ROLE OF BIRADARI SYSTEM IN POWER POLITICS
OF LAHORE: POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

A thesis submitted for candidature of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Muhammad Ibrahim

2009

Department of Political Science & International Relations
Bahauddin Zakariya University

MULTAN
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The idea to initiate research on biradari politics of Lahore is given by Dr. Khalid Aftab, the Vice Chancellor Government College University Lahore. I thank him for setting me on this path. He always encouraged me and continually guided me in spite of his heavy official responsibilities. I owe a great debt of gratitude to him.

I owe an inestimable debt of gratitude to Professor Francis Robinson, Royal Holloway College University of London. He is so kind, generous and encouraging who actually trimmed me and my research on right path. He spared ample time for me even of his very busy schedule and after every meeting with him I felt a new energy and enthusiasm in myself.

I have deep regards for my supervisor Professor Ishtiaq Ahmed Chaudhry. He continually guided me. His valuable advice helped me in giving a final shape to the thesis.

I am fortunate to find friends at London whose support in initiating my research is a great worth to me. Dr Avril Powell (SOAS), Markus Daechsel (Royal Holloway College), Yasmin Khan (Royal Holloway College), Amna Khalid (Oxford), Ravindar Kaur and Justine Taylor (archivist, Honourable Artillery Company). Many thanks to them for their long discussions and listening patiently to my research work at the cafeteria of British Library London. I would like to express my deep regards for Professor Gilmartin, Ian Talbot and Mathew Nelson those gave me new ideas and approach towards the study of biradari politics.

Colleagues in the History Department at Government College University Lahore my thanks to: Dr. Tahir Kamran (Head Deptt. of History), Dr. Farhat Mehmood (Former Head of the Deptt. of History and the senior visiting Professor), Hussain Ahmed Khan, Tahir Jamil, Waheed Usmani and Professor Mehmood Bazmi (Punjabi Deptt). The staff of India Office Library (London) helped me much and my special thanks to Mr. John and Zulfiqar Bokhari.

For support in Lahore, my thanks to: Adrees Hanif (Naib Nazim, Lahore Municipal Corporation), Professor Aslam Tariq, Dr Alam Khan, Shoab Khurram, (Superintendent of Police), Khashnood Khan, (LCM – He died during my research), Anwar Kadhai, (Daily Jang), Shafique Mirza (Daily Jang), Naeem Mustafa (Daily Jinnah), Yaseen Mughal and most important Omar Misbhaur Rehman

For hospitality and companionship in London my thanks to: Saddique Akbar, Imran Bashir, Munir Marth, Katie Hyman, John Hyman, Ali Zaman and Mahaesh.

I am thankful to The Higher Education Commission of Pakistan in sponsoring me for my research study at Royal Holloway College University of London.
Finally I would like to express my sincere thanks to my wife Asma Magsi and daughters, Nashmia, Ghania and Bakhtawar those suffered greatly because of my absence from Pakistan. Particularly my daughters tolerated my eight months separation at very early age.
Contents

Acknowledgement ..............................................................................................................................................

Chapters

I. Short Abstract ...........................................................................................................................................(i)

II. Introduction ..............................................................................................................................................1

III. Imposition of colonial rule and the making of the biradari system in 19th century Punjab
.........................................................................................................................................................14

IV. The emergence of the public sphere and how the biradaris interact with it
   (A) The emergence of the public sphere ..............................................................................................52.
   (B) The biradaris and their engagements with the public sphere.

V. Displacement and Development: The challenge of refugee settlement and the biradari response from 1947-1970
.........................................................................................................................................................85

VI. The challenge of industrialization and the biradari response 1947-1999
.............................................................................................................................................................112

VII. Living in the City: The challenge of massive urban growth and the biradari response 1947-1999
............................................................................................................................................................141

VIII. Conclusion ..........................................................................................................................................181
A closer look at the history of colonial and post-colonial Punjab reveals that in the context of Pakistan, the study of power politics has assumed added significance as it provides an explicit example of manipulation of power through biradaris. It shows a situation in which biradaris are used as a tool of manipulation of political authority with which to compete for control over scarce resources and the remnants of colonial rule. In Pakistan’s political history this area has received scant attention. Power politics, if ever studied, is only dealt with at a macro level by emphasizing the role of military, bureaucratic elites and politicians represented by landlords. It would not be out of place here to look at a biradari in such a way as enables us properly to compare it with a tribe or a caste, etc.

Biradari (literally meaning ‘brotherhood’) is the most important kinship system in Pakistan. The present study intends to analyse how the Colonial Raj defined and re-defined local identities which subsequently formulated the power configuration in post-colonial societies with particular reference to Lahore. The importance of the biradari as the organizing principle of social life is so well recognized that it is seen as a gate-keeping concept in relation to the social anthropology of the Pakistani Punjab. The Punjab, and particularly Lahore, has gone through a conspicuous demographic transformation in the aftermath of Partition in 1947. Before Partition, Lahore was almost an ideally typical colonial city and during that period the economic base of Lahore, like the rest of the Punjab, was in
agriculture. The agricultural interests were the foremost concern of the city’s politics. But at the end of colonial rule, the accumulated results of British policies and administrative departments that were established in Lahore after the annexation of Punjab in 1849 have changed the original rural outlook of Lahore dramatically to an urban view. In addition to this, the painful aspect of Partition for both India and Pakistan was the huge demographic upheaval. This created the single biggest refugee movement in history which produced a huge influx of refugees into Lahore. After 1947, the newly-settled biradaris gave a new focus to the district’s power politics. The researcher believes through analysis and evidence that the biradari system has been one of the major factors influencing every election which has taken place since 1947 and the biradari system is still playing a very important role in the economic and political life of Lahore.

The old agricultural colonial Lahore is still growing fast and has developed from a small provincial town into one of the largest cities of the world. The population of Lahore city as the census of 1941 showed was no more than 672,000 inhabitants while the 1991 census placed Lahore’s population at seven million. According to the 2006 census, Lahore's population is expected to top 10 million.

In contemporary Punjab the hierarchal structure of the caste system is plainly breaking down to some extent – but in politics, the significance of caste has increased rather than declined.
Biradarism in post-partition Lahore (1947-1999) is primarily a colonial product and the post-colonial state continued to use the existing ‘over-developed’ state structure that protected, projected and entrenched the biradaris in this system of power. Therefore this study is based on the hypothesis that the dominant biradaris, like Arains and Kashmiris have played an important role in the power politics of Lahore during the post-partition period. These biradaris were used by the governments mostly as organs of control to protect and project their vested interests.

The first chapter deals with the introduction about the concept of biradari system. It also describes the origin of the biradari system and the workings of biradris in the district of Lahore. The researcher has tried to explain biradari as “a system of mutual protection”. It also explains the introduction of the thesis and all relevant research questions are being discussed in detail.

The second chapter deals with the imposition of colonial rule and the making of the biradari system in 19th century Punjab. The researcher has elaborated the circumstances leading to the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. It also describes the administrative structure of the colonial rule. Land revenue and settlement process is explained in detail.

The researcher has also tried to explain the customary laws which were adopted by the colonial rulers in Punjab and more particularly in Lahore.
The researcher has also discussed in detail how the British dealt with *Jagirdars*, the landed gentry during Ranjit Singh era. The method to control was devised rationally introducing certain administrative policies. The British tried to exercise enough control to create more effective linkage between the apparatus of colonial rule and the masses of the ruled. Securing support of the local elites, whose collaboration became vital for the safeguard of the colonial interests, the British had granted considerable autonomy to the villages through the co-option of influential men in the villages and the locality. The co-option procedure was initiated through *lumberdars, Zaildars, ala-lumberdars, Honorary Magistrates* and Municipal Committeemen. They were all collaborators to make colonial rule more effective and acceptable. The researcher has elaborated the establishment of *Zaildari* & *ala-lumberdari* systems. Honorary Magistrates & Municipal Committeemen were also appointed in the Lahore city. All the above mentioned collaborators were appointed from the respective *biradaris* of the particular area. In this way *biradari* system was strengthened. The researcher has also discussed the Land Alienation Act 1901 which also strengthened the control of the landed authority for colonial rulers.

In the third chapter the researcher has explained the causes of emergence of the public sphere and how the *biradaris* interact with it. This chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part it has discussed the policies that were implemented by the colonial rulers. The researcher has evaluated in detail how these policies generated public sphere among the people of Lahore. Educational institutions
(western-style education), Judicial functions, Presence of Europeans, Canal colonies (Upper Bari Doab), Construction of Railways, Mian Meer Cantonment have been discussed very plainly. Health & sanitation policy and establishment of sanitation committees are also elaborated in detail. Besides this, missionary's activities are also discussed in detail.

In the second part of the chapter it is discussed that what kind of impact was generated by these policies and how the new social classes and the associational behaviour was created. The factors contributing to the development of the political consciousness are elaborated in detail. The development of the press, newspapers etc is also elaborated. The formation of Unionist Party and the elections of 1937 and 1946 are also discussed. The biradari participation in these elections in Lahore is also elaborated. The emergence of Lahore as a modern city and as a social and distinctive milieu, shaped under British rule is discussed.

In the forth chapter the challenge of refugee settlement and the biradari response from 1947-1970 is discussed. New boundaries and structures of Lahore district after Partition is evaluated. The rehabilitation and placement of refugees in Lahore along with demographic and social structure is discussed in detail. Settlement of refugees and the impact of migration are also discussed in detail. Emergence of new families and their role in biradari politics after 1947 is evaluated and role of biradaris in power politics of Lahore is examined.
The fifth chapter deals with the challenge of industrialization and the biradari response from 1947-1999. Growth of small industry and firm mode industrialization in Lahore is discussed in detail. New opportunities and new social structure is discussed. How the biradaris have benefited in this process is also described in detail. Intellectual growth and social change in Lahore is explained and how the Thara politics trend emerged in Lahore is examined in detail.

In chapter six the challenge of massive urban growth and the biradari responses from 1947-1999 is discussed in detail. The causes of urbanization and its impacts and the emergence of kachi abadis (poor houses) are elaborated thoroughly. The role of overseas Pakistanis in biradari politics of Lahore city is discussed. The major biradaris such as Arains, Kashmirs, kakeyzais Kambhoos and many others of Lahore district are also discussed. More particularly their role in power politics of Lahore is also examined in detail.

In the final chapter it is concluded that how the biradaris are playing important role in power politics of Lahore. It is concluded how the biradari system has been one of the major factors influencing every election which has taken place since 1947 and the biradari system is still playing a very important role in the economic and political life of Lahore.
Chapter: 1

Introduction

The phrase ‘power politics’ has gained wide currency particularly in developing countries where the political system is being devised by institutional authority. The phenomenon of a personalization of power combined with socio-economic underdevelopment creates inequitable distribution of resources and allows various power-elites to develop. Various social groups like biradaris, kinship and caste alliances manipulate and control this phenomenon of power politics.

*Biradarism* in post-partition Lahore (1947-1999) is primarily a colonial product and the post-colonial state has continued to use the existing ‘over-developed’ state structure that protected, projected and entrenched the biradaris in this system of power. Therefore this study is based on the hypothesis that the dominant biradaris, like Arains and Kashmiris has played an important role in the power politics of Lahore during the post-partition period. These biradaris were used by the governments mostly as organs of control to protect and project their vested interests.

Before going into the dynamics of power politics and role of biradaris in Lahore, it would be pertinent to define the term ‘power-politics’. The English term ‘power politics’ is derived from the German word *Machtpolitik* that means a state of international relations in which sovereigns protect their own interests by
threatening one another with military, economic, or political aggression. Power politics is essentially a way of understanding the world of international relations: nations compete for the world's resources and it is to a nation's advantage to be manifestly able to harm others. It prioritizes national self-interest over the interest of other nations or the international community. It means that the study of power would be applied to any kind of political system at micro or macro level, particularly in the context of dominance hegemony and subordination. And this very approach to the politics is actually based on the study of power and force relations, which implies that everyone has a desire to be powerful, as much as possible. The study of these power relations is crucial for arriving at a better understanding of political system particularly of the Third World countries.

Power politics is of two types. Public power politics refers to power related efforts to influence, regulate or control activities or policies that concern the larger community and its governance. The other, personal power politics involves people seeking and using power to advance their self-defined interests within family, work place and other non-official or official social settings. Hence the concept of power politics implies two connotations, (a) Domestic and (b) International.

In domestic sense it refers to the state of affairs where local power elites compete with each other for the sake of power. In doing so they employ various tactics such as political bargaining, coercion, pressure, co-operation,
containment through various social groups i.e. *biradaris*, caste and kinship alliances and state power. In broader or international sense it denotes the state of affairs where nations compete for world’s resources and prioritises national interest over the interest of other nations or the international community.

A closer look at the history of colonial and post-colonial Punjab reveals that in the context of Pakistan, the study of power politics has assumed added significance as it provides an explicit example of manipulation of power through *biradaris*. It shows a situation in which *biradaris* are used as a tool of manipulation of political authority with which to compete for control over scarce resources and the remnants of colonial rule. In Pakistan’s political history this area has received scant attention. Power politics, if ever studied, is only dealt with at a macro level by emphasizing the role of military, bureaucratic elites and politicians represented by landlords. It would not be out of place here to look at a *biradari* in such a way that enables us properly to compare it with a tribe or a caste, etc.

*Biradari* (literally meaning ‘brotherhood’) is the most important kinship system in Pakistan. Hamza Alavi has elaborated the *biradari* significance in its most basic meaning, “the descent group, the *biradari*, includes in principal all those between whom actual links of common descent can be traced in paternal line, regardless of the number of generations that have elapsed.”¹ David Gilmartin noted, “Indeed despite clear pre-colonial origins, the term *biradari* gained increasingly

---

common political currency in the twentieth century, reflecting the contradictions inherent in the structure of the colonial state….the language of biradari – suggesting reciprocal relationships forged through political transactions – thus allowed villagers and local village leaders to penetrate into the larger bureaucratic and political arenas outside, whilst maintaining the inner essence of their own struggles for status within the village context.”2 Zekiye Eglar has expressed it as a patrilineage whereby “all men can trace their relationship to a common ancestor”, no matter how remote, they may belong to the same biradari3. However, both Eglar and Hamza Alvi have pointed out that the term is not very precise as it can also be used to describe other relationships and groupings of people.

A biradari is a group of families who are blood relations and who are, generally speaking, living in a community or in neighbouring villages. It is larger than a social group that is composed of many families. The members of a biradari may not be residing at one place or village. The biradari is, mostly, endogamous i.e. marriage can only take place within the same biradari. The informal moves and customs of a biradari are very rigid and each member is expected to follow them. Conflict, competition and co-operation all these processes go hand in hand with a biradari. ‘Biradari ties have been weaker among village service groups (kamins) whose households are dependent on village land controllers. Similarly large

---

3 Zekiye Eglar, “A Punjabi Village in Pakistan – Perspectives on Community, Land, and Economy”. The OUP publication, vol II page 58-70
landlord have tended to be less susceptible to biradai influence locally than smallholders, but have developed in some cases more geographically extensive biradari networks, rooted in more widely dispersed marriage patterns and in broader networks of communication.4

In rural Punjab, for example, the term can be used not only to the kinship groups of the zamindars or landowners but also to signify the different occupational groups. The individuals of the lower biradaris also try to acquire a higher position due to the desire for power and privileges. Furthermore, there can be numerous micro biradaris within a macro biradari (i.e. Jats). The term biradari is also often used interchangeably with such words as ‘quam’ (tribe or nation) and ‘zat’ (caste).

Bernard Cohn has elaborated extensively the development of a “Colonial sociology” based on structures of British political and administrative control. British India as an amalgamation of local communities proved bedrock for intellectual and administrative control and British used census surveys and classification of castes, tribes, languages and religions to help to lay the foundations for their power.5 Clive Dewey has also described the development of

---

evolutionary social theory in Punjab in the late nineteenth century as defining, “the dazzling vision of a science of government.”

The present study intends to analyze how the Colonial Raj defined and redefined local identities which subsequently formulated the power configuration in post-colonial societies with particular reference to Lahore. The importance of the biradari as the organizing principle of social life is so well recognized that it is seen as a gate-keeping concept in relation to the social anthropology of the Pakistani Punjab. Before Partition, Lahore was almost an ideally typical colonial city and during that period the economic base of Lahore, like the rest of the Punjab, was in agriculture, and agricultural interests were the foremost concern of the city’s politics. Subsequently the accumulative results of the British policies and the administrative departments that were established in Lahore after the annexation of Punjab in 1849 have changed the original rural outlook of Lahore dramatically to an urban view. In addition to this, the painful aspect of Partition for both India and Pakistan was the huge demographic upheaval. This created the single biggest refugee movement in history which produced a huge influx of refugees into Lahore. The Punjab, and particularly Lahore, has gone through a conspicuous demographic transformation in the aftermath of Partition in 1947. After 1947, the newly-settled biradaris gave a new focus to the district’s power politics. The researcher believes through analysis and evidence that the biradari system has been one of the major factors influencing every election which has

---

taken place since 1947 and the *biradari* system is still playing a very important role in the economic and political life of Lahore. The old agricultural colonial Lahore is still growing fast and has developed from a small provincial town into one of the greatest cities of the world. The population of Lahore city as the census of 1941 showed was no more than 672,000 inhabitants while the 1991 census placed Lahore’s population at seven million. According to the 2006 census, Lahore’s population is expected to top 10 million. It is the second largest city in Pakistan, after Karachi. Lahore is the fifth largest city in South Asia and the twenty-third largest city in the world. Lahore has many faces: the administrative headquarters of the Punjab, an international market place, a city of scholars, poets and saints, a city of gardens and the centre of educational institutions. Moreover, since independence in 1947, Pakistani society and the caste system have changed considerably, though unevenly, in both rural and urban areas. In contemporary Punjab the hierarchal structure of the caste system is plainly breaking down to some extent – but in politics, the significance of caste has increased rather than declined.

The formation of *biradari* and the emergence of various *biradari* status groups and dynamics of landholding are the historical phenomenon that came into existence at certain stage of social development. Traditionally the castes and *biradaris* have been connected with vegetable growing and dairying. Recently, gradually they have been entering into other occupations like large scale business, semi professionals, politics, white-collar jobs, small scale business,
skilled jobs and unskilled works etc. Despite shifting towards diversifying occupations they have their active biradaris. My study of biradari system covered the origin and development of the status groups among Lahore after 1947. The aim of this study is to narrow down the focus of the research from a macro level to a micro level, i.e. from national to district politics. I have chosen the Lahore Metropolitan area in order to bring into focus the role of biradaris in power politics and to elaborate the specific understanding of local ‘values,’ local ‘interests,’ and local ‘customs’.

The Lahore district is selected for analysis because during British colonial rule a district was the basic unit of the governmental structure. The revenue settlements were made district by district, all reports were initially compiled on a district basis and systematic preparation and publication of district gazetteers were made. The Lahore district was also the provincial headquarter where policies were formulated at a higher level and translated into action throughout the Punjab.

Punjab, particularly Lahore, has gone through a conspicuous demographic transformation in the aftermath of Partition. The newly-settled biradaris gave a new focus to the power politics. The state deliberately has played an architect’s role in the development of power politics within the Lahore metropolis and accommodated the various biradaris in this new power structure in favour of the state’s own objectives, partially neglecting the existing political parties.
The principal *biradaris* of the district of Lahore are ---- *Arains, Kashmiris, Kakeyzais Kambohs, Jats, Rajputs, Syeds, Pathans, Mughals, Sheikhs, Moes* and *Gujars*. Refugees of the *biradaris* from East Punjab who settled in this district also belonged to these *biradaris*. The British Raj carried the policy of patronizing the *biradaris* to win the loyalties of the local chiefs by favouring and honouring them with rewards and awards. The persons who were given the government jobs were mostly the influential people of their respective *biradaris*. In every election especially from 1920 to 1946, *biradaris* were given utmost importance. While drawing electoral constituencies, British deliberately attempted to attach rural areas with a chunk of urban lands so that the local landlords could control the urban centers. They minimized the urban constituencies, and intentionally increased the number of rural constituencies to outweigh the emerging middle class in the cities. Those who contested from urban centers were not allowed to contest from a rural constituency. Such policies strengthened the role of *biradaris* in the power politics of colonial South Asia in which rural Ashrafia (elite) were preferred over the urban elites. In the elections of 1946, the British officials made it a policy to consider the *biradaris* and property of the candidates while determining eligibility. So the candidates of influential families were preferred.

The researcher believes through analysis and evidences that the *biradari* system has been one of the major factors influencing all the elections right from the independence to date. The impact of the division on the basis of *biradari* appeared to be stronger than the usual impact of other social economic and
political factors. The problem under study will be to dig out as to why *biradari* system has always been the major impact despite the apparent growth of education and other factors. These factors under normal circumstances should have been predominantly be gaining more value than the so-called primitive *biradari* system. The researcher has tried to seek answer to the question whether the predominance of the *biaradari* system is only social/psychological or it has also something relating to the economic factors via ownership of land and property.

**Objective of the study**

This thesis aims at narrowing down the focus of study from macro level to micro level i.e. from national to district politics. I have chosen Lahore Metropolitan in order to bring into focus the role of *biaradari* in power politics of Lahore as it suitably fits into the entire spectrum of power politics and role of *biradaris*. Following are the main objectives of the study:

a. To highlight the role of each *biaraderi* in the power structure.

b. To see and analyze the representation of various *biraderis* in the possible avenues of power structure.

c. To describe the role of *biradars* in the Center and the Punjab in the electoral politics.

d. To explain the relationship of industrialization and economic development with power politics entrenched in *biradarism*. 

e. To study the state structure (Bureaucracy and Military) as protector of biradaris in the power politics.

