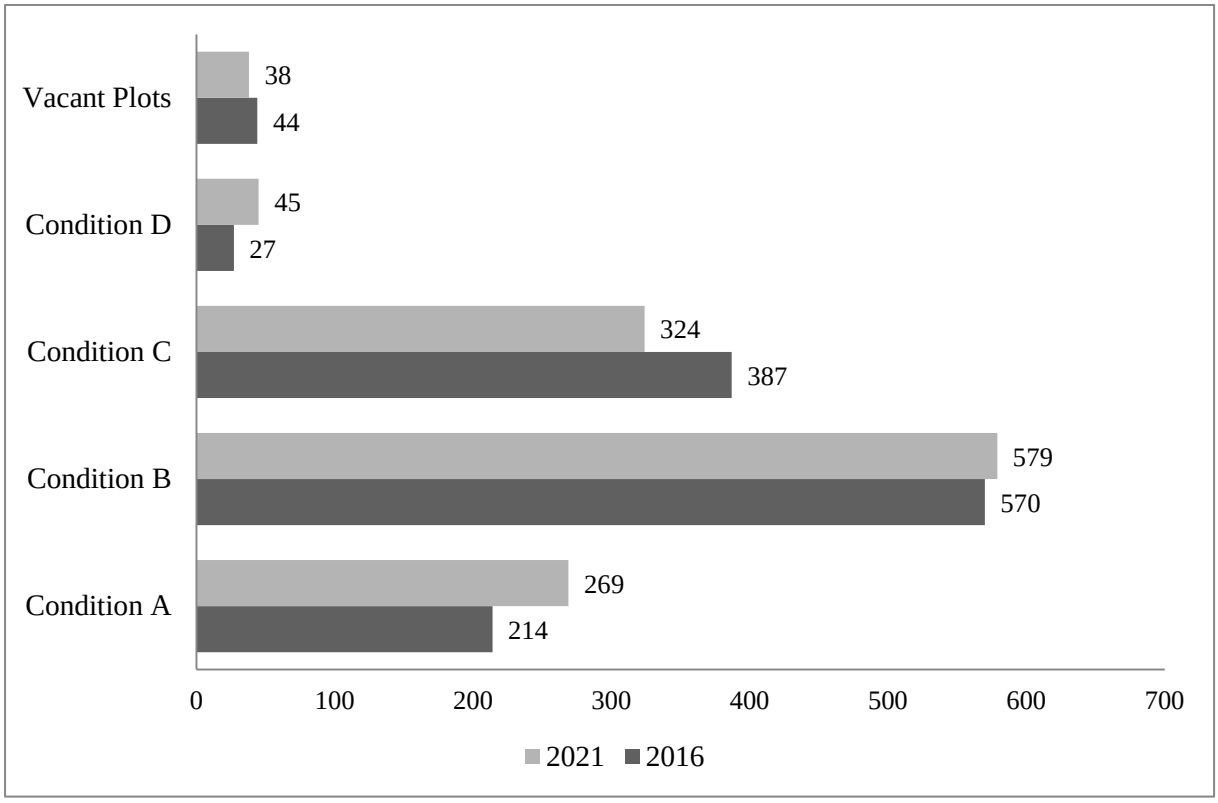