**Research Questions:**

It has been tried to answer the following questions:

a) How did biradaris play a dominant role in politics?

b) How did Arains and Kashmiries influence the power politics and how did they serve the role of state as client?

c) What were the interests of the state behind the patronage of these biradaris.

d) Whether the dominance of biradaris is a socio-psychological phenomenon or something to do with their economic clout?

e) To what extent biradari politics has been influenced by socio-economic transformation and urbanization.

f) What was the input of migrants on power politics revolving around biradaris

g) What is the relationship between power politics and role of political parties?

h) Is there any continuity between the role of biradari in power politics of Lahore in colonial period and post independent period?
Research Methodology

In order to trace out the role of this traditional system in the context of political elections in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, following methodology was adopted:

a. Data about all the federal and provincial elections is collected and then analyzed and classified in order to understand all the aspects of biradari influence, direct as well indirect.

b. The data about local / municipality elections is acquired because these elections have reflected the highest possible influence of biradari system as the size of constituencies in these elections is comparatively small.

c. Retired politicians of Lahore are interviewed as an endeavour to have eyewitness account of the politics of Lahore in the past.

d. Some politicians, at present active are also interviewed, so that the current influence on elections and politics could be understood and analyzed on this basis.

e. Newspapers also comprise an important source. Professional journalists are interviewed.

f. Another important source to see the role of biradari may be the discourse of election campaign conducted by various seasoned politicians, and how did the locals respond to these developments. Significant portion of my primary data is based on the interviews of general public, which is very instrumental in determining the influence of biradari system in the post-partition Lahore. Local people’s views cannot also be overlooked.
g. Survey Performa was developed in order to obtain the opinion about the matter under discussion from the public in general belonging to various constituencies of Lahore.

h. Some families from different groups were taken for study. The rationale behind the selection of a cluster was the assumption that a number of group activities like marriage, kinship and lineage which over all effect the collective life can best be exemplified in compact situation.

i. Collection of information through an individual and in a group situation was adopted.

j. The additional information is gathered through observation, conversation, personal contacts and through participation in *biradari* meetings.

k. The above mentioned steps were taken in addition to the endeavour made by going through Land Settlement Reports, Land Distribution and Census reports, various relevant books, journals and research reports, available in the libraries in Pakistan, British Library in London and the other sources like personal libraries of scholars.
Chapter: 2

Imposition of colonial rule and the making of the biradari system in 19th century Punjab.

The Punjab was the largest area which finally incorporated in British India through a military conquest and annexed in 1849. The Lahore district was one of the twenty seven districts into which the British had initially divided the Punjab. Lahore being an provincial administrative unit of 3600 square miles having some 700,000 people divided was among castes, tribes and biradaris, three major religious communities and rural and urban settings.

The British rule requires an examination of the structures of power through which the British controlled the Punjab. The primary goal of the colonial rule was to maintain law and order and to collect revenue. The British rule formulated and implemented certain policies to maintain their rule and devised the system of authority and as a result social change occurred throughout Punjab and more particularly in Lahore district. The imposition and maintenance of the British rule brought considerable social change in existing traditional political and social order. The change was towards all directions which altered the existing pattern of life. The policies which were adopted, the institutions which were established and the persons who controlled the helm of affairs in different capacities participated in bringing the social change.
The administrative organizational setup which the British devised in Punjab was based on various factors which contributed towards its success in the mid 19th century. The British were the experienced colonial administrators with good knowledge of Indian conditions and Punjab was the last annexed area where the policies were adopted more skillfully. The administration was modeled after the system of rule that developed in India some hundred years before and sensible policies were drafted and implemented.

Baden Powell noted:

“The greatest part of the province came under British revenue administration after the settlement system of Upper India had taken a definite shape. The Punjab, therefore, escaped those first years of tentative revenue-arrangements – farming systems harsh sale laws – which were productive of such unforeseen and mischievous results in other provinces”.¹

The presence of well-trained and able British officials like Lawrence brothers, D. F. McLeod, Robert Napier, Robert Montgomery, Richard Temple and many junior officials was an important factor of successfully establishing the Punjab administration. But the British imperial rule that specifically framed the Punjabi politics by creating of intermediary rural elites for collaborative linkage system

was another important factor. New rulers gained the acceptance of various groups in Punjab by persuading the policy to acquire support of local elites, which enabled them to rule over vast areas of land and huge population only with small administrative body and a limited army. These local chiefs were mostly the heads of various castes, tribes and biradaris. That particular, support was achieved by liberal distribution of land and persuasions of commercial and irrigation policies in favour of those groups whose support was essential in maintaining order.

Charles Metcalfe, a conservative, found much in India to admire and the caste system appeared to him a natural and ordered hierarchy and valuable social cement. “He was particularly struck by the resilience of the Indian village, who had so miraculously survived the catastrophes of drought and civil war. He called these communities “village republics” and wanted them to become the bedrock of the British Raj”.²

The social organization of the village was of special interest to both the Mughal and the British administration primarily for purpose of revenue collection. The British rule in India was a mixture of coercion and conciliation. The British took three main coercive steps, for example; stationed large number of troops in or near the Lahore district in the immediate post-annexation years; quick suppression and sever punishment was given to

² Lawrence James, Raj - The making and unmaking of British India (New York: St. Martin Press, 1997), p-177
those who disturbed the peace and seditious activities of the disgruntled sardars were quickly stopped. The British, however, did not rely solely on force but they moved effectively to conciliate with indigenous groups and individuals. In order to define a structure linking the colonial state to indigenous society, the British deliberately drew administrative policies and at the same time also encouraged representation based on indigenous ties. Caste and biradaris in the official understanding became the institutional keystone of Punjabi society.

The British dealt with rural as well as urban setting and concentrated primarily towards rural areas where land revenue was involved. The traditional Indian village with its traditional caste system was, in large part, a product of the British Raj. This chapter examines the formal mechanism of the British rule, setting up of the formal institutions and social and psychological dimensions of the colonial situation. Composition and structure of the dominant biradaris is discussed. The chapter would also answer the following questions. How did the British administer the district? What basic policies were adopted? How the British architect the biradari system? And how they use them for their support?

By the end of the eighteenth century the Sikh warrior Ranjit Singh established his rule as Maharaja of Punjab and fixed his court at Lahore as an island of

---

3 Christopher J. Fuller, ‘The oxford India companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology’, edited by Veena Das
stability. During his forty years of rule (1799-1839) he engaged all his time and energies to build a strong army\textsuperscript{4} to counter the expanding British imperialism. The Punjab’s strong man Ranjit Singh had died in the summer of 1839. Within three years the subsequent power struggle had propelled the province into anarchy. The treaty of Lahore signed in March 1846 after the British victory in the first Anglo-Sikhs war (1845-46) required the defeated state of Lahore: to cede territory (the Jullundhar doab); pay war indemnity; recognize the formation of an independent kingdom of Kashmir and to reduce to organize its military force. The British government was nominally bound; not to interfere in the internal administration of the Lahore state. The autonomy of the Sikh kingdom further eroded on December 16, 1846 when the British maneuvered the Lahore Durbar into signing the treaty of Bhyrowal which was suppose to remain in force for eight years until Maharaja Dalip Singh became sixteen in December, 1854. In fact this treaty remained operative for a very short time and in autumn of 1848 Second Anglo-Sikh war was fought and finally Punjab was annexed in 1849 to British India. But the British resident John Lawrence, stationed at Lahore, was one of the most influential presences in the kingdom. It should be noted that during 1846 to 1849 the British presence in Punjab played an important role in administrating the Lahore district. The colonial rule was established in March 1849 but the partial colonial control was begun earlier.

\textsuperscript{4}The Sikh army \textit{Khalsa} had been created by Ranjit Singh. It was later described Britain’s ‘bravest and most warlike and most disruptive enemy in Asia’. It was trained and drilled by a body of European professional instructors, many of them veterans of Napoleon army.
A British officer Charles T Metcalfe on a diplomatic mission in 1809 described about Lahore as ‘melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings masjids (mosque), which fifty years ago raised their tops to the skies and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust’ After touring the plain surrounding the city, the same officer wrote that “on going over these ruins I saw not a human being; all was silence, solitude and gloom”.\(^5\)

Some twenty years later in 1831 Lieutenant Alexander Burnes arrived in Lahore with a cargo of Arabian horses as gift from King George (IV) To Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a gesture of friendship cooperation. “On the morning of 18\(^{th}\) June,” Burnes wrote, “we made our public entrance in to the imperial city of Lahore, which once rivaled Delhi.”\(^6\)

For British rulers this was a city of decay. ‘Two centuries of endemic warfare, starvation, and disease has reduced a metropolis, once the seat of Mughal Court, which stretched from the Ravi to the Shalimar Gardens, to a large field of rubble and debris, with all it inhabitants concentrated in the walled area’.\(^7\)

Shortly after the annexation, Sir John Lawrence described the area surrounding the walled city of Lahore as an un-inhabited, rough terrain, made

\(^{5}\) Quoted William J Glover, “Making Lahore modern – Constructing and Imaging a colonial City” University of Minnesota Press, 2008, p-xi
\(^{6}\) Ibid- p-xi
up of ruins, kilns of several layers of bricks, with the soil being burnt by saltpeter dust. Here and there some Mughal tombs and other monuments were still standing.

Annexation of Punjab to British India was proclaimed on March 29, 1849 and this area came rapidly under effective British colonial administration. Governor General Dalhousie wrote:

“…..I have traversed the greater part of the Manjha; the most perfect order and civility have been shown. At Lahore, the Punch or native Corporation, illuminated the city for me..... 
....I went through the city thus at night by their invitation. They met me at the gate, stuck garlands all about me, even on my horse's ears, and I then went through the city. Immense crowds were present, there was not so much as a mischievous boy out of his place, and perfect silence prevailed, except when they saw me, when salaams resounded wherever I passed. I am not stupid enough to suppose that this is really attachment to our rule, but it shows their submission, ....that they are cowed and thoroughly in hand. Only eleven years age, the English, guests of Runjeet Singh, and protected by his guards, were pelted through the streets of Lahore; is it not marvelous that such a chance be effected, on such a people, in such a time.
Henry Lawrence’s policy was to introduce as few innovations as possible and to retain the spirit of the popular system. Due to Henry’s illness his brother, John, acted as Resident from August 1847 to March 1848. under John’s direction the tempo of change quickened.

Lahore was divided into three major religions, socially as well as religiously: Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. The Muslims were in a clear majority of all categories. Their living was more rural than urban dwellers. Mostly the Hindus lived in the cities. The Sikhs the second largest community in the district were also engaged in land cultivation, but mainly belonged to military services. The Sikhs lived in rural areas. They remained isolated from urban dwellers. Most of them were successful agriculturalists. Many of them had got employment mainly in military services.

Lahore constituted an urban area at the time of annexation having population of 10,000 or more. The rural-urban setting of the district’s population presented the picture of a large rural majority living in small villages with sizeable minority located in one urban area of Lahore. Another town, Kasur had a population of more than 10,000 and was a collection of villages than an integrated urban area.\textsuperscript{10} The courtiers of the late Lahore Durbar, the court tradesmen, jewelers, workers in gold and silver particles, etc, who flourished at Lahore under the patronage of the court and of the chiefs and Sardars lived

\textsuperscript{10} Censes, Punjab, 1868 table VII
inside the walled city of Lahore. After annexation the population increased in the district because of military cantonment in Lahore.

The specific ways in which the indigenous groups followed their religion, inherent land, chose their brides and pursued their occupation was particularly determined by their caste, tribe and biradari membership. Caste or biradari membership controlled the spectrum of behaviour of an individual and his family. Lahore was divided into cluster of caste and biradaris. There were many but four numerous and most prominent tribes of the Lahore district as described by the settlement officer.

The settlement officer G.C. Walker noted:

“The Jats who furnished 16 percent of the total district population, own fully – three quarter of the Lahore Manjha tract and a very large portion of the western Hithar. There are as many as 64 different sections of the Jats, and while for the larger part are Hindus there is among them a small Muhammadan minority ….. The Dogars are found chiefly along the Sutlej river bank and the other two tribes Rajput and Arains are scattered all over the district. Lying thickest in the neighbourhood o the Lahore city”

---

Table #1 Population of the principal castes in the Lahore district in 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>of the total population of the district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>157,670</td>
<td>17.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuhra</td>
<td>99,025</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arain</td>
<td>94,964</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajput</td>
<td>54,577</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julaha</td>
<td>35,742</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arora</td>
<td>33,136</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>32,970</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumhar</td>
<td>31,524</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarkhan</td>
<td>31,009</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machhi</td>
<td>24,747</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teli</td>
<td>23,066</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhinwar</td>
<td>20,941</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>20,813</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikh-Qureshi</td>
<td>17,853</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamboh</td>
<td>17,094</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labana</td>
<td>10,116</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>6,976</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogar</td>
<td>6,733</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughal</td>
<td>3,676</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>723,232</td>
<td>78.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1883-1884 (Calcutta)
Table #1 provides a clear view of the numerous castes numbering 20,000 or more in the Lahore district in 1881. It also clearly illustrates the numerical predominance of the Jats. They were divided among various gots as Sidhu, Virik, Gill, Sandhu and Dhillon. The Jats had occupied the central portion of the Bari Doab, the area which is known as Manjha that also included the part of Amritsar district. They were the major land controlling caste of the Lahore distinct. They were mentioned as industrious, active and intelligent people in the first settlement report. Ibbetson describes them as “These men are the backbone of the Punjab by character and physique as well as by locality. They are stalwart, sturdy, yeomen of great independence, industry and agricultural skill, and collectively from perhaps the finest peasantry in India”\(^\text{12}\).

After the Churas, the third most numerous caste was the Arains. They were the cultivating class in Lahore district and particularly were largely the Muslims\(^\text{13}\). At present the boundary of Lahore is quite different from that of 19\(^\text{th}\) century. The Arain biradari is much bigger numerically at present in Lahore. Similarly, the Kambhos were the Hindu caste and also belonged to market gardening and they were also considered as the “laborious cultivators”\(^\text{14}\). At present they are also playing an important role in biradari politics of Lahore.


\(^{14}\) Ibid p-68-69
The artisan castes like *Julaha* (Muslim weavers); *Kumhar* (predominantly Muslim potters); *Tarkhans* (predominantly Muslims and Sikh carpenters); *Lohar* (blacksmith); *Mochi* (shoemakers); *Sunar* (goldsmith) and many others were scattered throughout the district. The village artisans plus menial and domestic servants were paid usually in grain at the time of the harvest for the work they had performed during the preceding months. This system was called sep\(^{15}\). This system was prevalent in throughout Punjab. Lahore was an agrarian district with a small portion of urban setting where the artisan class also received sep once or twice in a year.

The Europeans, the most significant group was living in the district. They were numerically small but very important group. They played very important role in shaping the cultural and socio-economic life of Lahore. Their impact on Lahori society would be examined extensively in later chapter so require no further mention here.

The physical and social composition of the Lahore district was predominantly rural. The construction of British sponsored irrigation scheme Upper Bari Doab had modified the settlement pattern of the Lahore district. The new social gathering and economic opportunities constructed a brand new social setup. The emergence of new social behaviour had changed the outlook of Lahore district. Simultaneously on the other hand some 16% of district's

---

\(^{15}\) The revised settlement report described the operation of the system in the Lahore district in the late 1860’s
population was lived in urban areas. The city of Lahore primarily during British era was also attached with village activities. But at the beginning of the twentieth century Lahore being a provincial capital and in result of social mobility was an important urban center of political activities.

Land — the most important economic and political resource in South Asia and land revenue was the major source of revenue for all governments of India, including the British. During the Mughal rule the land revenue was collected by the Mansabdars, the non-hereditary and transferable officials of the state. Land tax continued to be the major source of revenue during British times as well. The arrangements were made by the British administration to collect the land revenue fell under three alternative systems:

A) A landlord based system, known as zamindari or malguzari. According to this system, the revenue liability for a village or a group of villages lay with a single landlord. He was free to set the revenue terms and effectively had property rights on the land. This system was mainly established in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces (modern Madhya Pradesh).

B) An individual cultivator-based system known as riayatwari. In most areas of Madras, Bombay, and Assam the riayatwari system was adopted under which the revenue settlement was made directly with the individual riayat or cultivator.
C) The village based system known as *mahalwari* was adopted in Punjab in which village bodies those jointly owned the village were responsible for the land revenue. The composition of village body was also varied from place to place. In some areas a single person was responsible for paying land tax or a family that made up the village body or a large number of members with each person, being responsible for a fix share of revenue. This share was either determined by ancestry (the *Pattidari* system) or based on actual possession of the land (the *Bhaichara* system). The revenue rate was determined on the basis of examination of rent that was recorded in the *Jamabandi*, which was the important document of the Settlement Record.\(^ {16}\)

The district of Lahore went through the settlement process and immediately after the annexation in 1849 a summery settlement was started by captain Tytler. The establishment of an effective apparatus of colonial rule for viable accepted system of governance was not possible without properly knowing about their Indian colonial possession and considerable amount of specific knowledge about conditions in Punjab. More particularly British wanted to know the social fabric of the indigenous society. After three years the regular settlement was commenced by Mr. Morris and Sir Robert Egerton. The revision of the Regular Settlement (qanani bandobast) was commenced by Mr. Leslie Saunder in 1864 and completed in 1868. Finally, in 1894, G.C. Walker completed the third regular settlement of Lahore. The settlement

\(^ {16}\) Abhijit Banerjee and Lahshmi Iyer, “History, Institutions, and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India” (article taken from Jstore)
record contained a detailed genealogical tree (Shajra nasb) for each estate together with a full account of the history and constitution of the village. In the settlement of 1892, under the instructions genealogical trees were prepared for four generations. Initially, the district of Lahore itself was composed of three tehsils, namely Lahore, Kasur, and Chunian, and within these tehsils, the land was evenly divided among pattidari villages and bhaiachara villages. Seventy-five percent of the land was khudkasht, or self-cultivated, and the remainder was divided between occupancy tenants and tenants-at-will.

The revenue settlement process of the district Lahore was conducted by a separate agency. By 1850 the external boundaries of all villages had been surveyed. The extensiveness of record of the settlement provided not only the basis from which one may assess agrarian change in villages of the district during the whole subsequent course of British rule but also the basis for examining in detail the nature of agrarian relations immediately prior to British rule. The settlements were intended to provide prosperous bedrock of support for the government and a valuable recruiting ground for its army.

Land became private property and every land holder was identified in the land registers. It was defined the way he had to approach government, not only in regard to land but for many other official purposes. Identification in these most

basic records of government by caste, clan, religion, village of residence and
land holding status laid the foundation for the classification of rights according
to social group.\textsuperscript{19}

Mathew Nelson remarks,

\begin{quote}
\textit{“After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, and
long before this else where in British India,
colonial administration pursued contradictory
goal with respect to landed property rights. On
one hand in order to facilitate the collection of
land revenue, they set about the introduction
and enforcement of “individual” rights. They
believed, with some historical and theoretical
justification (mostly drawn from the liberal
tradition of economic and social reform in
England), that clear title and exclusive right
increased the value of land, leading to improve
cultivation, higher profits, and increased
revenue. On the other hand, however, adopting
more conservative ideas about the link
between village communities and economic
development in India, they encouraged the
notion of “joint”, or “collective”, revenue
obligations. In other words, they struggled to
enforce (a) “individual” rights and (b)
“collective” responsibilities…. at the same
time.”}\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

The institution that was above all responsible for the construction of a
morphological view of India in term of caste was the census. At the time of
first settlement, census were still a part of settlement process conducted
village by village and census were essentially a village record available for
consultation by government officials and villagers alike. The 1855 census of
the Punjab was a first attempt throughout the Province. The enumeration of

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, pp-210-270
\textsuperscript{20} Mathew Nelson, \textit{“The Politics of Property: Land, Law and the Logic of Local Politics in Pakistan”}
(unpublished Book)
caste was the central part of census in Punjab and in India as well. The 1881 Punjab census was still a provincial affair and Ibbetson’s report on the 1881 Punjab census still stands as the corner-stone of all caste ethnography of Punjab. Moreover, this and similar projects served to strengthen ties between the Raj and local men of influence.

Turning to the question of local custom, however, settlement officers drew special attention towards “village custom,” as documented in the *wajib-ul-arz*, and “tribal custom,” as revealed in the *riwaj-i-am*. “Local laws and customs,” Saundar wrote, “differ with each tribe, caste, or religion, and not always with the village [as a whole].”

The Mughal’s legal system was symbolically based on the principles of Islamic law; however, in practice they ignored *shariat* for political purposes. But they maintained the symbolic commitment to *shariat* as an important source of legitimacy for their authority. Immediately after the annexation of the Punjab, in 1849, the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, announced that the British would strive to “uphold native institutions and practices as far as they are consistent with the distribution of justice to all classes.”

---

22 Ibid, p-210-270
In Punjab “Customary Laws” were developed in the late nineteenth century. In using the “customs” as the foundation for a system of personal law that was the equivalent of religious law, the British sought to order and classify it so that it might be incorporated into a system of law enforced by the state.25

The customary laws were elaborated by the British in the late nineteenth century. C.L Tupper had prepared the first official document of customary law in 1881. He argued “tribe” a native institution at the centre of rural Punjabi social organization.

The Punjab Law Act was passed in 1872, which established the primacy of “Customary” over religious law in the Punjabi legal system. The development of customary law required both an effective administrative setup and a detailed analysis of indigenous society. The Punjabi custom and its independence from religion, infect heightened, its political significance for the British.

As Professor David Gilmartin noted:

“As an autonomous, indigenous system, which had been delineated and systemized by the British themselves, it offered an alternative to religion as a system of principles trying the state to the organization of the society….. They tied their authority to a structure of social organization central to Punjabi life, but one

---

defined and systematized, through British social analysis, by the state itself. The protection of Punjab’s “tribal” structure became, in effect, a central principle of and a justification for imperial rule”.26

The primary concern of British rule in the Lahore district in early years was the maintenance of law and order and a concern for revenue for making the Punjab a self-supporting colonial possession. The revenue collection was a priority but it became a second option behind law and order – without which there could not be assured flow of revenue. The governmental structure of the earlier system was the union of functions in certain key positions such as police, judicial, revenue collection, general executive and law and order.

The imposition of colonial rule in the Lahore district marked the beginning of a major structural change. During Sikh period for the connivance and efficiency of administration Punjab was divided into districts. Each district was under the charge of the modern deputy commissioner called Kardar. Mostly he had performed revenue functions in his district but he was not only the revenue officer as well as he also performed judicial duties and decided day to day civil and criminal cases. The Kardar, as an executive officer was also supposed to maintain law and order in the district.

Soon after becoming the acting regent John Lawrence instituted a summery of land revenue settlement in Punjab and introduced judicial arrangements.

26 Ibid, pp-82-88
During Sikh era the government did not consider the administration of justice as its own concern. It was generally thought it was the duty of the local institutions like the Panchayats to administer it. There was no written law in the Punjab those days and as such, justice was done according to local traditions and customs of the people of particular locality. Hennery Lawrence established judicial arrangements and left the Kardars as the judge of the first instance but added appeal courts for each doab manned by Indian adaltees (judges) from which further appeal to the Durbar and then to the Resident was permitted. Henry also compiled written civil and criminal codes with consultation of Sikh sardars. These laws were based on traditions, family and tribal customs. The Punjab was at least for a decade and a half, a non-regulation province more governed by men than by laws. In 1866 Chief Court was established in Lahore, the Code of Civil Procedure of the Regulation Provinces was devised and provincial courts were opened to pleaders.

After annexation the deputy commissioner had full charge of the district and provided the upward link with super-structure of provincial administration and downward link to the tehsildar. The deputy commissioner was a supreme authority in the district. He was the chief representative of the government in each district.

G.R Elsmie estimated the duties of the Punjab district officer in early 1860s:

“A man of all trades in every truth. He was Head Magistrate with power to imprison for
two years, the principal Civil Judge with powers to decide Civil claims of unlimited values. He was Collector of all Government revenue, the controller of the stamp duties, the custodian of all Government cash, the paymaster of all salaries and pensions, the Superintendent of all Government schools, Chief Jailor of the district, the maker and the repairer of the roads and bridges and Government buildings, the Head of Municipal Councils in the larger towns the chief manager of the poor houses and dispensaries, the conductor of public worship ….. 27

Initially the deputy commissioner had the judicial as well an executive authority in the district. The position of the district officer was absolutely essential in maintaining the British rule in India. One or two British assistant commissioners plus an extra assistant commissioner who could be an Indian or a European were stationed at Lahore to assist the district officer. Another extra-assistant commissioner, in the early years was stationed at Kasur in charge of the Kasur division. These key-posts in the district run the administrative machinery and supervised the revenue collection. Besides these he had a large native staff, native magistrates, sub-collectors, writers, and clerks, police officers, school masters, village officers and so on, scattered throughout the district.

Each deputy commissioner was subordinate to a commissioner, who controlled three or four districts. The Commissioner tried all heavy criminal

cases, murder, robberies and something like. He also acted as an Appellate Judge; appeals lay to him from orders passed by the deputy commissioner in all revenue, criminal and civil cases. There was a Judicial Commissioner (now-a-days represents as a judge). There was another Financial Commissioner who controlled appellate authority in all matters connected with revenue, taxation and such like.

The tehsildar was the in charge of the tehsil (pergunnah) headquarter and oversaw the workings of purely Indian establishment that governed the rural masses in the villages and the city dwellers in Lahore. Each tehsildar had a substantial staff to monitor the administrative moves in tehsils known as a Peshkar, a Kanungo, two Mohurrirs, a Jamadars, Patwari and Pothdar and many Chapprassies (peons) to assist him in the collection of the revenue.

**Peshkar**: -- a deputy Indian officer exercising delegated authority in revenue matters.

**Kanungo**: -- an Indian revenue officer who kept certain important registers.

**Mohurrir**: -- a clerk, a writer.

**Jamadar**: -- an Indian subaltern officer, a leader of a group.

**Pothdar**: -- weigher and assayer of coins.

**Patwari**: -- the village record keeper
Tehsildar was the sub-collector and head of the police in his tehsil. He received a good monthly salary. He cultivated good relations with representatives of all the villages and acted like a local judge and magistrate. He had the powers to decide the civil suits. He can punish in criminal cases by fine or imprisonment for maximum two months.
Tehsildar and deputy commissioner preformed their dyad functions but after 1870s the government had become far more extensive, more involved in wide variety of functions to provide people with more and better social services.

28 Self devised
After annexation for firm control of administration the government wanted to know much more about the people and thus expanded its data collecting activities and in a result the number of employees of Government had increased considerably. With the passage of time the growth of the governmental structure had been occurred. The Punjab Department of Education was founded in January 1856; the police force had been reorganized in 1860-61; the Small Cause Court at Lahore began operation in 1862; the High Court set in 1866 and Municipality of Lahore was constituted in 1867. These separately constituted departments of the provincial government had their own structure and their own jurisdictions.

After the annexation of the Punjab priority was given to the investigation of revenue free holdings. The most important group among the revenue free holders was the *jagirdars*. During the Sikh period roughly 66% of the land area of the Lahore district was held in jagirs. There were two reasons of giving the large amount of land as *jagirs*: first, *Ranjit Singh* gave much area of land to important Sikh warriors as a reward for their loyalty and to control the large Muslim population of the district. On the other hand as the Sikh kingdom grew in wealth and power the government servants, the courtiers, and important personalities of the Sikh rule received *jagirs* in Lahore district. The first regular land revenue settlement was sanctioned in 1860 and the *jagir* holdings were reduced to about 20% of the total district area. Further reduction in the amount of *jagir* was constituted in 1870 during the second
settlement of the district was completed. As a matter of fact the revenue free holdings in the Lahore district were substantially reduced within the first twenty one years of the British rule. The British government improved the position of the *jagirdars* in the late 1850's as a result of their loyalty in suppressing the rebellion of 1857 and *Jagirs* and pensions were generously granted to various *jagirdars* and particularly to the influential people. However, they were very numerous in number and had no direct influence with the local rural population. Many of these *jagirdars* came in Lahore as newly prominent warriors, courtiers, and officials. They had no roots and long-standing connection with the people of the district. R. N. Cust in connection with the magisterial power to certain *jageirdars* noted,

“..."But on this side of the Beas Maharaja Ranjit Singh swept quite clear; he reduced all the old chieftains, and introduced new creatures of his own, Brahmins from Suharunpore, or distant relatives of his own of the Jut and mixed castes. No link of old association connects these chiefs with the villages scattered here and there, which happened to be in their jagheers. It would be a dangerous and unpopular measure with the inferior classes to vest these chiefs with power which they personally unfit to wield, and which their followers will abuse."

The revenue collection required the maintenance of control over villages. This imperative required the British to know as much as they could about the ruled.

The British were so few in number and it was required the collaboration of

---

29 R.N. Cust wrote to the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab. Cust had been the Commissioner of Lahore Division, see Foreign Department proceedings Part-A.
influential people to maintain the administrative decisions into operation at the level of rural and urban masses. The method to control was devised rationally introducing certain administrative policies. The British tried to exercise the enough control to create more effective linkage between the apparatus of colonial rule and the masses of the ruled. Securing support of the local elites, whose collaboration had became vital for the safeguard of the colonial interests. The British granted considerable autonomy to the villages through the co-option of influential men in the villages and the locality. The co-option procedure was initiated through Zaildars, ala-lumberdars, Honorary Magistrates, Municipal Committee men, those were all collaborators to make colonial rule more effective and acceptable. The British wanted to administer the district as cheaply as possible. In pursuance of that policy the British hoped to get members of the elite to assist in the governance of the masses in return for honors, rewards and certain financial benefits.

The majority of the Indians rarely saw a European of any kind. They usually had direct contacts during the days of settlements but these were being done after four years. The Europeans were nearly 100,000, scattered among a population of over 250 million and most of them were the soldiers who lived in cantonments. The British administration was increasingly dependant on the assistance of those elements of the district of Lahore, the elites, whose collaboration in the process of colonial rule was very important. It is evident that those groups possessed local influence were the lumberdars and the
chaudhri: the people of rural notables or the headmen of their respective circles of villages. Their loyalty and assistance was manipulated during the Sikh era through small revenue free grants known as imams. The British government also continued this policy and actively resumed imams to achieve their participation governing Punjab. The influential lumberdars of the district of Lahore those actively assisted in the settlement process had received imams or in all other cases five percent of the village revenue had been fixed for an ordinary village headman. The British government had in mind to develop a link much needed between the authorities and the masses of the agriculturists.

"These headmen of villages and sub-divisions of villages were appointed, after annexation of the Punjab, by Settlement Officers after due enquiry made; they were elected from amongst those men who had held office during the Sikh times; and the appointment, subject to personal fitness and good character, was declared hereditary. The village headmen remunerated by a cess of 5 percent, which they collect upon and in addition to the land revenue for which they were responsible".  

The headman (lumberdar) succeeded to the office, subject to the approval of the Deputy Commissioner; they represented their clients in their dealings with the government; responsible for the collection of the revenue and were bound to assist in the prevention and detection of the crimes. A chief headman was also appointed in every village. He was elected by the votes of the proprietary bodies, subject to the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner. He had represented the body of headmen and received Government orders in the  

30 Gazetteer of The Lahore District, 1883-84, p-67
first instance. In respect of the collection of land revenue he had not possessed any special authority or responsibility. All these lumberdars were chosen among the caste or biradari elites. The claimants were numerous and the British Government wanted the efficiency of the administration. While appointing lumberdars loyalty and skillfulness was considered much.

In 1860s governmental bodies were established and developed in the district of Lahore to provide an institutional basis for collaboration. The zaildari system was instituted in the Lahore district in 1860s. It was first tried out in central doab areas where cattle-stealing was more frequent and where the police operation was difficult and costly. The functions and duties of the zaildar were limited initially as he has to report to the nearest police station every crime of serious nature as it occurs and at the same time to prepare a weekly general report. Later on the role of zaildar was increased as he performed additional functions including some involvement in revenue work and more active role as police officers and it formulized by the Punjab Law Act of 1872.

These Zaildars were ideally the leaders of the local “tribes” and “clans” – where possible the British designated the zaildar (the loyalist local elites who demonstrated unquestioning loyalty), the leading zamindar of the dominant tribe in the zail (the area to control under a zaildar). “The early practice in the selection of zaildars called for elections among the zail’s lumberdar, village

31 Ibid, p-68
headman, whose vote though not binding, was intended to guide the choice”.32

The British tried to involve some members of the higher elites, sardars and Jagirdars in the process of government. Actually speaking the British wanted to accommodate the influential people in to the system of governance.

D. F McLeod the Financial Commissioner in 1861 noted:

“….most essential “that involvement in government of the class to which most zaildars belonged should proceed simultaneously with the elevation and employment of the aristocracy”.33

The district of Lahore divided into circles containing from twenty to forty villages and a zaildar was appointed to act as the link between the circle and the government. Most of them were selected from prominent landowners belonging to locally dominant castes and biradaris. In the Lahore district zaildars were also appointed in the vicinity of Bagbanpura, Achra, Shadbagh, Shahdara, Muzang and Dholanwal. Even up till recently these zaildar families are very influential in the Lahore district and there is a Zaildar Road and a Zaildar Park in the vicinity of Achhra. The zaildari system was an attempt to link up with the rural masses through locally prominent men those were

33 Report on Police Administration in Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1861, p. 31-32
selected from locally prominent land owners belonging to a locally dominant biradaris.

The Settlement Report states that:

“A missing link in communication between district officers and the large number of lumberdars (village headmen) existing in districts, has been supplied by the appointment of Zaildars over circles of 20, 30 and 40 villages, as the case may be. This person was generally elected as the representative of the predominant tribe of people residing in his neighbourhood. One percent of the Government revenue of the whole of their circle has been allotted to them, independent of any income they may derive as head lumberdars of their own village; and their can be little doubt that when the native agricultural gentlemen of the country are properly influenced, and induced to assist in the preservation of good order within their respective beats, that the administration of a district will be much more easily secured”.34

The efforts were being made to create a zail (area of authority of a zaildar) belonging to people of one tribe or villages which had some connection and similarity. Wherever possible each zail was to include, “people of one tribe or villages which have some connection or affinity, so that discordant elements may be excluded as far as possible”.35 The British tried to involve members of higher elites in the process of government. The system had appeared to have been an extensive and successful operation in the Lahore district. These

zaildar families emerged with considerable influence and mustered the position to claim the leadership of the zail’s dominant tribes.

Mr. Bolster noted the adoption of the group system of payment by zail:

“A modification of this system introduced by Colonel Popham Young in Sialkot tehsil has worked remarkably well….. the advantage of this system lies in the fact that each zaildar is enabled to see that the revenue of each sub-circle in turn is collected and dispatched to the tehsil before he visits the next sub-circle. His influence and assistance are thus fully utilized. No inconvenience is caused at the receiving office, and the necessity for the issue of coercive processes has disappeared in this tehsil. The value of this system has been brought to the notice of the collectors of the remaining districts of the division”36

The position of the zaildars was not hereditary but usually it passed from father to son and this class emerged as very influential rural elites. After 1890 the British granted large quantity of land in the canal colonies to enhance the position of many Punjabi zaildars. By the opening of the twentieth century the increasing importance of this class emerged in Sir Michael O’ Dwyer’s scheme for grants of the “landed gentry”, which was first developed in 1914 in connection with the distribution of land in the Lower Bari Doab colony. Few zaildars became land-lord as influential as the magnates of Western Punjab37.

These rural leaders had played increasingly important role in District Boards and provincial legislature. The ruminants of these zaildar families are still very influential and played very important political role in the Lahore district in early years of its formation. Even up till recently these families are very wealthy and influential in their respective localities.

In addition to zaildari system the colonial power attempted to grip their control of the rural area creating a superior group of village head-men called ala-lumberdars. It was the proposal of Edward Prinsep who argued the importance of one headman for every village who could be made responsible for the proper execution of orders. Prinsep argued that the current system which poorly paid, multiple headmen did not work. Prinsep's proposal after considerable amount of controversy was accepted and ultimately in 1866 elections were conducted in each village for ala-lumberdars. The existing lumberdars in the village remained in office. The position of ala-lumberdar was personal and continuous in office depended on him providing acceptable service to the government. In return for acceptable services the ala-lumberdars received substantial amount: one percent of the government revenue of the village, a portion of rent-free land, plus continuation of whatever rights he had previously acquiring. The position, however, had no hereditary claim but they acted as the village representatives those were generally elected from their biradaris. The system worked sufficiently and

---

effectively in the Lahore district and provided to government more firmly penetrating into the villages and the British successfully attempted to articulate more closely to the village communities of the Lahore district with the firm structure of the colonial rule. In the later half of the 19th century these forces were at work

However, the administrative mechanism was not confined to the villages only while over fifteen percent of the district’s population was lived in the city of Lahore where the British government primarily also attempted to link-up with the local men of influence soon after the annexation. The early attempts were made to encourage the influential men of the city. Their participation was sought in redressing the controversial issues such as town taxes and municipal funds provided to them. The British also used organized tactics to win the loyalty and good will through bestowing robs of honor, titles and other awards to the prominent elites of the Lahore city.

Like zaildars in rural areas the municipal committee men were appointed in the cities. In 1862 the British devised the system of municipal government in Lahore. A Municipal Committee was setup consisting of thirteen members to be elected annually by the delegates of panchayats with communal representation fixed at seven Hindus, Five Muslims and one Sikh. These members were taken from wealthy and loyal families of Lahore; one was the major contractor of public works and railway construction, six were from the
families those remained loyal to the British government during Sikh-wars. Some served the British government after annexation. One was taken from prominent Qaizalbash family those were loyal in Afghan war and as well as during in 1857. Lahore Municipal Committee started its working under the authority of an executive order of the Punjab government but in order to extend municipal government to other areas of Punjab the British government passes in 1867 “A Bill” to regularize the functioning of the committee. “Our duties,” stated the Committee, “have been to attend to the requirements and duties of the people, to promote their prosperity and well-being, to improve and extend municipal and conservancy arrangement for their health and safety, and to under take the management of the municipal Tax, and the administration of the fun.”39

In 1862 a Board of Honorary Magistrate was appointed from among the most respected and influential men of the city. The Board had the power to decide cases of petty criminal nature. The Honorary Magistrates sat daily and at-least two members were required to pass sentence40. It proved to be a useful body and by 1866-67 over 7% of the criminal cases in city of Lahore were disposed by the Honorary Magistrates.

The establishment of the zaildari system and ala-lumberdari system in the rural areas of Lahore and the formation of the Municipal committee and Board

40 Y. B Mathur, “Judicial Administration in the Punjab, 1849-75,” Journal of Indian History (1966)
of Honorary Magistrate in the city of Lahore shows how the British devised their policies so rationally to consolidate their rule by linking the structure of district administration more effectively to the masses of the ruled. The British government institutionalized the policies to formulate and to collaborate with Indian elites successfully.

At another level the British had provided employment to potentially troublesome groups. The disband soldiers of the Sikh army were adjusted in The Punjab Irregular Force. Many others found employment in the large, military style police force. The potentially troublesome group was co-opted and British started extensive public works – such as the construction of the Bari Doab canal, roads, government buildings, Mian Meer cantonment and the Lahore Railways soon after the annexation in the Lahore district and provided employment for thousands.

The Commissioner Lahore Robert Montgomery stated:

“Labourers of every kind are in great demand. There is more work than there are hands available, and wages are in consequences rising. The station of Meean Meer alone gives employment to 3,790 labourers per diem and there is going on there an expenditure of Rs. 38,000 per mensem; this class of men ought not to be discontented”

41 General Report on The Administration of The Punjab for the year 1849-50 (London) p. 49
The new rulers gained the acceptance of various groups by creating a more effective linkage between the apparatus of colonial rule and the masses of the ruled. The British wanted to administer the district not only as effectively as possible but as cheap as possible. Within the Lahore district, however, the problem of linking ruler and ruled was not confined to a rural setting but over fifteen percent of the district's population was lived in the city of Lahore.

The main findings of this chapter concerning the nature and effect of the imposition of the colonial rule in the Lahore district showed that considerable changes occurred in the structure and more pervasive and more ramified administration was developed.

Despite the development, which paradoxically involved the diminution of the power and function of the purely district administrative structure, the deputy commissioner- tehsildar dyad remained the infrastructure of colonial rule. Our discussion of the establishment of the zaildari and ala-lumberdari system in the rural areas and formation of Municipal Committee and Board of Honorary magistrates in Lahore city shows how the British moved actively to consolidate their rule by linking the superstructure of district administration more effectively to the masses of the ruled through the institutionalized collaboration of various Indian elites. The basic determinants of colonial policy-making were the concerns of law and order and the revenue collection. The development of institutionalized forms of collaboration with some Indians
actively helping their colonial masters reflected a British desire to rule more effectively and more cheaply.

This chapter explained the colonial structure in the district. The imposition and maintenance of British rule showed that Biradari system is a colonial product. The elites those co-opted the British administrative mechanism were the head of their respective biradaris. The study has covered the origin and development of status groups in Lahore – it is also analyzed the land ownership through lineage over a period of a hundred years.
The emergence of the public sphere in Lahore and how the *biradaris* interact with it

(A) The emergence of the public sphere

The Lahore district came into particular prominence and went through a major administrative set up after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. The previous chapter described the formal mechanism of British rule in the Lahore district. It also explained how the British administered the district and, more particularly, how they provided the colonial infrastructure. The administration and policies that were formulated in the district provided a viable and acceptable system of governance through effective networks and cooperation between the apparatus of colonial rule and the masses that were ruled. This chapter describes the cumulative results of British policies towards the development of the public sphere\(^1\) within *biradaris*. The Europeans presence, both formal and informal varieties had involved in social and psychological dimensions of the colonial rule that created the sense of public sphere among Lahoris. The urban social situation where the British, civil and

\(^1\) Habermas wrote *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) to explore the status of public opinion in the practice of representative government in Western Europe. Habermas defined the public sphere as an imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space. In its ideal form, the public sphere is "made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state". 
military, carried out the functions of governance and the Europeans and Indians did impinge upon one another's lives in different ways and within different contexts. The transfer of technical skills from the British skilled workman to an Indian apprentice in a railway's workshop, the bazaar preaching of the missionaries, the intellectual encounter in the classroom, or the ritualized reception of an Indian dignitary by the Lieutenant-Governor were all part of the many-sided process of interaction that gradually developed public sphere among Lahoris.