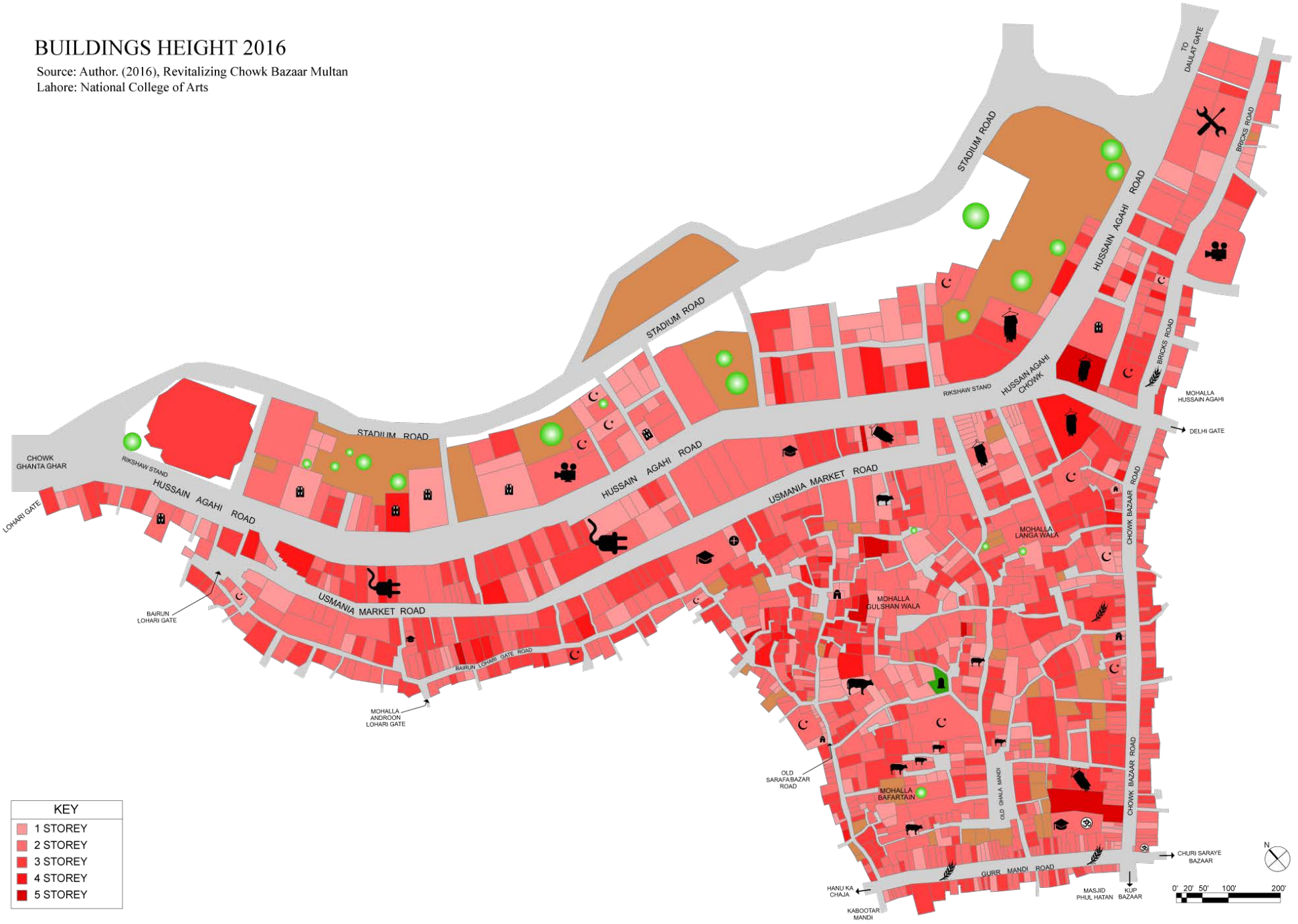