The social and psychological dimensions of the colonial situation cannot be overlooked. The growth and change of social structure had not occurred overnight. New concerns and functions were added to the administrative process: with the opening of the railway and the Bari Doab Canal, the extension of public works and the creation of new offices, the government completely changed the social dimensions of the Lahore district.

Education, famine relief, health, sanitation and communication: these and other concerns of the modern state slowly became the more important concerns of the district's colonial administrators.

The rapid growth of Lahore was linked to the development of the colonial system. Since Lahore had the provincial headquarters, the western presence grew and bureaucracy expanded along with white collar workers. The
cumulative result of this growth was the emergence of the middle class. These government employees created the urban social class and special colonies were built for Indian middle and lower class which expanded the outlook of Lahore as an urban city.

Initially the economic base of the Lahore district was in agriculture and the financial institutions and markets were established as a result of agricultural activities but railways brought rural Punjab into the world market and diminished its parochialism and isolation. The large railway workshop for repairing and rolling-steel was setup in Lahore that paved the way for industrialization in Lahore. The area from the railway station to Mughalpura was fixed for railway activities and housing for its employees. The station covers an area of about 126 acres. The Lahore railway had a well-appointed printing office, possessed an oil mill and a very large quantity of rolling stock which was being made for state and provincial railways. The railway projects created technical skills among Lahoris and the Indians who came from all over the province to acquire jobs in this sector. This social movement in construction employment paved the way for modernization in the economic sector as it represented their first exposure to waged labour in the Lahore district. These projects also increased urbanization in the district as people

---

2 *Lahore District Gazetteer*, 1883, p-28
3 Quoted in “People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial, and Post Colonial Migration”, Ishtiaq Ahmed, “Forced Migration and Ethnic Cleansing in Lahore in1947: Some First Person Accounts - in 1940 the population of the city approached 650,000 out of which 24,300 were working in 140 different small or large factories in the Lahore district.
moved from project to project and also created industrial employment and a class of industrial and waged labourers had emerged.

The railway company, as a large part of the industrial sector was not unmindful of the comfort and social enjoyment of its large staff of employees. The railway community of foremen, drivers, guards, firemen and mechanics were comfortably housed in quarters built by the company in the vicinity of the station, both north and south of the line. They had their own institute, library, swimming baths, theatre and co-operative stores.

The presence of military cantonment at Mian Meer also expanded the urban view of the Lahore district. During the two world wars, Lahore especially fulfilled the demand for ordnance which at the same time generated the demand for labour.

The establishment of a large educational sector in the city was primarily designed to produce the manpower needed for imperial administration. Later on, missionary activities in the field of education increased the educational network in the Lahore district. The government sector’s educational facilities also developed institutions in the Lahore district which increased the area’s intellectual outlook.

During the Ranjit Singh period the majority of the Sikh, Muslim and Hindu families came to Lahore as high officials of the Sikh Court. Their links to the
local biradaris were weak while they had strong affiliations with the gentry of the countryside elites. 'There was not much difference between them and the rest of the landed elites of the Punjab – they had little effect and impact on Lahori society’\textsuperscript{4}. After annexation of the Punjab in 1849, Lahore became something like a new court city but the physical presence of Lahoris was not substantial. The rich landowning social class included the Khan of Mamdoot, the Noon and Tiwana families, industrialists like Mela Ram and many more families were prominent and influential during this period\textsuperscript{5}. These new elites were mainly Muslims but they had little to do with the politics of Lahore city.\textsuperscript{6}

The demographic composition of the European presence in Lahore reflects the fact that Christians lived in the neighborhood of Anarkali. Until 1852 Anarkali was both the seat of civil government and the location of the military cantonment.\textsuperscript{7} Later on, the entire military presence was moved to Mian Meer\textsuperscript{8}, six miles south-east of the old city of Lahore, except for a few troops stationed in the Lahore fort. The area between Anarkali and Government House came to be known as Donald Town\textsuperscript{9}. By the time the construction of the railway, with its station and workshop, had increased the European residence in

\textsuperscript{5} ibid
\textsuperscript{6} The social composition showed that by the time of the 1941 census, the inhabitants of the Lahore district were 60.62 percent Muslims with some 39.38 non-Muslims (Hindus and Sikhs). The Muslims were in a clear majority but the Hindus were the dominant class as money-lenders, mainly engaged in import and export of cloth, trade in gold and silver and also had an edible grain monopoly. The leading families consisted mainly of outsiders.
\textsuperscript{7} Lahore Chronicle, December 5, 1855, p. 772
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid
\textsuperscript{9} Gazetteer Lahore District, p. 164.
Lahore. The European civilian population had gradually increased and they preferred to live in the chief urban areas of Lahore where the activities of colonial rule were concentrated.

The European residential pattern affected the Lahoris in different ways. The interaction between European and the indigenous society played a very important role in changing the social and cultural situation in Lahore. Europeans rarely entered the old city which they viewed as being dirty and crowded but interaction between Europeans and Indians primarily occurred in the European areas of Lahore. Many elements of Indian society had never come into contact with the European population but some Indians visited and lived as servants, subordinate government employees, shopkeepers and other businessmen catering to European needs.

The men employed by the government in a civilian capacity held various positions, working in different occupations. This diversified occupational structure included most of the professions and included a considerable number of clerks, white-collar occupations and an elite cadre of executive colonial administrators. The presence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, high officials, clerks, teachers in government schools and colleges, judges, doctors, policemen, railway officials, public works overseers, among others, played a very important role in the social composition of Lahore. As the operational activities of the government service grew larger the non-
official groups of Europeans in Lahore increased. This increase in the European population also increased the opportunity for more hotel proprietors, shop-owners, lawyers, painters, journalists for example.

A small but important element of the non official community was the Christian missionaries. The Christian missionaries enjoyed the warm support of some of the leading British officials. Senior members of the Punjab's administration like Henry Lawrence, Robert Montgomery and, Donald McLeod belonged to the evangelical church and patronized the missionary activities in Lahore. Other senior officials stationed in Lahore during early years of colonial rule were evangelically oriented: men such as R.N.Cust, Charles Saunders and Edward Lake. But the largest group of missionaries in Lahore was American Presbyterians. The earlier missionaries moved from Ludhiana. In 1869 a few members of The Church Missionary Society of the Church of England, those who concentrated their efforts primarily at Amritsar, also moved to Lahore. Another man, T. V French, became the first bishop of Lahore. The Lahore Divinity School opened in 1870 and the activities of The Church Missionary Society were firmly established in Lahore.

The missionaries were essentially engaged in three kinds of activities: preaching, teaching and circulating Christian literature. Public preaching was initiated in the street, bazaars and in villages or other places wherever crowds

11 “Lahore Divinity School,” Church Missionary Intelligencer, VIII , new series- 1872, p. 79-89
gathered. Usually the missionaries preached at the gates of the walled city because they were reluctant to go inside. Direct violence against the preachers was rare because of the protection given by the British authorities\textsuperscript{12}.

Lahore as a provincial capital and a large city was a particularly good place for missionaries to distribute material to people visiting from all over the province. Missionary material was produced in Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi by the Presbyterian Mission Press based at Ludhiana\textsuperscript{13}.

The third mechanism of missionary activity was teaching, which was particularly prominent at Lahore. The American Presbyterians opened the first western-style school in Lahore in December 1849 and this was flourishing by 1871\textsuperscript{14}. There were seventeen branches for beginners with a total of 1,100 students plus an adult school with 50 students\textsuperscript{15}. The curriculum was based on the western model and the mastery of the English language was stressed. With the development of colonial rule a new structure with new possibilities and opportunities emerged in the Lahore district that opened up new vocational jobs. People moved into the Lahore district to take advantage of the new opportunities to acquire wealth, power, influence and status. This new pattern of social mobility created a new semi-westernized middle class.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, p-93
\textsuperscript{13} “Lahore Divinity School,” Church Missionary Intelligencer, VIII , new series- 1872, p. 79-89
\textsuperscript{14} “The Foreign Missionary” (March, 1871), p. 275.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid, p-211
This social class, based on the professions and white-collar clerical employment appeared in the Lahore district, especially in the city in both government and private sectors. All these professions were linked by the fact that access to them required mastery of the English language. Knowledge of English was the key and people wanted to be admitted into missionary as well government schools which taught the western curriculum and a good deal of English.

Initially the growth of government-sponsored, western-style educational institutions was slow in the Lahore district. The Department of Education in the Punjab was established in January 1856 but the real start of government-sponsored educational institutions happened in 1860 when the Anglo-Vernacular School called the Lahore Zillah School was established in the city. The school was initially started in response to the pressure of local elites who wanted a school system for their children other than the missionary school system which the local elites considered too strong in its commitment to Christianity. The Zillah School had two kinds of student hierarchy: in the ‘Lower Division’ students were admitted from the lower social ranks while entry into the ‘Upper Division’ was reserved for those students whose parents were on the Governor General’s Durbar list.
The next major development in higher education occurred in the Lahore district when Lahore Government College\textsuperscript{16} was established in January 1864. This college was affiliated with Calcutta University and its first successful candidate for the B.A. degree was L. Sanjhi Mal, who had passed matriculation from the Lahore Zillah School and also worked as the College Librarian on Rs. 50 to pursue his studies\textsuperscript{17}. Punjab University College was established in 1870 and became the degree-granting University of the Punjab in 1882. A professional medical college was established in Lahore in the 1860s with hopes to popularize western medicine in the province but Bengali doctors were reluctant to serve in the distant Punjab. In order to accommodate locally-recruited medical men two kinds of programs were initially organised at the college. The lower level was called the Hakim's class. At this level medical education was given to Hakims who already had some acquaintance with the Yunani [Greek] system of medicine. Education was given primarily in vernacular languages. At the advanced level a five-year course was taught in English and successful candidates were awarded the degree of Licentiate and were appointed as sub-assistant surgeons in the Punjab. The majority of students of both programs were Punjabis\textsuperscript{18}.

\textsuperscript{16} Government College Lahore developed into the premier most institution in British India under its great principal Dr Leitner. He remained Principal of Government College till 1887. It continued to remain the best institution of Lahore even after Partition.

\textsuperscript{17} Fuller, “Report on Popular Education 1866-67, statements, p. vi. (L. Sanjhi, the Hindu Khatri, received an appointment as tahsildar in the Delhi District), retired from a District Judgeship and the Government bestowed on him the honorary title of Rai Sahib.

\textsuperscript{18} Brown, “Annual Report of the Medical School”, 1871-72, p. 3.
The Punjab High Court was established in 1866 and at the same time special lectures on law were taught in Government College Lahore to prepare students of the college and others for the examination conducted by the High Court. Mr. Baden Powell, the Judge of the Lahore Small Cause Court, regularly delivered lectures during that period.

In the 1850s the Punjab Civil Engineering Department established a school to provide training facilities to *Lahoris* to fill the subordinate positions such as surveyors, draftsmen and overseers. Simultaneously, Thomson College of Engineering was established for proper advance education in engineering in Lahore. The government was initially slow in providing higher education in the Lahore district because of reasons such as financial issues and, more importantly, the imposition of law and order which were the chief concerns of the colonial administrators. However, an alternative system of western education was provided by the American Presbyterians in the Lahore District. The mission schools attracted the attention of the *Lahoris* for a number of reasons: their tuition rates were nominal, they especially focused on primary education and they began instruction in English language at all grades. On the other hand, the government schools had emphasized the acquisition of literacy in the vernacular languages. The *Lahoris* who wanted to prepare their children for government jobs sent them to the missionary schools. The rural inhabitants of the district, who comprised 84 percent of district’s total population during colonial era, had limited opportunities for western-style education. The *Chaudhris*, the *sufaidpoosh* and the well-settled *lumberdars*
and *zaildars* sent their children to Lahore for a decent education and these educational institutions accommodated students from all over the Punjab but obviously *Lahoris* benefited greatly.

Education was not free and the rural and urban poor of the Lahore district did not have the same access to such educational opportunities. A nominal fee of two *annas* was a financial barrier for many and even the children of better-off families frequently stopped their education when they reached university level. The majority of the students gave up their education due to financial constraints and accepted jobs available in the Lahore district.

Female education was very limited in the Lahore district. Many attempts were introduced by the colonial rulers but the socio-cultural barriers against female education were very strong. Those, who in a real sense, benefited from the educational activities in the district were the Hindus; they were financially better-off and lived in the urban areas of Lahore. The representation of the Muslims in higher education was not as satisfactory as compared to the Hindus. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab noted:

“The majority of the Muslims of the Lahore district belonged to the agricultural tribes and they had no tradition to accommodate their children in government job structures. A very few Muslim dwellers of the Lahore city or the sons of the Muslim lumberdars, or zaildars had approached the educational facilities during the British period.”

---

The western presence in Lahore particularly affected the *Lahori* society. But various individuals had left their impressions on *Lahoris*: The American Presbyterian missionary C.W. Forman, Henry Lawrence, fighting for more sympathetic treatment of the conquered Punjabis, E.A. Prinsep, settlement officer and then settlement commissioner and many more. But in intellectual domain, however, we will concentrate on three others: a senior official, D.F. McLeod; a government employed educator, G.W. Leitner; a private businessman and journalist, H. Cope, those actively promoted the oriental movement particularly in Lahore.

Donald Friell McLeod served in the Punjab for 20 years from 1849 to 1870 except for one year in 1859-1860. He served the Punjab as Financial Commissioner from 1854 to 1865 and then as Lieutenant-Governor from 1865 to 1870. During 20 years of his administration various important administrative steps were carried out in Punjab. From 1865-1870 he was an active member and officer of the Agri-Horticultural Society. He was very much active for suppression of female infanticide, and missionaries wrote frequently about their indebtedness to him. He was also very much interested

---

20 The Punjab Agri-Horticultural Society was one of many such societies that existed in India in the third quarter of the 19th century. D. R Gadgil refers to these societies as the first regular associations – D.R. Gadgil, “The Industrial Evolution of India” (4th. Ed., Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1942), p.66. The Society was organized in 1851 and was almost immediately successful. Patronized by the Governor-General, and aided by all the local chiefs, it received the active support of the more important natives. The Society may have contributed to the improvement but the decision to grow potatoes (a vegetable not grown in the Punjab in pre-British times) extensively Lahore was taken autonomously by Punjabi market gardeners…around Lahore primarily member of the Muslim Arain caste. – cultivation of potatoes increased and by the late 1860’s they had become “quite an article of commerce”, - Leslie S. Saunders, “Report on the revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Lahore District of the Punjab, 1865-1869 (Lahore: 1873), p.22
in the extension of medical facilities, hospitals, dispensaries, vaccination campaigns and in many other projects. His personal impact in building links between Indians and their colonial masters was particularly prominent in application in the area of Lahore. After his retirement a Lahore newspaper referred not to McLeod’s administrative accomplishment but to his personal qualities as “the beau-ideal of a scholar and gentleman” and to his “promotion of vernacular literature and friendly social intercourse with the natives...”

He always tried his best to develop bridges between the two societies and he belonged to the Lawrence school of personalized sympathetic concern for the ruled. His advocacy of municipal self-government in 1862 had created logical impacts in Punjab. He also possessed an excellent command of the vernacular languages of the Punjab that enabled him personally to develop a favourable understanding of Indian culture. “to rule effectively, one must love India; to love India, one must communicate with her people; and to communicate with her people, one must learn her languages.” McLeod also encouraged friendly social intercourse with Indians and his contemporaries like Lepel Griffin and G.W. Leitner also followed the example of the Lieutenant-Governor. These men began to give parties to high class Indians and select Europeans were also invited. McLeod provided official approval for

---

22 John Lawrence to Sir Charles Wood, August 25, 1864. MSS, Eur. F. 78. – “He is perhaps the best linguist I have met in India and he is intimately acquainted with the manners, feelings and usages of the people”
these gathering by attending and through his general policy of listening patiently and politely to every Indian who gained his ear.24

McLeod’s role in promoting orientalism had great impact; for example, the establishment of Punjab University College in 1870 that later formed the basis for the independent degree granting Punjab University which was established in 1882.25 McLeod’s intention about the structure and direction of the British rule in Punjab reflected clearly in establishing the University College at Lahore which had three main goals

1) To promote the diffusion of European science, as far as possible through, the medium of the vernacular languages of the Punjab and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally;

2) To afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature;

3) To associate the learned and influential classes of the province with the officers of government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.26

Soon after becoming the Lieutenant-Governor McLeod started his work in pursuance of the establishment of the College and in a public circular issued in June, 1865, McLeod stated that the time had come for more decided steps “towards the creation or extension of a vernacular literature.”27 The Lieutenant-Governor’s circular received an enthusiastic reception from various interested quarters, notably G.W.Leitner and Anjuman-i-Punjab. The Anjuman established and lead by the Leitner actively supported proposals

---

25 A History of the University of the Punjab, (Lahore: 1933. pp. 1-86.)
26 Ibid, p-33
27 Printed in the Lahore Chronicle, October 11, 1865, p. 645.
outlined in the circular. In short McLeod’s activities resulted in the creation of the Punjab University College that generated a significant socio-cultural change in Lahore and the Punjab.

The second person who was the most interesting personality in Lahore in the later 1860s was G.W.Leitner. Leitner (1840-1899), born in Budapest, resident as a boy in Turkey for some eight years and educated in Malta protestant College, a Muhammadan Theological School at Constantinople, King’s College London and at the University of Freiburg from which he received a Ph.D. He arrived in Lahore in 1864 and served as Principal of Lahore Government College and then as Registrar of Punjab University. In January 1865, Leitner had founded the *Anjuman-i-Punjab* and its membership was reserved for influential members of the traditional Indian elites of Lahore particularly those who were emerging as semi-westernized elites and few Europeans of High standard. The Anjuman provided Leitner with an instrumental base through which he could present and publicize his ideas. The objectives of the Anjuman were as under:

1) the revival of the ancient oriental learning;
2) the advancement of popular knowledge through the vernacular;
3) the promotion of industry and Commerce;
4) the discussion of social, literary, scientific and political questions of interest;
5) the association of the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government.\(^{28}\)

---

\(^{28}\) Quoted in Bruce, History of the University of the Punjab, p. 10
The activities of Leitner and the Anjuman were extensive and varied. The Anjuman became involved in the movement to establish Punjab University College and Oriental College Lahore. This Anjuman also opened elementary schools and held many public lectures on a variety of subjects. The Anjuman was engaged in various kinds of projects, for example, established libraries, provided medical information, submitted memorials to the government, took vernacular newspaper, published various short works, sponsored prize essays on matters of social reform (especially on female infanticide and widow remarriage), and so on. Leitner had provided the elite segment of Lahore a voluntary association through which they could be exposed to certain ideas. They could formulate their own positions and then could act collectively to pressure Government to adopt those positions. In short he interacted more extensively with influential Indians than perhaps any other westerner in Lahore.

Henry Cope’s attitude towards India was essentially commercial. He lived in Lahore and Amritsar from 1849 to 1870. He served as the editor of the Lahore Chronicle from 1850 to early 1856. Simultaneously in the 1860s he acted as Secretary of the Agri-Horticultural Society. But he continuously tried his best to promote schemes that would result in his personal enrichment. The raising of silk-worm and flax cultivation were two of his schemes which he persuaded the government to support. As editor of the Lahore Chronicle he warmly supported the Punjab administration. In 1860s he moved to
Amritsar and popped up in Lahore from time to time. He also planted 400 acres in order to grow silk-worm and to sell vegetable seeds. In 1860s he also edited the short-lived North Indian Herald published in Amritsar. He also attended meetings of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce founded in November, 1866, but he was not an office holder.  

29 We can not see Cope’s influence on the Indian society but his continual efforts for the promotion of commercial activities, many of them involving agricultural, must have done a lot to generate commercial activity in the Lahore district.

Now we turn to an examination of the activities of another occupational group, the journalists. There were few Europeans engaged in full-time journalism in the capacity of reporters, editors, and managers of newspapers. The employment opportunities were very limited in Lahore. Only one English language newspaper was published at any one time. These were “the Punjabee”, “Indian Public Opinion” and “Punjab Times” and then ultimately brought out “Lahore Chronicle”.

Many journalists were involved on part-time basis with a newspaper. For example “the Indian Public Opinion” was started by some young government employees who were critical of the Punjab Government.  

30 Simultaneously Henry Cope, editor of the ‘Lahore Chronicle’ had no background of journalism and he remained in Lahore after being ousted from his editorship. The

29 Lahore Chronicle, November 21, 1866, p. 799.
journalists of Lahore did not have a major effect on the patterns of European-Indian interaction. Even the editorial policy of the ‘Lahore Chronicle’ always favoured the established policies of the government and also admired the senior officials of the Punjab administration.\(^{31}\)

A pioneer modernizer in the area of communication in Lahore was Munshi Muhamaad Azim, a member of an Arab Muslim Family. He was educated at Delhi College and later on joined the Delhi Gazette Press as a compositor. Soon he learned the technical skills of printing and became foreman of the printing staff. Initially he established his own printing company at Delhi and soon after the annexation he reorganized his business and started an English newspaper at Lahore, the capital of the British Punjab. He hired Cope as editor and then in early 1850 started the ‘the Lahore Chronicle’.\(^{32}\) Azim was ousted from the proprietorship of the Lahore chronicle in early 1856 after which he formed a vernacular newspaper ‘Punjabi Akhbar’. During the Mutiny he started an English language paper ‘the Punjabee’, loyal to the British government. He also started the first Arabic newspaper in India, the ‘An-nafa-ul-Azim’, in October 1871.