Chart 8: Buildings condition in 2016 & 2021. Source: Author

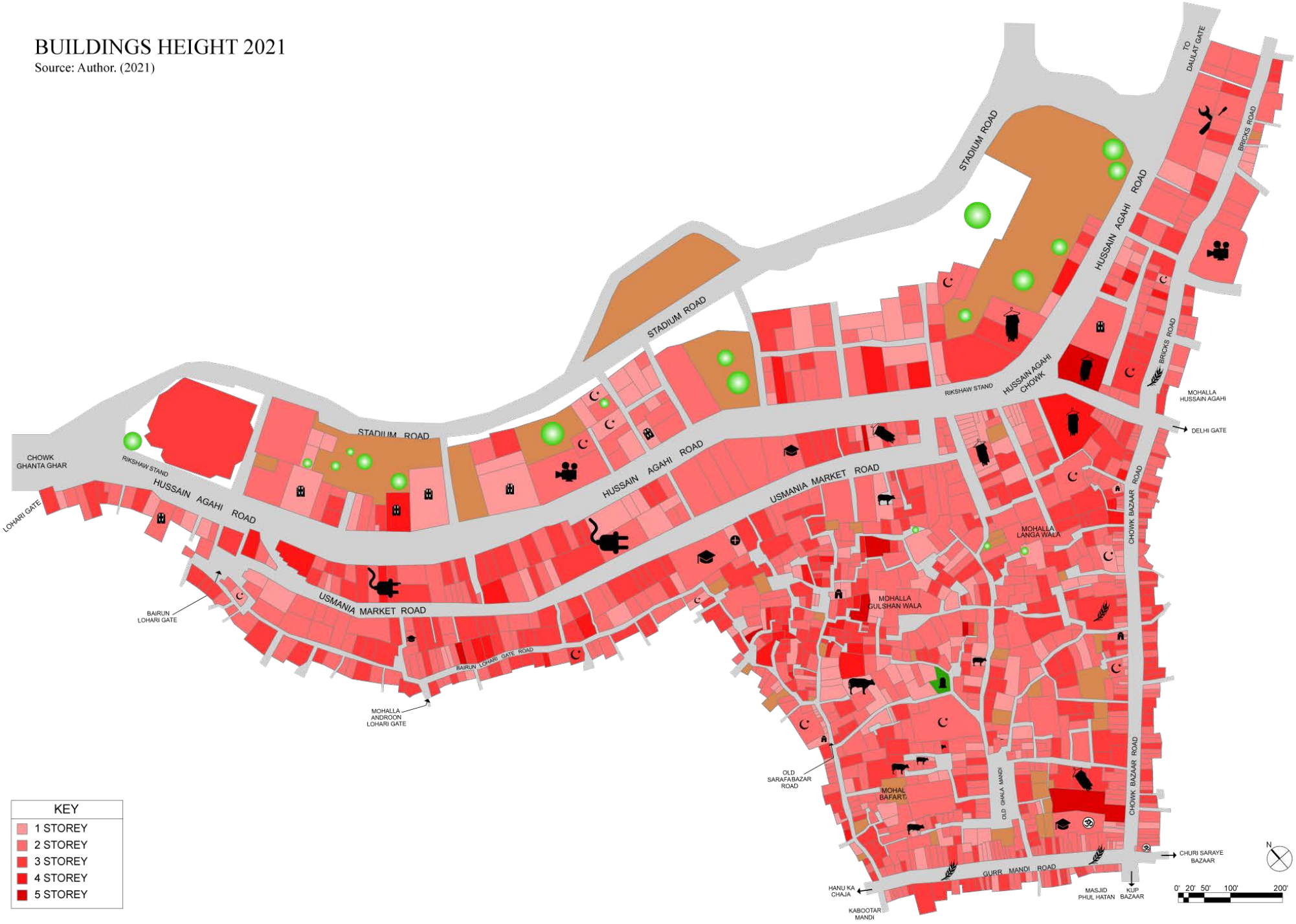
BUILDINGS HEIGHT 2016

Source: Author. (2016), Revitalizing Chowk Bazaar Multan
Lahore: National College of Arts



BUILDINGS HEIGHT 2021

Source: Author. (2021)