The First Urdu newspaper in Lahore was begun in January 1850 by Hersukh Rai, a *khayashatria* from *Sekunderabad* in the North West Provinces. His

\(^{31}\) Ibid, p-280

\(^{32}\) The main source of information about Azim came from Latif, Lahore, pp. 157, 210, 342-343 (Latif was a son of Azim) – an interview was also conducted with Syed Minhaj-ud-Din, the grand son of Latif. Lahore: 19-02-2010 at Gymkhana Club Lahore.
paper, the ‘Koh-i-Nur’ was the major Urdu paper in Lahore during 1870s and Hasukh Rai became a prominent member of Lahori society. There is absolutely no doubt that initially non-Punjabis dominated the press of the entire Punjab – the fact that the British established strict censorship in the Punjab during Mutiny.

“It is hardly necessary to say that history, science, and travel find little or no sale. There are six weekly newspapers – of which one is Arabic, the rest in Urdu – published here. The Koh-i-Nur is believed to have the largest circulation. The Journal of Anjuman-i-Punjab, a literary society established by Dr. Leitner, is principally devoted to educational topics. The Guide of India and the Mirror of Public Opinion has for its motto “Blessed are the subjects and the Governments that opine freely and reflect candidly.” The Punjabi is a weekly journal of news, politics and literature and the nafa-ul-azim or “great benefit” is in Arabic. The Akhbar-i-am or “general news” is the cheapest, coasting only a pice. There is also a medical journal the Bahr-i-Hikmat, edited by Rahim Khan, an Assistant Professor in the Medical School.”

The situation changed slowly and accelerated the process of Punjabi journalism as Punjabi journalists, press proprietors and printers began to emerge. A new form of social order and new political alliances emerged in Lahore early in the 20th century. Soon there were established new voluntary organizations which attempted to mobilize popular support on issues of immediate political concerns. The print media also contributed in this regard and particularly the Urdu press played a very important role. ‘Paisa Akhbar’

---

33 Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1883-84, p. 53.
the first Urdu daily with a mass circulation played an important role in this regard. ‘The Daily Paisa Akhbar, edited and published by Maulvi Mahboob Alam, was valuable to Muslims, while the books he wrote or published on the subjects of education and the teachings of Islam helped to bring about political consciousness among his co-religionists’³⁴. Besides this, the most outstanding Muslim leader, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, a graduate of Aligarh, also rose to prominence in the years after 1911 when he moved his father’s newspaper, Zamindar, to Lahore as a daily paper and gained a reputation as one of the leading public spokesmen for symbolically-defined Muslims – “interests”. With a highly-charged and emotional style, he defined the symbols of Muslim cultural identity against the British and against India’s other religious communities, in spite of frequent clashes with the government and repeated forfeitures of the Zamindar’s security under British press laws.³⁵

The rapid expansion of Punjab’s urban population paved the way for the diversity of interests represented within Punjab’s cities. Growth in Lahore was the greatest in places where the population had more than tripled between annexation and the 1920s, and the new areas outside the walled city transformed the city’s character. The voluntary associations emerged in Lahore with the help of the educated people, just as Muslim associations or voluntary organizations emerged throughout India. In 1869 a Muslim *Anjuman*

³⁴ Jahanara Shahnawaz, “Father and Daughter: a political biography” OUP, 2002 p. 9
was formed in Lahore to administer the Badshahi mosque. (Under Sikh rule the great mosque had been closed and used as a military magazine.) To safeguard Muslim interest and to defend Islam against Christian missionaries, Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam was founded in Lahore in late 19th century. This Anjuman was formed to create a social awareness among Muslim youth and to prepare them for work within the British system. Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam established Islamia College at Lahore and then managed several Islamic high schools along with other charity institutions. ‘The British models of organization, the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, defined Muslim interests publicly; publishing tracts to defend Islam against Christian missionaries and against attacks from Punjab’s other religious communities’36.

These kinds of social cultural and religious associations replaced the patronage network of intermediary elites in the structure of politics in Lahore and simultaneously all over British India. These new associations created a new sense of politics among Lahoris.

(B) The biradaris and their engagements with the public sphere

Broomfield argued that in the initial areas of British rule in South Asia (for example Bengal) those groups who best grasped the new “opportunities

36 Ibid, p-125
became the elites in these societies in the nineteenth century”. This phenomenon reflects the groups which possessed the skills, attitude and strategic social position that enabled them to grasp the new opportunities effectively.

The establishment of colleges and schools by missionaries, as well as government policy to provide an educational network in Lahore, opened the way for proper institutions of higher education and provided a training ground for semi-westernized, regional Punjabi elites. The establishment of these educational institutions also guaranteed the city of Lahore a dominant position in the educational and intellectual life of the province.

Suma Chitnis explains that the growth of European education was the result of a combination of various factors – a deep commitment on the part of British government; the active involvement of missionaries; the demand for European education by Indians who saw it as a means to their personal advance and prosperity; the keen interest of public-spirited Indians in providing facilities for education so as to enable Indians to advance; a British need to have educated Indians to assist with colonial administration; the conviction on the part of British governors that by promoting European culture through European education in India, they could build loyalty to British rule.

38 Suma Chitnis, “Higher Education as a Social Institution Definition”. The Oxford India ‘Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology’, Edited by Veena Das.
The educational, administrative and vocational policies of British rule significantly changed the outlook of Lahore. It became a new commercial and manufacturing centre. Lahore also emerged as a centre of education with a growing middle class. The network of bureaucracy expanded and migrants from all over the Punjab sought employment in Lahore. A new social class had emerged. 'After 1890, Lahore had become something like a new court city, which required the physical presence of the influential landed magnates of the Punjab. Together with some of the richest entrepreneurs of the city itself, and a new class of urban professionals, journalists and lawyers in particular, they started to buy palatial homes within the civil lines. The new neighbours were rich and cultivated men of high social standing……'.

The British initially focused on establishing control in rural areas but simultaneously they also paid full attention towards city elites. C.A Bayly calls them, “urban magnates” or “rais”. They were a very wealthy urban class accumulating considerable wealth and residential properties. They also dominated the wealth and credit in the city.

“…the rais were marked out by their coincident abilities to mediate with higher political authority and to control webs of patronage beneath … After the Mutiny these men were increasingly incorporated onto municipal committees as key figures in British urban administration”.

---


*Arains* as the most outstanding gardeners and hereditary custodians of the Shalimar Garden of Lahore retained their custodianship of the gardens under the British. The Arain Mians of Banghbanpura were the leaders of the Muslim majority in Lahore. They were members of the Municipal Committees and were regarded as key figures in the British urban administration of Lahore. The Punjabi *Arains* were predominantly smallholding agriculturalists and their traditional hereditary occupation was market-gardener. Though largely agriculturist many Arians were closely tied to the economics of the Punjab’s cities and they played a very important role in politics.

They originated in rural areas in Jalandar, Ferozepur and Lahore districts. They were accommodated in the Canal Colonies of Lyallpur. Most were cultivators and tenants. In cities, *Arains* engaged in a wide variety of occupations but the traditional association of *Arains* with market-gardening was sufficiently strong.

The rapid growth of Lahore in the 19th and early 20th century was particularly significant for *Arains* because many held lands in the villages surrounding the cities. As Lahore expended the land value of the Arain villages increased. Simultaneously the political importance of Arains in Lahore was very significant. Arains were numerous and influential at Baghban Pura, Icchra, Sanda Kalan (up till recently they are very influential in these particular
areas). By 1920 Arains had formed a significant percentage of the population of Lahore. They were composed largely of educational elites, professionals, urban rais and few prominent landlord families.

The Arain biradari interacted with the public sphere and the first movement towards formal Arain organization began in the 1890s. This was the work of the Arain students, rais, lawyers and retired civil servants. Meetings were held in both Jullundur and Lahore where the importance of reforming many popular Arain social customs was stressed. 'Such concerns became yet more explicit when a group of prominent Arains dominated by such urban rais as the Baghbanpura Mians met in Lahore in 1915. They launched the Anjuman Ra’iyan-i-Hind. All-India Arain newspaper ‘Al-Rai’ was brought and an Arain meeting house at Lahore was also established. The catalyst for the launching of the Anjuman had been a British army directive that Arains, as hereditary market gardeners, should not be eligible for recruitment.'

41 The tribe was consisted of thirteen lakhs in the Punjab alone, and soon an Arain Conference was brought into existence, an Arain House was built on Mohni Road and a weekly paper known as ‘Alrai’ was started.

The Arain anjuman demanded representation in the administration and in bureaucracy to justify the British recognition of their status. The motive of formal biradari organization therefore was not only to pressurize the government in the name of Arain political and economic benefits, but also to

42 Jahanara Shahnawaz, “Father and Daughter: a political biography” OUP, p-23
assert publicly what (for the leaders of the anjuman), being a good Arain meant. ‘Its leader stressed the pure inner Muslim nature of Arains that was rooted in the ‘tribe’s’ genealogical link to Arabia. The Arains anjuman also argued that the Arains were the descendents of the Arab soldiers who had come to Sind with Muhammad Bin Qasim in the eight century…’"^{43}
Mian Nizam-ud-din
He had six children

Mian Din Muhammad
Had two sons

Mian Shah Din
Went to England, Studied Law, returned Lahore and started practice - appointed Judge of Punjab Chief Court in 1906 and Chief Justice in 1917.

Ata Muhammad
Muhammad Shafi
Studied law in England, returned Lahore and started practice

Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz
Studied in London Bristler

Shah Din and Muhammad Shafi founded an Anjuman-i-Islam in London.

In 1894 Shah Din was asked to preside at the Annual Session of the Conference.

In March 1908, Shah din presided at a meeting of the All India Muslim League.

Other prominent figures of the family: Justice Mian Bashir - Justice Aslam - Justice Mian Rashid
The first Chief Justice of Pakistan - Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Chief Editor Pakistan Times Imroz and Minister of the Punjab Government.

Arains of Baghbanpura were very influential because they took up the new educational and professional opportunities. Mian Shah Din and Mian Muhammad Shafi played a distinguished role in Muslim League’s politics. They participated in Freedom Movement and collaborated with Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Other important Arains were Justice Shah Din, Mian
Bashir, Mian Abdul Rashid, the first Chief Justice of Pakistan and Mian Iftekhar-u-Din.

Mian Iftekhar-u-Din served as first post-independence Punjab cabinet minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation. 'A middle class socialist lawyer who led the progressive block within the League…. Iftekhar-u-Din became a spokesman for Punjabi Muslims migrating into Punjab from what became India’s states of Punjab, and later Himachal Pradesh and Haryana. These Punjabi muhajir (migrant) groups largely were from lesser cultivating lineages (biradari) in hinterland of east Punjab…'44 He demanded land distribution as a solution to land shortages for the displaced. 'When his plan was roundly rejected by the land owning political elite in his own province, he resigned, exposing deep fissures between the organizational and cabinet-level wings of the provincial League. Thus he founded his own party “Azad Pakistan Party (APP), the first party which challenged the authority of the Muslim League.

‘As a group Kashmiris were not directly defined by common ancestry but by common geographical origin.’45 A Kashmiri biradari is based on the model of a blood relationship. It is one of the most important urban biradaris of the Punjab. Initially Kashmiri weavers settled in Amritsar and Ludhiana with a hope of famine relief and to protect themselves from the cruelty of the Dogra rule. By the early twentieth century a number of Kashmiris could be found in

Amritsar Ludhiana, Sialkot, near the Kashmir border and in Lahore. Kashmiri Muslims were mostly living inside the old walled city. Most were petty merchant, artisans and labourers. In Ludhiana Kashmiris were working in the hosiery industry and at Amritsar they were largely engaged in various crafts such as carpet-making, shawl work, coolies, woodmen, poultry keepers and so on. Very few owned land.

However, a few Kashmiris built political leadership like other urban rais and began to exercise political influence through wealth, control of patronage and connection with the urban administration or bureaucracy. In Lahore for example, the first Kashmiri Muslim named Muhammad Sultan, a resident of Lahore, was a soap manufacturer and wrestler⁴⁶. He quickly grasped the opportunities created by the British. As a contractor of public work programs in the district, he had provided goods such as bricks and lumber and services like labour and cartage required for the construction of public works. He provided bricks usually by demolishing old buildings for the construction of the Mian Meer cantonment in the 1850s. He was wealthy and honoured by the British. He was well known for his charity work. He was appointed to Lahore’s first Municipal Committee in 1862.

Mian Karim Bukhsh, another public works contractor, had served for over 30 years on the Lahore Municipal Committee. He founded one of Lahore’s most influential Kashmiris families. His descendent, Mian Amirudin, was a member

of the Punjab Legislation Assembly in 1941-46. He was later elected Chairman of the Lahore Municipal Committee.

The Kashmiri rais had dominated the politics of the Municipal Committee at Amritsar. The Kashmiri professionals and journalists also gained considerable influence in the city of Lahore. Allama Muhammad Iqbal, a great poet and philosopher, played a very important role as a political leader and also presented the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. The distinctive political visions of leaders like Saifuddin Kutchlue (Kashmiri leader of Amritsar) and Iqbal earned for Kashmiris a distinctive cultural position in Punjabi politics. The Kashmiri biradaris Anjuman was founded in the late 19th century. The Anjuman Kashmiri Musalmans’ was organized at Lahore in the 1890s. At Lahore, Amritsar and Sialkot, Kashmiri biradari identities were central features of election campaigns. Mian Amir-ud-Din, the Kashmiri leader of Lahore, contested the election in 1937 on a Unionist ticket from inside the walled city of Lahore on a Muslim Assembly seat.

The public sphere that has been created in years, focused, in this chapter produced substantial results. Rapid economic development, due to the growth of small industry and a dynamic economy which flourished at the same time, was one of the main reasons for urbanization which provided gradually the opportunities to formulate public opinion in Lahore. Lahore has many faces: the administrative headquarters of the Punjab, an international market place,
a city of scholars, poets and saints, and the centre of educational institutions. All these factors contributed to the urbanization of Lahore. People came from the countryside and the absorption of these new arrivals created a new aspect for the public sphere in Lahore. Particularly students of various institutions like Government College, Islamia College civil Lines, National College of Arts, Oriental College and Law College of the Punjab University Lahore\(^{47}\) used to sit in Old Anarkali at various tea stalls and tharas and were engrossed in late night discussions, till early morning.

Growing rates of literacy and accessibility to literature paved the way for a new kind of critical journalism - a separate domain apart from the ruling authorities that started to evolve in Lahore and gradually became a new public sphere in which state authority was publicly monitored through informal and critical discourse by the people. Institutions like publishing companies, newspapers, educational institutions and discussion forums in Lahore were the main agents of execution in this public sphere.

This chapter has illustrated some of the ways the diverse western presence and the policies and institutions established by the colonial administrators in Lahore resulted in a multiplicity of effects on the district’s Indian inhabitants. The cumulative results of British policies changed the outlook of the Lahore district. Socially Lahore was upgraded and the biradaris responded to the opportunities established by the British rulers. The easier movement of

\(^{47}\) All these institutions are situated in close vicinity near Mall Road Lahore.
people to and from the Punjab began to diminish the isolation and parochialism of Punjabis and improved them intellectually.
Chapter: 4

Displacement and Development:
The challenge of refugee settlement and the biradari response from 1947-1970

The painful aspect of Partition for both India and Pakistan was the huge demographic upheaval. This created the single biggest refugee movement in history of the world which produced a huge influx of refugees into Lahore. Hindus and Sikhs, about 40 percent of the population of the district migrated to India and simultaneously a great majority came from India as refugees. This massive exchange of population considerably changed the social composition of Lahore. One in ten people in Pakistan was a refugee. The newly created state, Pakistan, had to resettle, feed and house a large group of people those crossed the border by train, sea and foot. This demographic crossing into Lahore had made the entire structure and composition of the Lahore district unbalanced. By October 1953, Lahore’s estimated population was 1,200,000; it had been 700,000 in 1947.¹ Besides this Lahore emerged as a site of physical violence and more particularly it was transformed into a border city. This chapter will elaborate the impacts of refugee movement which produced a huge influx of refugees in Lahore. It would be discussed the

challenges of refugee settlement and the *biradari* response from 1947 to 1970.

Lahore has expanded considerably during the colonial rule and its political and administrative importance eventually increased. Its educational and commercial activities made the Lahories a diversified and vigorous population. There lived the followers of three major religions; Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. Simultaneously there was the network of caste and *biradari* alliances which dominated the territorial divisions of Lahore. The composition of district of Lahore was prosperous and overwhelmingly agrarian. The larger European population of Lahore lent it more cosmopolitan. Lahore had emerged by the time a largest center of engineering industry due to Railways. The north-west railway repair workshops were establishes in 1875 but at the outbreak of the First World War the railway engineering activities were further expanded rapidly. The greatest industrial development was occurred during the Second World War when Lahore experienced a considerable industrial development.

The displacement over twelve million people at the time of partition created a massive demographic upheaval. A greatest number of people crossed the border in deplorable condition. Many had no access to transport. The journey proved a severe physical punishment for many. The Lahore railway station was inhumanly packed and people camped themselves in every available
space. By the end of 1947 over a million refugees were living in Pakistani camps and the majority was stationed at Lahore. These and many other difficulties Lahore had faced as a result of partition.

Yasmin Khan explains how the migrants headed and protect themselves, ‘There was a big difference in the way that people left. For the majority, especially in Punjab it was part and parcel of the terror of violence, as they literally ran for their lives or what hurriedly formed into \textit{kaflas} and made to march without as much as a few hour’s notice. They did not know where they were heading and what their final destination would be.’\(^2\)

The massive upheaval is described by Ishtiaq Ahmed

\textit{“Trouble in Lahore started with Master Tara Singh’s speech on 3 March at Kuri Bagh near Purani Anarkali, near our house. Before the real massacres and burnings started in May, communal animosity began to be expressed in terms of belligerent communal slogans at night from the rooftops. The Muslims would shout ‘Nara-e-Takbir, Allah o Akbar.’ This would be followed by screams of ‘Har, Har Mahdev’ by the Hindus and ‘Jo Bole So Nihal, Sat Sri Akal’ by the Sikhs. Each chorus dragged on only to be followed by the other side prolonging its menacing recitation of the religious call to arms. All this generated deep fear and insecurity. When the attacks started on a more organized basis, Hindus and Sikhs were attacked in those areas where they were in a minority, and Hindus Sikh gangs attacked Muslims where the latter were in a minority.”}\(^2\)

The train finally left late in the night. I arrived in Jullundur city early in the morning of the 14th. There I saw the brutal killings of Muslims. Three Sikhs cut down an old man carrying all his belongings on his head. Some Muslims belonging the nearby villages tried to enter the Jullundur cantonment station by force. Three Indian soldiers shot them down. One terrible memory haunts me to this day. After a brief stay in Jullundur I came to Delhi, where I was staying at the Railway officers retiring room on top of the old Delhi railway station. I remember an old Muslims with a flowing white beard and a young man with a black beard were waiting on the station, probably with the intention of migrating to Pakistan. Both were attacked. The old man began to bleed profusely from the stabs he had received. There was a police station on the railway premises itself. Instead of helping him the police let him bleed. After some time a military truck came. Dead bodies were heaped on it. They put both the old man and the young Muslim on it even though they were still alive. What happened to them, one can only guess.

The violence which preceded Partition was grave and wide-spread. The terrorized public reached in Lahore. Violence and killing in result of partition greatly affected women, children and elderly as well as young men. Children watched their parents burned alive. Women were brutally raped. The entire public of some villages was completely executed. Riots began in Amritsar in the month of Mach and rapidly became more serious and bloody than in Lahore. Eventually the city became out of control. The trouble which initially sparked in Chowk Mani that spread to Chowk Pragdas, a Muslim majority

---

area. In the mosque of Chowk Pragdas nineteen persons were killed and more than sixty were injured. The Muslim properties had been burnt following a general assault by the Sikhs.

Sardar Muhammad Chaudhry noted: “…there was a mad rush towards it as soon as it was ready. The train was jam-packed within no time while many climbed on the roof……the journey was like passing through the valley of death. There were corpses all along the railway track. After reaching Amritsar, the train would not move. We were told that the engine driver was afraid of being waylaid by the Sikhs on the way. It was very hot and sultry. Many died of suffocation and their bodies were dropped down…death was a real possibility every moment when our train was crossing the Beas my grandfather got overwhelmed by grief. He saw the river bed littered with dead bodies. Thinking that those were of his near and dear ones, he tried to jump out the train. He was stopped with great difficulty….”

This massive upheaval is described by Khaswant Singh about a train that inhumanly crammed with refugees passes through Punjabi countryside near the indo-Pakistan border. “…like all the trains it was full. From the roof, legs dangled down the sides on the doors and windows. The doors and windows

---

were jammed with heads and arms. There were people on buffers between the bogies….”

Passengers arrived in Lahore with very miserable condition. Their luggages were either confiscated or looted. These penniless souls were shifting from one place to other either for shelter or in search of food. The dishonouring of their *Izat* had made the women shaky. The sanitary conditions were very deplorable and resultantly cholera broke out with a particular bad epidemic in Lahore district that killed hundreds.

According to figures given by the Director of Punjab Public Relations, ‘…the mass evacuation of Muslims from East Punjab was completed in less than three and a half months….a total number of about 5.5 million Muslims had crossed the border during this period”⁶. The women who had been assaulted, the children even forgot the names of their fathers. Every individual had a separate story. The young girls especially those stayed in the refugee compounds for months or years were constantly dishonoured by the pimps and brothel owners. Even despite all these miseries the refugees started their long journey to recover and tried to adjust in their new lives.

The sudden disappearance of the administrative machinery brought gridlock everywhere that crippled the state ability to function. Lahore’s administrative

---

⁵ Khashwant Sing, “*Train to Pakistan*” Ravi Dayal Publishers New Delhi 1956, p.57
inability to overcome these post-partitioned difficulties was big question mark. This was not simply an exchange of population but it created a vulnerable and dangerous situation in total chaos. Pakistan had lost its bankers, entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, clerks, craftsmen, agriculturists and more particularly the administrative machinery. In the following months of independence, Pakistan, fixed its initial strategy and attention to settle these refugees. The ‘first priority’ was the refugee settlement which complicated the situation but to provide them shelter food and protection was a big question mark. To rehabilitate these refugees was a difficult task for the fledgling state of Pakistan when it was engaged with other early problems.

“The Times’ of 4 September 1947 reported that a column of Muslim refugees 20 miles long and estimated to number 200,000, most of them on foot had been struggling in to the border town of Kasur, some thirty-five miles south of Lahore, since early morning of 3 September 1947”.7

The relief efforts were inadequate and it was very difficult for the new state to even provide them first aid facilities. By the end of 1947 refugees were dying of cold. To provide temporary shelter, medicine, blanket for emergency relief to people in camps in Lahore was a difficult task. The volunteers and Muslim League workers were very active in relief operation.

A journalist of Pakistan reported:

“After mid-night on Wednesday I accompanied the Bai-ul-Mal workers on their ‘mercy round’ in the city in a truck loaded with razais and other woolen stuff. We rattled through the wide, empty streets and halted near the Braganza Hotel, out side the railway station, where one can generally find hundreds of homeless people huddled up together for the night. We debussed, carrying bundles of razais, and fanned out into different directions for their distribution”8.

The people were massacred in East Punjab at large scale. It is estimated that more than 50,000 dead in the last six months; most of them were Muslims of East Punjab9. The majority of the Muslims who came from East Punjab were poor and mostly attached with agricultural activities. The Hindus those left West Punjab were clerical officials, shopkeepers and many businessmen. The economic life of the West Punjab, particularly the Lahore was dislocated. The people of Lahore had to cope with such eventualities during the decade which followed partition.

“On the two sides of the subcontinent – in the east and the west – the complications of the refugees movements were distinctive and there was no catch all solution to ‘refugees rehabilitation’, a new and unrefined government responsibility, which had to be managed locally and through a process of trail

and error. The problem was daunting the two nation states consolidated themselves in the shadow of partition. ‘This matter of refugees continues to be practically the only topic of discussion here. Newspapers are full with statements and counter statements,’ the exasperated Governor of West Bengal told the Indian government in 1948. In the early 1950s numerous political controversies turned on the vexed question of ‘refugee rehabilitation’ and news about refugees peppered the newspapers well into the post independence era. Partition was not a discrete event, rapidly dispensed with in 1947, but had, and has, ongoing repercussions in South Asia”.10

Initially the refugees were accommodated in the Lahore district. Later on they were settled permanently in the canal colony areas of Layallpur, Montgomery and Shahpur which were mostly vacated by Sikhs. Many of the refugees had settled themselves permanently in Lahore District. Mostly the Arains and Kashmiries those were migrated from East Punjab: Amritsar, Hoshiarpur and Jalundhar were settled in the Lahore district.11

Ch Saddique described that Colonial Lahore was encompassed some 3,600 square mile, situated between the rivers Ravi and Sutlej, within the Bari Doab along with some area located between Ravi and Chenab rivers. The district was subdivided into tehsils in 1855 as Lahore, kasur and Chunian. The city of Lahore along with few villages and west of the Ravi around the town of

11 Interview with Khawaja Riaz Mehmood a Kashmiri leader and ex-Mayor of Lahore.
Shahdara was administered as part of the Lahore tehsil. The Chunian town and south-western half of the district were consisted as Chunian tehsil. The north-eastern half was divided between the Lahore and kasur tehsils. Some areas of Manjha, consisting on four Thanas: Waltoova, Khalrha, Patti and Khemkaran were given to India in 1947\textsuperscript{12}. The boundary of the Lahore district was re-devised for administrative convenience in 1976 and a new district Kasur was established. The largest tehsil of the Lahore district, Chunian, was included in the kasur district. At the time of colonial rule the rural-urban distribution of the district’s population displayed that a large rural majority was living in small villages with a sizeable minority located in urban areas of the Lahore district. Mostly the Arains and the Kashmiris had settled themselves in Lahore\textsuperscript{13}.

The Muslims in Lahore were in clear majority. Artisan formed a significant portion in Lahore. They had been shifted in Lahore mostly because of railway locomotive workshops or other public work opportunities. Most of the poorer Muslim artisans were belonged to the Arain, Mughal and Pathan biradaris. The Muslim elite comprised local landholding families such as the Qazilbash and Arain Mians of Baghbanpura. The Arain family of Baghbanpura was the custodian of Shalamar Baag and having influence in the city. Other Arain families were also living there. Their land holdings were individual and small but large enough to sustain their individual families. With the passage of time

\textsuperscript{12} Interview with Ch. Saddique, Retired senior Civil Servant and also served as Assistant Commission Chunnnian Tehsil
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid
the sub-divisions of their holdings became un-economic and they were compelled to come out of their villages and seek fortunes in services, business and other professions. Hundreds of Arain families from East Punjab migrated and settled in Lahore and elsewhere in Punjab. They too have same racial and ethical traits, except that they were economically less well off than their counterparts already living in this district.

The Arains were in majority in the five different areas: Baghbanpura, Sandha, Ichra, Muzang and Dholanwal. The Arain emigrants were accommodated by their relatives. Besides this the distinction between the local Atrain and a mahajar Atrain was also seen. In early years of Pakistan local Atrain elites considered the Mahajar Arains as inferior to them. Mostly the Atrain were settled in Canal Colony districts of Punjab. For example, quite recently Faisalabad, Toba Take Singh, Chechawatni Burewala and Vehari are majority areas of Arains.

Before Partition the Arains of Baghbanpura were very influential because they took up the new educational and professional opportunities. Mian Shah Din and Mian Muhammad Shafi played a distinguished role in Muslim League's politics. They participated in Freedom Movement and collaborated with Quaied-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Other important Arains were Justice Shah Din, Mian Bashir, Mian Abdul Rashid, the first Chief Justice of Pakistan, and Mian Iftekhar-u-Din.
Sir Mian Shafi and Justice Shah Din both were cousins and lived in *Khardi Mohalla* inside the walled city but they owned land in Baghbanpura. Begham Shah Nawaz the leading female figure of pre-partition Muslim politics was the relative of Justice Shah Din and actively participated in Freedom Movement. She also owned big agriculture tract at *Layyaha* district. She had strong *biradari* association and donated a piece of land for *biradari* welfare. She had also donated a large amount for the construction of *Arian* building at Mohni Road Lahore. She actively participated in the power politics of Lahore.

Mian Iftekhar-u-Din served as first post-independence Punjab cabinet minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation. “A middle class socialist lawyer who led the progressive block within the League…. Iftekhar-u-Din became a spokesman for Punjabi Muslims migrating into Punjab from what became India’s states of Punjab, and later Himachal Pradesh and Haryana. These Punjabi *muhajir* (migrant) groups largely were from lesser cultivating lineages (*biradari*) in hinterland of east Punjab…”  

14 He demanded the land distribution as a solution to land shortages for the displaced. His plan was rejected by the land owning political elites in his own province. He resigned exposing deep tussle between the organizational and cabinet-level wings of the provincial League. Thus he formed Azad Pakistan Party (APP).

---

14 Philip E. Jones, “The Pakistan People’s Party, Rise to Power” OUP, 2003, p-69
Another local Arain, Abdul Aziz Malwada, was the Mayor of Lahore in 1949. He was also a lawyer by profession and owned a gracious Malwada House near Doo Moria Pul. He was very active in struggle for Pakistan as an political activist but his family lost interest in politics in subsequent years.

Chaudhry Muhammad Hussain, Lahori was an ordinary labourer in food Mandi who rose himself to the position of Vice Chairman Lahore Municipal Corporation in 1966\textsuperscript{15} due to strong support of the Arain biradari. Later on he became an industrialist and presently his son Chaudhry Ilyas is the owner of Haleeb Milk Factory.

Mian Shujaha-u-Rehman's family was living at G.T.Road near to Baghbanpure. The family has ties with Mians of Baghbanpura. Mian Qadir the father of Mian Shujaha-ur-Rehman was a railway employee. He was in charge of stores. He was the close associate of Maulana Abu Alhasnat Qari, the founder president of Jamiat Ulma Pakistan. After his death Mian Abdul Qadir became the patron-in-chief of JUP. Mian Shujha-ur-Rehman was elected as Mayor of Lahore Corporation 1980s.\textsuperscript{16} His brother Mian Zika-ur-Rehman actively participated in the power politics of Lahore. His brother Mian Misbha-ur-Reman was also very active in power politics. He was the President of Lahore Chamber of Commerce. He was also the Chairman Gymkhana Club Lahore. His wife is Member National Assemble on reserved

\textsuperscript{15} In Basic Democracy system the administrator was appointed from Civil Service while Vice Chairman was elected by general public.
\textsuperscript{16} Interview with Omar Misbha-ur-Rehman, nephew of Mian Shujha-u-Rehman and actively participating in Politics.
women seat. She is a sister of Malik Muhammad Qayyum, ex-Judge of the Lahore High Court.

Mian Azhar ex-Governor of Punjab is another important Arain figure of Lahore. His family migrated from Jallandhar and settled in Sanat Nagar. They had close association and business relation with Mian Sharif family up till recently. Mian Azar's elder brother Mian Ashraf is an industrialist. He also participated in politics but mainly concentrated to the family business. Mian Azhar started his political career as a councilor. He became a mayor of Lahore and served for five years. He also served as governor of Punjab.

Before Partition, Amritsar, with its far-flung trade and markets became the distribution centre of European cotton and woolen textiles. Mostly the kashmiris who migrated from Amritsar were belonged the artisan class. These Kashmiris were settled inside the walled city, Gawalmandi, Nisbat Road and nearby areas which were vacated by the Hindus and the Sikhs.

Most of the Kashmiris were settled at Shah Aalmi to Rang Mahal and Mahalla washowali, the Hindu majority areas, inside the walled city. The Kashmiris occupied the shops situated at Gumti and Mori bazaars along with residential quarters known as Kuchas and kattrhas. Chuna Mandi, leading to Kashmiri gate, was the residential and commercial area where Sikhs were living in
majority. There were a number of Gurdawaras and residential quarters including the Khushal Singh’s haveli.17

The Kashmiris are non-agricultural biradari, mostly engaged in shop-keeping and manufacturing business. Majority of them are engaged in printing press business at Royal Park. They settled themselves around and inside the walled city of Lahore. They are engaged in shop-keeping. Some of them are owners of small karkhanas. The business activity inside the walls city of Lahore is mostly the manufacturing of small utility items like shoe-making, ladder-bag, embroidery of clothes, steels crockery or other household items. There is also a cloth market and a Jewelry bazaar. The kashmiri majority areas like Prem Gali, Ram Gali, Branth Road and Nisbat Road have very active political role in power politics of Lahore. The local and mahajir Kashmiris lived in distinct areas. The locals are in majority in the areas like Old walled city, Circular Road, from Lohari to Sheranwala Darwaza. Inside the walled city more than sixty percent are local kashmiris. The mahajir Kashmiris mainly came from Amritsar occupied the vacated property of the Hindus and the Sikhs. They are in majority in the areas like Gawalmandi, Ramgali, Shah Alami and nearby areas.18

In terms of biradari patterns the strongest Kashmiri leader was, Mian Salahudin, belonged to a notable Taksali Darwaza family. He found a very

---

17 Interview with Anwar Kadwai, Senior Journalist (Daily Jang) Lahore
18 Interview with Dr. Akram Kashmiri, a known educationist
distinctive political role in the Lahore city. He was the son-in-law of Sir Allama Muhammad Iqbal, the great Muslim Poet and philosopher of the subcontinent. Mian Amiruddin the father of Mian Salahoddin secured a seat in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1941. He secured both Muslim League as well as Unionist Party support in the by-election. Mian Amiruddin had also contested election for Lahore Municipal Corporation. He served as a Mayor of Lahore from 1947 to 1949. In 1951 his real brother Aminuddin was the governor of West Pakistan. He elected as a member to LMC in 1951 and formed a Kashmiri opposition group during the Mayor-ship of Malik Shaukat Ali and Hadi Ali Shah. ‘After 1958 military coup d’etat, and following the appointment of Kalabagh to the west Pakistan Governorship, the Taksali Mians became a local pillar of the Ayub’s Regime and Salahuddin was elected to the national assembly in both 1962 and 1965, the later time as convention Leaguer’19.

The Maos migrated from Karnal and Riasat Alwar and settled themselves in the close vicinity of border areas of the Lahore district. The Mao Rajputs are also found in Kasur district. They are Urdu speaking and belong to agriculture profession. Mostly they occupied the land vacated by the Sikhs and the Hindus. They have strong feeling for biradarism. Many Maos also secured

---
19 Philip E. Jones, “The Pakistan People’s Party, Rise to Power” OUP, 2003, p-69
The Awans were migrated from Hoshiarpur. They also settled themselves in the border areas of the Lahore district. The Awans are not in majority in particularly one village. They are scattered in various villages at close vicinity of border areas.

The Kambhoos were settled in Lahore in the area of Ichhra, Mouzang and Samanabad. They also can be found at Ghari Shahoo, Sultanpura and Wasanpura. They migrated from India in small number and adjusted themselves in areas where already Kambhoo were in majority. Basically like Arains they are also an agricultural biradari. But at present they are also engaged in business of manufacturing and educational services. Few of them rose to high positions.

The Shiekhhs also settled in Lahore permanently after partition. This is an important biradari of the Lahore district those are numerically few in number but mostly are the wealthy businessmen. They have strong biradari feelings. They are scattered in all over the Lahore district mostly living in posh areas. Before partition they can be found in Bengal and later on migrated to Lahore. Some Skaikhs also shifted from Chaniout to Lahore. Presently these Chaniouti Sheikhs are very wealthy businessmen of Lahore. Some of them

---

20 Interview with Yaseen Mughal, 22 June-2009
were engaged in power politics of the city. At present they concentrate to their business and extend support to the political parties particularly to PML (N).  

*Kakeyzaïs* are settled inside the walled city of Lahore. They were also living at *Shahdara*, where *Mohalla Kakeyzian* is very famous even up till recently. They had cultivated good relations with the British during colonial rule. They have strong feelings of *biradarism*. They engaged themselves in business and government jobs after 1947. Few of them also adjusted themselves in civil and military bureaucracy and rose to high posts. Malik Muhammad Akhtar, a lawyer turned politician played an important role in power politics of Lahore in 1970’s. *Kakayzaïs* formed political alliance with *Kashmirs* inside the walled city. The ex-Governor General of Pakistan Malik Ghulam Muhammad was a *Kakeyzai* and belonged to inside the walled city of Lahore.  

The *Mugal biradari* is also very important. The *Mughal* artisans, working in Railway were the residents of nearby areas of locomotive work-shops at *Mughalpura* before 1947. Up till recently they are living in majority in *Badami Bagh, Shahdara, Kot Khawaja Saeed, Darbar Chah Meeran, Mughalpura Ghari Shahoo Lal Pul, Ghazi Abad* and *Kamhar pura*.  

---

21 Interview with Sheikh Mansoor Ahmed, 23 June 2009  
22 Interview with Shafaqat Tanveer Mirza, Senior Journalist (Dawn – Lahore) August 2007  
23 Interview with Yaseen Mughal
With the passage of time the industrial growth and the commercial and trading opportunities available in the Lahore district increased population growth. The process of the population explosion is still continuing because Lahore is a progressive center of education and socio-economic and socio-political activities. Natural increase in birth-rate and migration from other parts of the country contributed much as a major factor of its growth. The census reports indicate that the population of Lahore was 0.789 million in 1951 and 1.228 million in 1961. Roughly speaking the population is doubling up after every twenty years. This haphazard growth is creating unplanned ‘kachi abadis’ and unauthorized constructions at open spaces without proper schemes and planning. The existing administrative and other services are not able to cope with increasing demands for better amenities.

“Lahore undoubtedly faced serious difficulties in 1947. Its industrial labour force had declined by 73 per cent and its industrial working capital by 60 per cent. Further evidence of the dislocation emerges starkly from the following figures: only thirteen of Lahore’s thirty-nine printing presses were running in 1947; just sixteen of its former twenty-eight scheduled banks were serving customers in August 1948; all of its textile factories were only partially functioning. Lahore had accounted for seventy-five out of 101 engineering factories in the undivided Punjab, only twenty-three of which were operating in 1947. Factories abandoned or damaged in the partition-related violence”.24

Lahore Improvement Trust became responsible for the city’s post-partitioned reconstruction and rehabilitation. Initially Gulberg, Samanabad and Shadbagh schemes were started for housing. The Gulberg scheme cost 3 Crores. A new area of 29000 acres around the existing Gulberg Colony in the south-east of the city near cantonment was being used for construction of bungalow compounds. Small houses were also planned. Gulberg being an upper class residential area also reflect Lahore’s post-independence administrative and commercial importance. But the refugees were deprived in getting accommodation in Gulberg area.

The Samanabad scheme was started in 1950s. It initially covered just over 200 acres. The houses were allotted to officials of various departments. Some notable refugees from East Punjab were also accommodated. Plots of land were also sold for the construction of houses. Originally these plots were of 10 marlas. The measurement also increased up to 18 marlas in certain conditions. The modus of payment was normally in installments to the Lahore Improvement Trust. Even though the land price was very high and to secure accommodation in Samanabad was out of reach for many. Lower middle-class refugees and locals were unable to buy a house. “Samanabad began as a high class modern suburb, but it evolved into an expansive housing district particularly suited for merchants and second-rung firm sector executives”.25

The Misri Shah development Scheme was started actually in 1944 and Shadbagh Scheme was an addition. It comprises plots mostly ranging from 10 to 20 maralas in size. Shadbagh Scheme gradually increased popularity with the passage of time. It became more accessible when the roads were developed with planning and the other ways of communication were improved. Private investors also started various schemes in 1965. Tajpura, Wasanpura, New Shadbagh and Sadiqyah Colony are the new developments from Badami Bagh to Shadbagh. “Residential localities were surrounded by mushrooming markets including Akbari Mandi, Maeva Mandi and Ghala Mandi. An originally lower middle class area took on a distinctly working class feel. The areas became congested with a population density that was considerably higher than in Gulberg and Samanabad. Eventually, land use included industrial and commercial as well as residential developments”. 26

The Lahore Improvement Trust also started development at Shah Almi locality. Before partition this was the majority area of the Hindus and Sikhs. But in Post-partition development there was a settlement of the refugees in this particular area. The Kashmiri were settled in the vacant mahallas and quarters at Shah Almi. The area from Shah Almi to Rang Mahal was badly damaged and burnt. It was reconstructed later on and a notable market consist around 200 shops was build in this area. The LIT also constructed and rented out the wholesale shoe market close to Shah Alami area.

26 Ibid, p-262
The areas like *Shadman* and new Garden Town were considered as highly priced and even very expensive to live.

Lahore Improvement Trust started the redevelopment schemes. There is absolutely no doubt that this body significantly improved the physical feature of Lahore but it did not, however, solve the acute housing shortage for majority.

The Punjabi peasant and particularly the rural artisan remained tied to their respective area initially, but with the opening of the new opportunities and the growth of the industrialization induced them to shift in cities. Lahore being an administrative headquarter of the Punjab expanded enormously with the passage of time to all respects. People migrated to Lahore to test their luck in various business activities as well as government jobs. Besides this many from rural areas also shifted in Lahore to quench their thirst for knowledge because Lahore is a city of colleges and schools. Those shifted to Lahore during 1947 to 1970 were belonged to different *biradaris*. It is estimated that at present seventy percent of the population of Lahore district is shifted here from other cities as well as rural areas.

Another aspect of partition was a split in *Lahori* society soon after 1947. There were two kinds of groups i.e. beneficiaries and poor *Mahjirs* (refugees). Those who captured the property and businesses left by Hindus and Sikhs
were beneficiaries, but those who left their property, businesses and even lost their kin for the sake of this country mostly acquired nothing in Pakistan. It can be exemplified the case of *Mus pehalwan*\(^{27}\) (wrestler) who alone saved the lives of the residents of a *Mahalla* in a fight with Sikh *Jatha* in *Amritsar*. After shifting to Pakistan he lived in a miserable condition at a *kotha*\(^{28}\) of a *twair*\(^{29}\). To rehabilitate these refugees was a difficult task for the fledgling state of Pakistan when it was engaged with other early problems.

During the early years of Pakistan there was a wide range of discussion about different issues. The one and only important topic for discussion was the partition and its impact on society. The emergence of the public sphere began in refugee camps, *tharas*\(^{30}\), parks, (like Minto Park, now called Iqbal Park\(^{31}\)) and as well as at tea stalls such as the Arab Hotel, the *Ghareeb* Hotel, the *Nagina* Bakery, the Pak-Tea House, the Chinese Lunch Home, Kabana and Capri at Mall Road. YMCA Hall was also a place for writers to discuss these issues. Mostly the *Kashmirs* and *Arains* actively participated in these discussions.