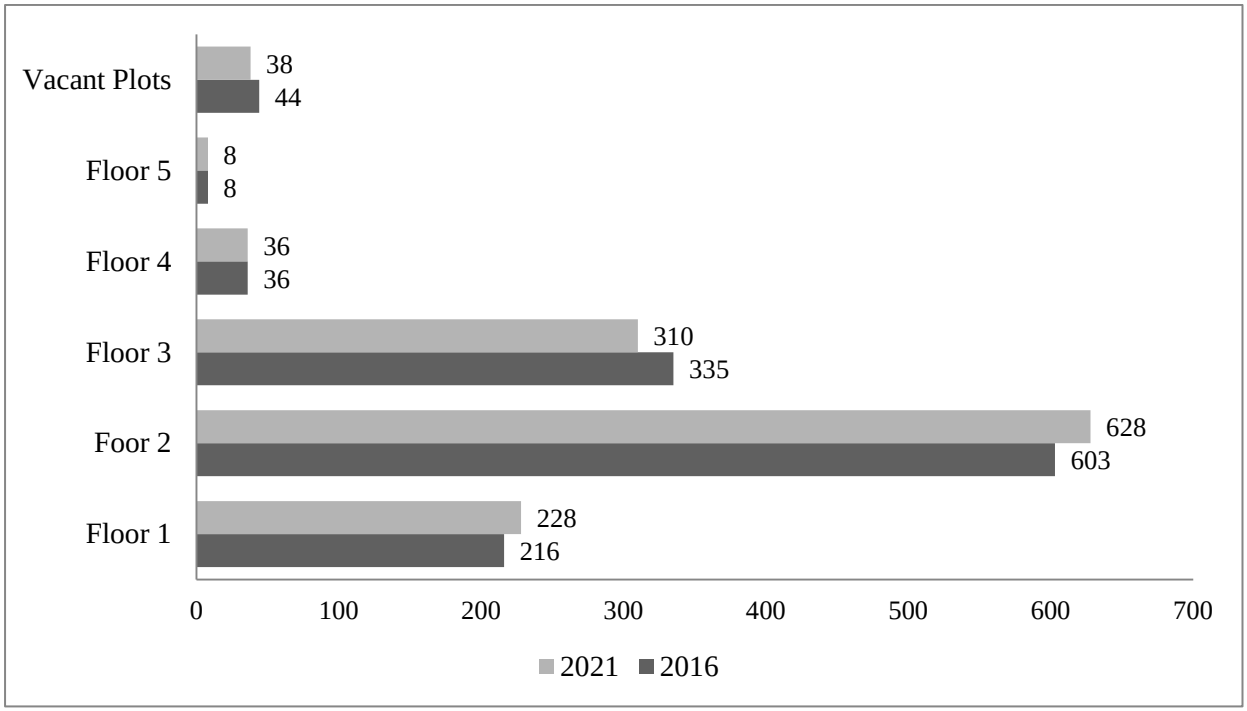
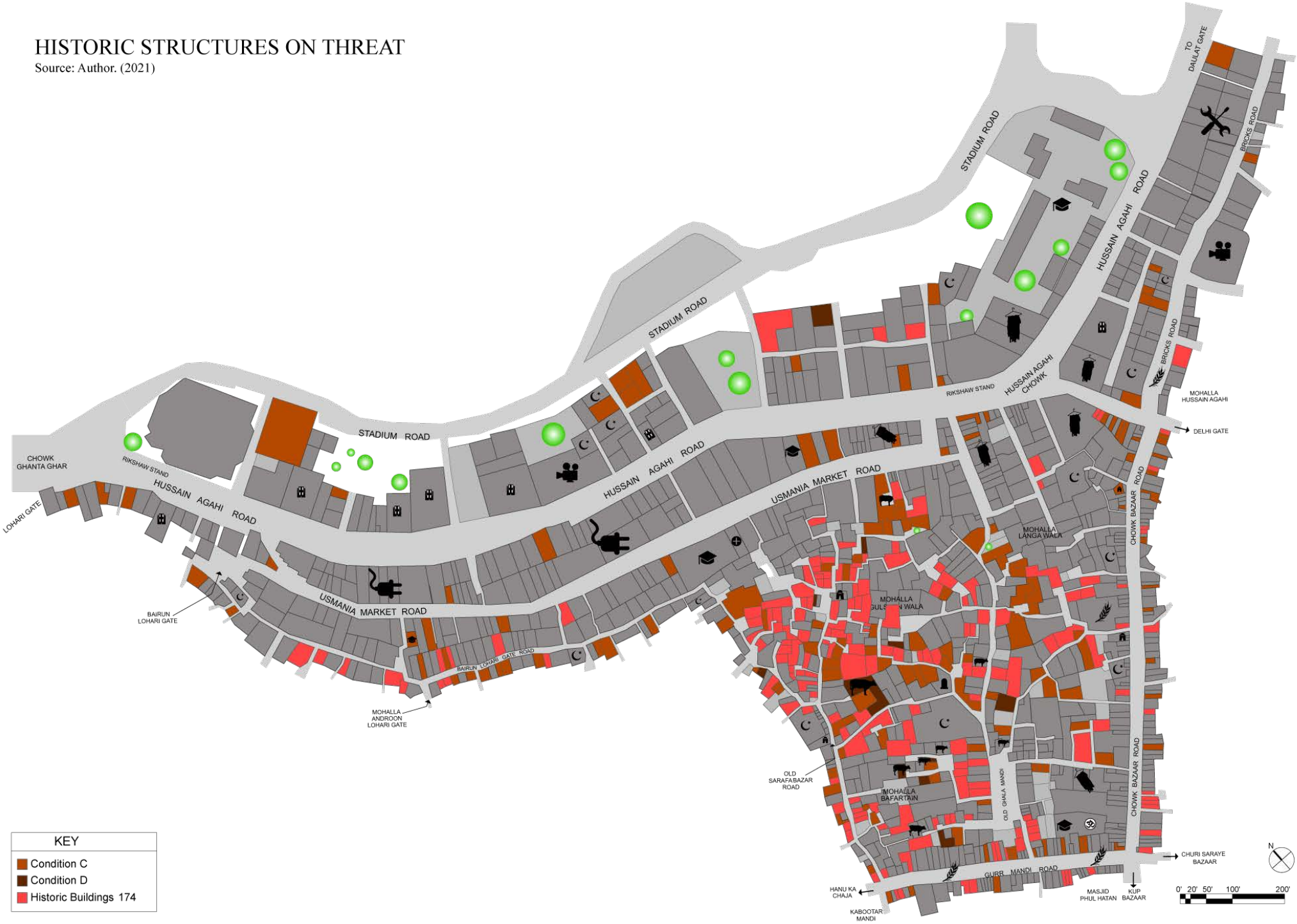


Chart 9: Buildings height in 2016 & 2021. Source: Author

HISTORIC STRUCTURES ON THREAT

Source: Author. (2021)



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