In early years Pakistani politics, particularly in Lahore revolved around various issues: Daultan and Mamdoot engaged in power competition in Punjab; the Anti *Ahmadiyya* Movement took shape in mid 1948 and reached its peak in

---

27 The story of the Mus Pehalwan was narrated by Khawaja Riaz Mehmood, ex-Mayor of Lahore during an interview.
28 A room at upper story of a house.
29 A dancing girl
30 A small place to sit outside the house or a shop.
31 During summer evenings its grassy fields are filled with city residents seeking cool breezes, open spaces, and the companionship of friends.
1953; the constitutional making process in Pakistan was delayed. These issues were also discussed among other small organizational bodies. The important people in these groups were literary figures: those remembering the good days in India and expressed their feelings through poetry and novels. Habib Jalib’s revolutionary poetry had great influence during that period. As a result, galaxy of local leaders, social reformists, noble patriots, political thinkers and mighty literary geniuses appeared in Lahore. And as a result Mochi Darwaza politics emerged in Lahore.

The state did not even have a free press until the late 1980s and four decades of military rule have left a legacy of media self-censorship. Overburdened departments, the corruption of low-ranking officials employed in different departments, corruption in the police and judiciary generally and in refugee settlement cases specifically as well as the mafia-like activities of the rehabilitation department were some of the issues of this newly-developed public sphere.

Rapid economic development from 1947-1970, due to the growth of small industry and a dynamic economy which flourished at the same time, was one of the main reasons for urbanization which provided opportunities to formulate public opinion in Lahore. Lahore has many faces: the administrative headquarters of the Punjab, an international market place, a city of scholars,

---

32 Intezar Hussain, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, ibn-e-Insha, Habib Jalib and many others.
33 This was a political trend in the 1960s. Political parties held public meetings at Mochi Darwaza, a gate of Lahore’s walled city (rather like London’s Hyde Park Corner).
poets and saints, and the centre of educational institutions. All these factors contributed to the urbanization of Lahore. People came from the countryside and the absorption of these new arrivals created a new aspect for the public sphere in Lahore. Particularly students of various institutions like Government College Lahore, Islamia College Civil Lines, National College of Arts, Oriental College and Law College of the Punjab University Lahore34 used to sit in Old Anarkali at various tea stalls and tharas and were engrossed in late night discussions, till early morning.

‘In the post-Tashkent atmosphere of political ferment in Punjab, Bhutto was sought out by a number of ‘Progressive’ groups that alike believed the normal political development of the nation had become untracked after the coup of 1958. these were formal organizations, like the bar associations and student federations, as well as informal political discussion groups. The latter, which are commonly known as halqas (circles), were groups of politically-oriented citizens, who met regularly to debate and discuss the issues of the day. As network of information that typically had a number of sources outside the controlled media, the halqas were important transmitters of information and opinion among the urban intelligentsia’. 35

The Tashkent Declaration and Bhutto’s struggle against Ayub Khan has warmed the political atmosphere of Lahore. ‘The year 1940, gave Lahore the historic distinction of being the city from which the Pakistan Movement began. Further as the new nation’s premier educational and cultural centre, and as the provincial capital of ‘One Unit’ West Pakistan, Lahore was regarded by

34 All these institutions are situated in close vicinity near Mall Road Lahore.
conventional wisdom as the barometer of public opinion in the west wing and
the cockpit of future political trends'.

The role of *biradari* politics in 1970s has been a subject of much speculation
and many claimed that Bhutto has shattered the *biradari* system at least
insofar as its customary political functions are concerned. Various *biradari*
elites have joined Bhutto's struggle against Ayub Khan: Mian Arif Iftekhar son
of Mian Iftikharuddin, the famous *Arain* leader of *Baghbanpura*; Mian Manzar
Bashir (Arain of Baghbanpura); and Hanif Ramay (Arain from walled city),
the editor of *Nusrat* a monthly magazine of high literary quality. These and
other *biradari* elites responded to Bhutto’s call and a new trend of active
politics was started in Lahore.

This chapter examined the refugee’s movement and evaluated the challenge
of refugee’s settlement. The researcher has tried to seek the answers how
the social composition of Lahore had been changed with the influx of
refugees in Lahore. It is also explained that how the local inhabitants of
Lahore had accommodated the *mahajirs* of their respective *biradaris*. It is also
elaborated what role the *mahajirs* played in the power politics of Lahore. What
the government policies were to rehabilitate these refugees. How the public
sphere was started in Lahore what were its dimensions and how the public

36 Ibid
37 Manzar Bashir’s father Mian Bashir Ahmed, had organized the MSF in 1943 into the vanguard of
Pakistan Movement in Punjab and had been one of Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s close adviser in the
province.
opinion was created. What particular impact public sphere created and how the *biradari* system worked after political consciousness.
Chapter: 5

The challenge of industrialization and the biradari response 1947-1999

Lahore’s economic base always has had mixture of three most important activities: manufacturing, commercial and administrative. During 19th century Lahore became the centre of repair workshops for Railway Carriage, Locomotives and the headquarter of military garrison. The metal fabrication, molding and lathing industries were established that set the industrial base of Lahore. Being the administrative headquarter, health and educational services became very important. Its hospitals, colleges and high court along with small courts served the whole province with diversifying economic base.

Lahore constituted an urban area at the time of annexation having population of 10,000\(^1\) or more. The rural-urban setting of the district’s population presented the picture of a large rural majority living in small villages with sizeable minority located in one urban area of Lahore. Pre-partition Lahore was an agricultural city and the social composition was predominantly rural based on farmers, peasants’ craftsmen, and labourers. But there was also a small urban group of white-collar clerks, students, lawyers, doctors, and civil officers. The new social framework of Lahore during British period emerged

\(^1\) Gazetteer of the Lahore District, 1883-84 (Calcutta: Punjab Government) p-86
as a result of systematic exposure to western influences and the British, literally, built a new Lahore.

The Mughals laid the physical and social framework of Lahore that evolved gradually with the passage of time as a socially cohesive and functional entity with specialized neighbourhoods inhibited by specific clans, tribes, occupational casts and biradaris. The British brought it into modern times and Lahore became the Metropolitan Corporation during British rule. Lahore unlike other cities of British India according to Brush which have “segregation by commodity in business areas, and by socio-economic or religious groups in traditional areas but which lack a clear cut separation of residential land use from business or industry.”² Before partition Hindus had dominated the wholesale trade and white-collar professions. The walled city of Lahore district had small manufacturing establishments such as craft shops and other menial manufacturing activities.³ The British did not encourage any industrial move in Punjab in any systematic way but the building of railways, roads and other public works have created industrial sense among Lahoris.

The old agricultural colonial Lahore is still growing fast and has developed from a small provincial town into one of the greatest cities of the world. The population of Lahore city as the census of 1941 showed was no more than

³ Rudduck, “Urban Biographies”, p 114
672,000 inhabitants\textsuperscript{4} while the 1991 census placed Lahore’s population at seven million. According to the 2006 census, Lahore’s population is expected to top 10 million.\textsuperscript{5} Population of Lahore is increasing rapidly while its economy is also expanding and industry is developing. This expansionary trend is affecting the internal structure of Lahore profoundly that generating additional demand for goods and services and correspondingly precipitate new opportunities for production. Population increase is expanding existing pattern of economic activities.

Lahore became a border city after partition and the hostile attitude of India created the feeling of insecurity that inhibited the industrial growth in early years of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{6} Gradually the tendency of uncertainty was overcome and by the late 1950 Lahore’s steady growth of industrialization was started. The participation of biradaris in the industrial network after 1947 to 1999 is the main theme of this chapter. The chapter will seek the answer how biradari played a role in industrialization of Lahore and have an impact on local as well as national or provincial level politics of Lahore.

As a result of partition Lahore’s industrial base was damaged due to violence. Lahore’s industrial force had declined by 73 percent and its industrial working capital by 60 percent. Only thirteen of Lahore’s thirty-nine printing presses

\textsuperscript{5} Naw-i-Waqat, Daily Urdu Newspaer, (Lahore) 22 June, 2007
\textsuperscript{6} Muhammad A Qadeer, “Lahore Urban Development in the Third World” p-267
were running in 1947; just sixteen of its former twenty-eight scheduled banks were serving customers in August 1948; all of its textile factories were only partially functioning.\(^7\)

The skilled workers had migrated to India that left complete inability to operate these factories. The Mela Ram Cotton Mill situated at outside Bhati Darwaza was completely damaged and major portion of its building was occupied by the refugees.

Partition has transformed Lahore from economically growing to a border city. The border tension between India and Pakistan weakened the old social, commercial and kin network. Simultaneously the increase of security presence in Lahore during 1950 increased security concerns. As a result of this increasing militarization at the border Lahori population remained afraid and in panic becomes of rumours.\(^8\)

Indo-Pakistan border tension increased in 1951 when Dr. Frank Graham published a report on Kashmir that India was massing troops along the west Punjab border.\(^9\) ‘A number of rifle clubs were established. There was an increasing demand for gun licenses. Citizens were enrolled in the National

\(^8\) Pakistan Times (Lahore) 22 September 1958
\(^9\) Ibid
Guards. Even the Khaksar movement was given pride of place in public displays of drilling during the border tension with India in July 1951.10

‘The growth of industry in Lahore started in different directions i.e consumer good industry and capital goods industry. The consumer goods industries were developed into two directions i.e bazaar mode industry and firm mood industry’.11 “Lahore’s steady industrial growth results from its unique position as the provincial capital and from the resilience of its traditional social structure. Whatever industrial development has taken place is the outcome of a process wherein local entrepreneurs responded to new demands by establishing workshops and factories which relied on the plentiful supply of skilled labour ensured by the hereditary occupational castes. Being a big city and the seat of provincial government, Lahore has also been beneficiary of public expenditures which stimulated demand for manufactured goods”. 12

The contemporary modern industrial city of Lahore flourished after partition. Ninety percent industries were established in Lahore after 1947.13 The bazaar sector factories are owned by individual or partnership pattern in Lahore. These are family enterprises with minimal capital as the bazaar sector caters mostly to the daily needs of people.14 The bazaar sector factory produce

---

11 Muhammad A Qadeer, “Lahore Urban Development in the Third World”, p-266
12 Ibid, p-232
13 Dawn (Karachi) 15 June 1982
14 Interview with Anwar Kadwai, (Senior Journalist Daily Jang) 25 July 2007
consumer goods like fans, steel crockery, garments, leather goods, hosiery and etc. These new entrepreneur initially established inside the walled city and penetrated into surrounding residential areas and thus spread everywhere. The bazaar mode industries flourished in the local areas where bazaar activities were operational in a particular way. These factories are concentrating on printing presses, metal fabrication and mechanical workshops. Their operations were established in British days when Railway Station was the prime concentration in the location of the workshop. These workshops and small factories have retail outlets for their products. Mechanical workshops ranging from steel bars to diesel pumps set the foundation of industrial base in Lahore. The largest network of small and medium size factories initially could be found at Railway Road along with Ram Gali, Mecload Road and the Civil Line area. Even up till recently these types of factories are concentrating on involvement of local residents. These small karkhanas thus further expanded to the location of other areas such as Badami Bagh, Misri Shah along with Baghbanpura and Shalimar town. Badami Bagh particularly is a prominent industrial area which was established as corporative industrial estate. At present a large number of steel plants are also located in this area. Badami Bagh Area was also very important during British period. Goods were being transportated by railways to all over British India from Badami Bagh railway station. These family based economic units were developed where employees qualify for employment by blood relation

16 Pakistan Times, (Lahore) 18 February 1981.
like marriage or previous family intercommunications or customarily defined family ties.\textsuperscript{17}

The analyses of Lahore as an industrialized city after partition showed that firm mode factories emerged in that particular locations where bulk sources of raw material was nearby available. Some of these type of factories were established in Lahore city along with main highway at the distance of ten to fifteen miles of Lahore’s adjoining areas. During early years of Pakistan these firm mode industries enjoyed tax holidays of every kind. The availability of plentiful skilled labour on cheap rate, banking and finance services, the availability of the trained professionals and managerial staff, a large consumer's market and availability of transportation facilities are very important elements for industrial growth. In term of employment, firm mode establishments provide the bulk of industrial jobs.\textsuperscript{18} The other component of the firm sector consists of multinational corporations. These firms are managing agencies of large industrial units and distributors and depot holders of the industrial products in Lahore. These factories have a network of wholesale dealers in Lahore which in turn establish a setup of distribution and retail depots to cover most of the city.

Lahore can be divided approximately into nine areas where these factories were established initially:

\textsuperscript{17} Warren C Robinson and Nasreen Abbasi, “Underdevelopment in Pakistan,” The Pakistan Development Review 18 (1979)

**Walled city:** Pre-partition it was a very high density commercial and residential area. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were the inhabitants. The followers of these three religions were living in separate Mahallas. The walled city was the centre of the crafts activities. Post-partition development of the walled city reflects that it is the biggest centre of small industry in Lahore.\(^{19}\) This cottage industry of various kinds is also penetrating into nearby areas. Within sixty years the commercial and industrial activities have expanded here.

**Northern Communities; Badami Bagh, Misri Shah, etc.**

During British rule Badami Bagh area was utilized for storage. Badami Bagh railway station was used for loading of goods and to send it to different directions. After partition it became a medium density residential area with poor and middle class residences. It also developed as an Industrial and commercial area because of its stores. Misri Shah Development Scheme had originally been conceived in August 1944. This area has the largest concentration of registered factories along with densely packed houses. Mechanical workshops producing a variety of goods are located in Badami Bagh and Misri Shah. Badami Bagh in particular has become a prominent industrial enclave. Small Industries Corporation has built an industrial estate here and a number of large plants are also located in this area. The industrial

\(^{19}\) Interview with I. A. Rehman, senior Columnist and President Human Right Commission of Pakistan (Lahore) 21 May 2008
network in this area is penetrating in surrounding residential areas. Lahore urban area can be divided in different units.

**Civil Lines; The Mall, McLeod Road, Lawrence and Queen's Road.**

In post-British period this area is relatively segregated but in divergent land use. It is a medium density populated area where commercial and institutional activities are dominant. This is also inhibited by middle and upper class residents. Civil Lines area is the result of concentration of printing presses, metal fabrication and mechanical workshops.

**Western Communities; Ravi Road, Krishan Nagar, Mohni Road.**

These localities emerged in the late British period. Originally it was established for residential areas along with local commercial land use. This area was meant for working and middle class residences.

**Southwestern Planned Schemes; Samanabad, Shah Jamal, Wahdat Colony, Iqbal Town.**

These localities mostly emerged after 1947. These are low density residential and local commercial land uses areas. These are considered as middle and upper class residential areas. These areas have commercial activities. Shadman market and Moon Market are the best examples in this regard. We can also find motor repair workshops in this area.
Northern Communities: Railway Colony, Mughalpura, Sultanpura and G.T.Road.

These are post-partition development areas. This area has heavy industrial and residential land uses. This has developed as medium density area for middle class and moderate income housing and industries.

Southern planned Suburbs: Gulberg, Garden Town, and Model Town.

These are also post independence developments. It developed as upper class residential and local commerce land uses. It is a low density area. But in Gulberg a strip of land was set aside for industries and has been utilized by public corporations. But this area has commercial activities. Barkat market in Garden town, Mini Market, Main market and Liberty market in Gulberg, and Model Town Market are the best examples in this regard.

Peripheral-Ribbon Development: Kot Lakhput, Ferozpur Road, G.T. Road. This area is also developed after independence. It is a low density residential and industrial area and was developed for low income housing. Kot Lakhpat Industrial estate was developed and new industries of various kinds were developed in this area.

Cantonment: it is a military town since British period. This area is residential and of institutional land uses. It originated as the institutional form of
settlement for the military representatives of British colonial power in India. Even in British days cantonment had a native bazaars. Sadar bazaar became high income area after partition.

There are various patterns of industrial locations which can be observed. Civil Line, Badami Bagh, Misri Shah are the areas, where forty percent of Lahore’s firm mode industries were established initially. The Railway Station workshop, along with three highways which are leading out of Lahore, for example, G.T. Road, Ferozepur Road (Kot Lakhpat) and Multan Road are areas which are notable where considerable industrial development took place after partition.20 In Gulberg a strip of land was also set aside for industries. The industrial concentration emerged in the Badami Bagh area primarily and the engineering workshop of railway has become a major manufacturing spot in the city. Altogether since 1947 Lahore is emerging as a major industrial and commercial city. The manufacturing units of bicycle, textile, fertilizer, chemical, pharmaceuticals garments and many more are flourishing in the city.

The largest cluster of small factories is situated on Railway Road, Ram Gali and McLeod Road in the Civil Lines area. During British days mechanical workshops, metal fabrication and printing presses were established with consideration of close proximity to the railway station. The mechanical workshops, producing a variety of goods are the base of industrialization in

---

20 Interview with Shafqat Tanveer Mirza, Senior Columnist The Daily Dawn (Lahore) 24 May 2008
Lahore. With the establishment of auto-repair workshops and transport related activities, the majority of the industrial labour force is engaged in mechanical trade. It is worth mentioning that plastic and rubber products, hosiery, chemical, pharmaceuticals and electronic products have become significant local manufacturing items. These factories are not concentrated in any specific areas. They are scattered in Wahdat Road, Ichhra and Mughal Pura. These industries have no historical root in the city and are not preserve of any caste and clan.21

Lahore is inhibited by occupational caste groups that historically specialized in specific occupations. The occupational castes of carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers and many others are living in Lahore from centuries. These occupational castes are the constant source of steady supply for the skilled labour force. After partition this development has accelerated in commercialization of their operations. So occupational specialization of castes has remained relatively undisturbed and its members have established family workshops and factories which operate like a clan.

“These workshops represent a commercialized evolution from household production units and Lahore’s industrial development is largely due to them. This mode of industrialization has produced such well-known success stories as the blacksmiths of Railway Road. While the economic planners of Pakistan were busy inviting foreign companies and subsidizing new industrial capitalists, these worker entrepreneurs were sustaining the ‘green revolution’ by manufacturing diesel pumps and tube-wells. By

21 Interview with Khashnood Khan, Public Relation Officer, City District Government Lahore.
the late 1960s when members of the affluent class had become numerous enough to constitute a submarket and air conditioners and refrigerators have become items of household use for them, some of the workshops switched to manufacturing components. The point is that these craft enterprises have demonstrated a canny inventiveness and flexibility in responding to market demand. They have proven to be the backbone of Lahore’s industrial base, however small it may be.22

In Lahore commercial, industrial and residential activities are scrambled together and major factories are situated in the core areas of the city. The new factories emerged in adjoining areas where owners live nearby and workers are also readily accessible.23 These small factories operate on the basis of possibilities of exchange of materials, availability of labourers and skilled workers. The workers and members of the same clan or kin are thus bound to each other both economically and socially. These are the advantages of the location of the old congested parts of the city.

The manufacturing establishments of the bazaar sector can be divided into different categories. At the bottom are artisans and household production units like potters, carpenter and weavers whose economic viability has been dependent upon individual association with a set of client relations. The middle stratum of bazaar sector consists of small family workshops which are operating separated from household they may specialize in producing a

---

23 Interview with Anwar Kadwai, (Senior Journalist Daily Jang) during series of discussions.
specific item. This organization is kin base and the operations are relatively small and dealings are highly personalized.24

The bazaar sector is also copying new products and tools. Semi-literate craftsman are the mainstay of the bazaar sector and there are seldom any graduate engineer, chemists or technologists working there. Since 1947 the bazaar sector in Lahore has been successfully producing items like hardware, engines, pumps, pipes, heaters, cookers, fans, nuts, bolts, repair of spare parts of automobiles, carpets, refrigerator parts, radio and television cabinets, chemicals and building components. Most of these products are imitations of foreign items.

The firms sector also has internal hierarchy. The firms sector is characterized by a corporate mode of operation. These kinds of organizations are working in planned manner with different tasks. Their functions are formulized into departments such as management, accounts, production, sales etc. The Railway workshops, The Pakistan Engineering Company and vegetables cooking plants are the largest industrial establishments of Lahore. These are public sector enterprises. At present, private sector enterprises are also making their mark in these types of establishments.

The sources of finance for these sectors are also significantly different. The firm sector relies on bank loans, Governmental subsidies and stock exchange

24 Pakistan Times, February 7, 1980
whereas the bazaar sector sources of finance are essentially based on personal savings, loans from kin and friends and advances from suppliers and buyers.

During colonial era Lahore has been the regional market for grain, jewelry, glass and other household items. Recently it has becomes the center of trade of automobiles, machinery of various kinds, radio television spare parts, fabrics, hosiery, medicine and books. There are regional offices of major import and export firms. The offices of industrial corporations, banks, insurance companies and the stock exchange also have a systematic network at Lahore. The city’s cinemas, hotels, restaurants and kabab shops are earning beyond imagination. Trade and banking sector have expended substantially. Even foreign banks along with local staff are operating in Lahore. The labour force in these activities has tripled over the period 1961 to 1999, which indicates a faster rate of increase of work force in these activities.

The demographic growth stimulates the expansion of trade. It increases purchasing power and further expansion of trade. Lahore has become the absolute consumption area of the province. It is the distribution point of the import goods, industrial products and the best place for entertainment and tourism. Since the mid-1970’s remittances have further increased the demand for all kinds of goods. For such demands, the city is the supplier of goods and
services. These multiple effects of regionally oriented business further strengthened city’s commercial base.

The city’s supplies of grain, meat, milk, vegetables, shoes, clothes, fans, hardware and some items of machinery come from the bazaar sector. Shops and stores are mostly family owned, conducting business primarily through oral and personalized transactions. They are embedded in social networks, and their operations are carried out through bargains and deals.

On the supply side, the entrepreneur ship of the poor and the unemployed also contributes. Due to unemployment and lack of skills and resources, the poor turn to hawking and selling. With a nominal amount of help from kin and friends, a young man can sell pencils on a street corner.

Lahore’s Food supply comes from different towns, ranging from a distance of 100 to 1500 miles. The fruit comes to the markets (mandies) where it is stored graded and divided into batches to be sold to retailers or wholesalers. The key-figure in the market is an Arhti. He is generally acting as a commission agent for producers. Sometimes he is also a financier and stockist. Primarily in the ‘Mandi’ (fruit market) the Arhtis belong to the Arian clan. They are competitors among themselves but they have effectively resisted the entry of new comers from other clans. The Arhti also furnishes

contacts with growers and distinct suppliers for supply of fruit. He also establishes high personal relations with the buyers through complex financial arrangements and goodwill. At the same time the Arhti acts like a banker for grower and other suppliers. He sells produce on commission. The Arhti also cultivates relations with retailers, stockist and hawkers. These activities develop social network consisting of dealers, growers and buyers along with loaders, drivers, cold store owners, warehouse owners, delivery van and carriage operators etc. His affiliation with these services is regarded as a guarantee of reliable network.

They may compete among themselves in business transactions but to the outside world they present a united front. To deal with the government and local authorities, a formal association of food traders has been formed for perusing common interest. Besides this, in resolving mutual disputes, these associations work in appropriate manners. Initially senior members of dominant clans were used to perform such functions to formulize the association. But at present these are run by the locally elective bodies. In every local market there is a trade union that monitors elections which are held regularly in every market.

The Azam Cloth Market is a specialized wholesale market for cloth where bed sheets, laces and other related items are being sold. It is regarded as one of the main markets for distribution of cloth in the province. It is located in the
narrow streets of the old city. It has developed after partition. Initially approximately, forty cloth shops appeared around Wazir Khan Mosque in the walled city. Then it spread towards every corner of nearby residential neighborhood. At present the boundaries of the market are no more because it is still growing rapidly and the market physically expended 100 times or more. This narrow area inaccessible and crowded in the walled city presumably commands the highest land prices in Lahore.

Major stockist and Arhti of the cloth market have developed links with large textile mills which are producing brand-name items. Mostly the established Arhtis and dealers of this market belong to three main biradaris (1) Narowal Sheikhs, (2) Amarsaris Kashmiris, (3) Memons (very few). They are among the wealthiest inhabitants of Lahore and live in posh localities.26

Lahore's population can be broadly divided into four social classes. At the bottom there are domestic, unskilled workers, hawkers, peons whose earning are meager and small. They live in abject poverty having no adequate food, shelter or security. This class manages their living on mutual biradari help like charity and other traditional ways. Borrowing is common phenomenon among them. The next distinguishable group consists of clerks, craftsman, supervisor, small shop-keepers and other members of the lower middle class. They are the traditional Sofad-Posh (respectable) whose social status as well as economic standing has declined after independence. Generated incomes

26 Interview with Shafique Mirza, Senior Journalist (Daily Jang – Lahore)
in this group range between Rs.3000 to 50000. This group also manages to peruse their living by borrowing and shuffling debts from one generation to another. Until the late 1950s house rent was affordable for this class but lately such possibilities have become beyond their reach. At present, a craftsman or clerk can afford only to live in Kachi Abadies or to share with family in an ancestral old house. But peons and clerks who can obtain official quarters to live in are substentionally better-of than their contemporaries who do not have this privilege.

Another group is the upper strata of the bazaar sector like Arhtis merchants, stockist and owners of small factories. They maintain a traditional effecting life style. They are well-of and can afford comfortable life. They are different from that of lower middle class. They live in older parts of the city but quite recently there is a trend among them of shifting to modern localities.

The fourth class of consumers consists of bankers, industrial and commercial executives, senior civil and military officers, politicians, managing agents and other top elite of the firm sectors. Since independence, they have secured comfortable needs of life such as cars and banglows in posh areas. They can afford private schooling for their children. They can attend private clinics. They can enjoy trips abroad. They can spend comfortable evenings in theatres, clubs, or they can afford expensive hotels. This class also a symbol
of traditional practices such as lavish feasting at marriages that has become a status symbol of this class.

Besides this the shift of skilled workers to Middle East and European countries for jobs has provided a substantial foreign exchange to Pakistan since the 1980’s. Simultaneously its effects are many. Primarily, there became a shortage of skilled workers. Family structure is being changing as increasing females have started to lead the family of households because men have gone abroad to work. Modern consumer good such as refrigerators, colour television sets, washing machines have become a common feature for all. With the introduction of new opportunities, the age-old rigidity of Pakistani social structure has been breached. Mostly these families shift to Lahore either for the purpose of the modern education for their children or for business opportunities.

The bazaar mode small industrial network started to pick up its pace from Railway Road, Ram Gali, Mecload Road and its close vicinity with the mechanics of agricultural based machinery. After partition mostly Kashmiris from Amritsar had shifted in these particular areas. In Amritsar they were mostly engaged in mechanical works. A number of Kashmiris were engaged in manual production of agricultural based machinery. Later on the use of steel was very common in building construction while the timber was expensive as compare to steel. Primarily steel industry flourished in Saraey
Sultan, near Landa Bazaar.\textsuperscript{27} Presumably the cheap raw material was available as the remnant of Railway. Mostly the Kashmiri biradari in that area engaged themselves in small furnace industries.

Khawaja Riaz Mehmood the ex-mayor of Lahore and a migrant from Amritsar recalls, “…when the Hindus migrated from Gawal Mandi, Nisbat Road, and Ram Gali, the entire area was empty and large numbers of refugees from Amritsar were settled there.”\textsuperscript{28}

Mian Sharif shifted from Amritsar to Lahore and started his business from bazaar mode industry at Railway Road then penetrated into firm mood. This family owns the biggest industrial network. The Ittefaq Foundry was established in 1960s.

The Kashmiri Mian family of Taksali Darwaza Mian Amiruddin and his son Mian Salahuddin also participated in industrial sector. The family established a Salli Textile Mill primarily and then expanded their industrial network.

The prominent Arain families also participated in firm mode industries. Mian Shujha-ur-Rehman, ex-mayor of Lahore and his family, took part in firm mode industry in Lahore. The family established Rehman Oil Mill at Badami Bagh in

\textsuperscript{27} Interview with Yaseen Mughal
\textsuperscript{28} Interview with Khawaja Riaz Mehmood, ex-Mayor Lahore Municipal Corporation.
1950 and Shazo Laboratory, a pharmaceutical firm in 1954 at G. T. Road. At present this family owns Popular Chemical Works, a pharmaceutical network. The Arains of Baghbanpura also took part in the industrialization process of Lahore. Mian Mirajdin known as Mirajdin Crown waley was very very prominent in this regard. He initiated his business of transport, ‘Crown Bus Service’ and then established an ice factory\textsuperscript{29}. The business of steel is worth mentioning here and various Arain Mians of Baghbanpura were engaged in that particular business. Late Mian Umar Hayat former M.N.A and Mian Aziz-ur-Rehman Chann former M.P (PPP) can be exemplified in this regard who are engaged in Steel mill business\textsuperscript{30}.

Mostly Arains are engaged in the business of firm sector manufacturing, and small karkhanas. While kashmiris are engaged in bazaar sector of manufacturing. Some of the prominent kashmiris of Lahore are also engaged in firm sector activities of business. The traditional artisan class the Mughals are also engaged in bazaar sector manufacturing like kharads\textsuperscript{31} and mostly they are not much wealthy. A very few Mughals are engaged in business of steel mills. We can quote the example of Mughal Steel Mill.

The sheikhs are engaged mainly in wholesale business. Sheikh biradari can be found in Azam cloth market and in other areas where wholesale business

\textsuperscript{29} The ice factory business was very profitable in 1950s and 60. Still the business is very lucrative as cold storage facilities are much needed in Lahore.

\textsuperscript{30} Mian Umar Hayat died during my research work. He contested MNA(PML-N) election from Bagbanpura seat against Muhtarma Benazir Bhutto (Late), PPP Chairperson, in 1988.

\textsuperscript{31} Making spare parts manually using tinkering at small machines.
is concentrated. They are considered as wealthy *biradari*. But they have not usually actively participated in power politics of Lahore except few of them. But they do participate in election for various trade associations and Lahore Chamber of Commerce with great enthusiasm\textsuperscript{32}.

Kasur district was established in 1976 for administrative reasons. Some of the agricultural tracts of Lahore were given to the new district. The rural setup of Lahore decreased in this way and simultaneously the present outlook of Lahore emerged as an urban setup mostly. The Lahore Master Plan (1964-65) estimated that about 1500 building permits per year for new dwellings were being issued by local authorities.\textsuperscript{33} Initially the growth of cycle industry was very conspicuous in mid 1960s and 1970s. Now motor cycle industry is flourishing. The spare parts of motor cycle industry are being manufactured in Lahore. Lahore is a network of textile industry, auto-mobile industry, printing industry, electronics industry etc and many more. These industrial networks attracted many in nearby areas. Migration from all over Pakistan to Lahore is very pertinent. Cheap labour is still available and people belong to all *biradaris* and clans are working in all types of industries in Lahore.\textsuperscript{34}

Some of the influential landlords turned business families from throughout Punjab also established various kind of industries in Lahore district. They

\textsuperscript{32} Once I happened to see the Board bearing names of the Presidents of Lahore Chamber of Commerce & Industry in the office of president. Mostly the Sheikhs were the president at different times.
\textsuperscript{33} Pakistan Times, February 22, 1980
\textsuperscript{34} Interview with Anwar Kadwai, (Senior Journalist Daily Jang) during series of discussions.
have their ancestral homes in their respective cities but they also settled themselves in different posh areas of Lahore. They are the new elites of Lahore city having strong ties with bureaucracy and politicians.

Three major biradaris generally played an important role in the process of industrialization of Lahore. A survey revealed that these particular biradaris i.e Arains, Kashmiris and Mughals took very active part in this regard.

Arain biradari can be divided into three layers. For example the wealthy Arains established factories. Mian Shuja/Mian Misbah family has industrial network. Mian Mirajdiin Crown Waley has ice factories and cold stores. Mian Azhar family also owns steel mills. Ch. Muhammad Hussain and his son Ch. Ilyas established textile spinning unit in 1960 and a modern milk plant ‘Haleeb Milk’ along with a cinema in Lahore. Mian Omar Hayat and Aziz-ur-Rehman ChAnN's families owned various steel mills. Malik Pervaiz a famous Arain and former M.N.A also set up a textile spinning unit in 1990s. Ramna Pipe Mill was established by Mian shafaqat Ali. Plastic Processing unit set by Muhammad Ali Mian and Woolen Industry was set up by Mian Muzafar Ali. Malik Shafi/Malik Iftekhar originally residents of Mozang, and then Gulberg are prosperous businessmen. They are owner of Guard rice and Guard Filter factories. So every wealthy Arain has an industry in Lahore.
The second section of the Arain biradari is professionals. Various Arain elite families sent their children in technical schools and colleges. Few of them have also graduated from the universities abroad. This professional class of Arains is working in industrial sector of Lahore. Many of them own their factories. Besides, the Arain biradari is also engaged in the profession of law and many of them are professional doctors.

The third section of the Arain family is engaged with industrial sector as part of the administrative machinery of any particular unit. The clerk, record keeper, accountant etc are mostly belonging to this family. This class consists of clerks, craftsman, supervisor, small shop keepers and other members of the lower middle class. Being an old resident biradari of Lahore, the Arains benefited from the technical educational network. Some of them are also engaged in mechanical works.

As far as Kashmiri biradari is concerned the upper layer of kashmiri biradari is prominent in firm mode industrialization. The largest network of small and medium size factories is mostly concentrated on Railway Road, Ram Gali and McLeod Road where majority of the Kashmiris are living and are engaged in bazaar mode establishments.

The political role of Gawal Mandi, Ram Gali and Nisbat Road is very much important in the power politics of Lahore. It was being patronized by Mian
Ameer-u-ddin (Kashmiri) initially and then his son Mian Salahuddin who was also very active in power politics of Lahore. Another Kashmiri family which participated in politics is Mian Sharif family. Mian Nawaz Sharif, the eldest son of Mian Sharif, was the Prime Minister of Pakistan twice. He also served as the chief minister of Punjab. His younger brother Mian Shahbaz Sharif was the Chief Minister of Punjab. His brother Mian Abbas Sharif also took part in politics. He was elected as Member National Assembly.

The Mughal biradari played a very important role in the industrialization of Lahore. During British period they were accommodated in railway workshops due to their technical industrial sense. They remained engaged in manual work of production. Badami Bagh, Shahdara, Band Road, Baghbanpura, Kot Khawaja Saeed, Darbar Chahmeeran, Shalimar Town, Mughalpura, Ghari Shahoo, Lalpul and Ghaziabad are the Mughal biradari majority areas. They also own steel mill such as Mughal steel Mill etc. A few numbers of the Mughal biradari can be found in governmental jobs. Mostly the Mughal biradari is associated with cottage industry.

This chapter described the structure of industrialization in Lahore. Considerable changes occurred in the industrial development of Lahore. It can be well imagined that ninety percent of Industry in Lahore flourished after 1947.
Pre-partition railways workshops and locomotives created the industrial base of Lahore and Lahore has experienced a modest late nineteenth-century industrial development and it was the beginning of agricultural processing industries. Cotton ginning, oil and floor mills were established in 1881. Mela Ram Cotton Mill was also set up in 1898. Between two World Wars the industrial development in Lahore occurred. Throughout Punjab a number of registered factories were emerged. However as a result of partition, Pakistan lost its bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, entrepreneurs and clerks – the wheals came off the machinery of the state and it brought a gridlock to production which crippled the state ability to function. The migration also had deprived Lahore of skilled labour. Just over 68 percent of city’s textile workers were non-Muslims and even this lowest category were shifted to India.

Post-partition industrial development and the contemporary modern industrial city of Lahore flourished after partition. Lahore became a border city after partition and the hostile attitude of India produced a feeling of insecurity that inhibited the industrial growth in early years but gradually the tendency of uncertainty was overcome and by the late 1950 Lahore’s steady growth of industrialization was started. Industrial growth was developed in nine particular areas of Lahore and its industrial progress is based on two sectors such as bazaar mode and firm mode. The bazaar sector factories are owned by individual or partnerships pattern in Lahore. These are family enterprises with minimal capital. As bazaar sector caters mostly to the daily needs of
people, the bazaar sector factory produces consumer goods. These new entrepreneur initially were established inside the walled city, then penetrated into surrounding residential areas, and thus spread every where. The largest cluster of small factories is situated in Railway Road, Ram Gali and McLeod Road in the Civil Lines area. The bazaar mode industries flourished in the local areas where bazaar activities were operational in more particular way. The firm mode factories emerged in those particular locations where bulk sources of raw material were nearby available. Some of these types of factories were established in Lahore city along the main highways at a distance of ten to fifteen miles of Lahore’s adjoining areas. The other component of the firm sector consists of multinational corporations. These firms are managing agencies of large industrial units and distributors and depot-holders of the industrial products in Lahore. These factories have a network of wholesale dealers in Lahore who in turn establish a setup of distribution and retail depots to cover most of the city.

During colonial era Lahore has been the regional market for grain, jewelry, glass and other household items. Recently it has become the center of trade of automobiles, machinery of various kinds, radio television spare parts, fabrics, hosiery, medicine and books. Here are regional offices of major import and export firms. The offices of industrial corporations, banks, insurance companies and the stock exchange also have systematic network at Lahore. The city’s cinemas, hotels, restaurants and kabab shops are
earning beyond imagination. Trade and banking sector have expended substantially. Even foreign banks along with local staff are operating in Lahore. The labour force in these activities has tripled over the period from 1961 to 1999, indicating a faster rate of increase of work force in these activities.

Three major biradaris generally played an important role in the process of industrialization of Lahore. The Arains, the Kashmiris and the Mughals took very active part in this regard. The sheikhs are engaged mainly in wholesale business. Sheikh biradari can be found in Azam cloth market or in other branches where wholesale trend of business is concentrated. Most of the established Arhtis and dealers of the Azam Cloth Market belong to two main biradaris (1) Narowal Sheikhs, (2) Amarsaris Kashmiris. They are among the wealthiest inhabitants and live in posh localities of Lahore. The Arains, the Kashmiris and the Mughals are playing very important role in the industrial development of Lahore.
Chapter: 6

**Living in the City:** The challenge of massive urban growth and the *biradari* Power Politics of Lahore 1947-1999

Lahore has grown from a provincial capital of approximately half a million people in 1947 to a metropolitan city of around 3 million people by 1981 and at present its population is estimated to be nearly 10 million. The demographic growth on large scale after partition has changed vehemently the spatial structure that evolved the mix economic activities and determined the socio-economic, cultural and physical structure of Lahore. The enlargement of the existing setting towards worker’s colonies, officer’s residents and ‘*Kachi abadies*’ as the residential areas and the growth of autonomous economies have shaped Lahore as a modern second city of Pakistan after Karachi. The distribution of industrial and institutional activities that evolved after partition has initiated change towards every aspect of city’s life with wide diversity. The growth of workshops, stores, houses and offices, along with bazaars, markets and plazas which are the manifestation of different commercial activities is the process of spatial development that has changed the physical structure in different forms. We have discovered in the previous chapter about city’s economy, the functional components of the city and spectacular industrial development since independence. This chapter will
examine the analysis of social and spatial structure of Lahore. It will provide a frame work of urbanization in Lahore. Urbanization has provided opportunities to formulate public opinion in Lahore. This chapter will present a detailed view of the growth of urbanization in Lahore and the biradari response.

At the end of the 19th century Lahore was known for its gardens, literary salons, fairs and festivals. At present Lahore is a place of shopping plazas, noisy traffic with illegal encroachment etc. Only three decades ago Lahore society was composed of family bonds and caste obligations. But today it consists of broken neighborhood ties, wealthy suburbs and illegal growth of Kachi Abadies. This transformation has taken place particularly after partition and has accelerated rapidly in Lahore society.

As Markus Daechsel remarked, ‘the process of rapid urbanization was directly linked to the development of Lahore as the centre of colonial system in Punjab. From the end of the 19th century onward the provincial bureaucracy continued to expand. A great number of white-collar workers, and an even larger crowd of peons, chaiwale, office cleaners etc., had to be recruited from Indian society, and settled close to the existing administrative centers. Agricultural activity needed financial institutions and markets, both formal and
informal, which tend to concentrate in the capital city and neighbouring *Amritsar*.¹

The residential, commercial or industrial activities are not uniform and the functional component of different areas of Lahore are examples of different sectors of interwoven activities with mixed, land-uses and interlink social groups. Lahore can be divided into 6 distinct units namely the (1) Walled City, (2) The Civil Lines, (3) New Indigenous Community (4) The Planning Schemes, (5) The Cantonment (6) *Katchi Abadies* (Squatter Settlements).

During colonial rule the walled city, the historical settlement of *Mozang*, *Ichhra*, *Baghban Pura* and *Mughalpura* were known as distinct spatial areas of Lahore. The walled city represented the urban view having narrow streets. Its bazaars, markets, quarters and *mohalla’s* (neighborhoods) were structured as having two or three-story buildings along with family ties and clan activities.

The walled city as the residential area has become gradually a commercial market for lower or middle class where household items particularly those of bazaar affiliation were being sold and manufactured. It has numerous commodity markets like wholesale bazaars and a network of residential

---

quarters as well. Historically speaking different blocks or streets of the walled city had been inhabited by occupational castes and *biradaris*, specializing in specific lines of production.

Weavers and dyers started their business at *Chuna Mandi*. Coppersmiths have long association with their trade around *Rung Mehal*. Kite making has remained a specialty of *Moochi* and *Bhaati gates*. Furniture making, repair of all kinds, and other manual works have spread towards all parts of the walled city. The entire wall city gradually has become a small scale manufacturing and repair establishment along with numerous residential and commercial hubs. There are thousands of industrial units and shops that provide employment for people on large scale. Most workshops and stores are family owned enterprises in which members of a family, adults as well as children are remain engaged in their assigned tasks. The walled city reflects the close proximity. The operational mode in business is based on mutual trust through a system of borrowing and lending practices.

The residential area in Punjabi society is called ‘*Mohalla*’ and particularly in Lahore walled city the *mohalla* is divided into *Kuchas* or *Katras*, where rich or poor live side by side in houses of varying sizes and quality.

The walled city has progressively become the distributor-centre of indigenous and conventional goods. Since independence the commercial and
manufacturing activities have expanded enormously inside the walled city. The wholesale market for utility items in Shah Alami, the famous Azam cloth market, and the candy and sweets shops of Mochi gate are post independence commercial developments that have promoted the growth of manufacturing and repair activities. For example in Sooha bazaar, the jewellery market, where goldsmiths retail stores are situated with broker’s shops, apartments, and tea stalls. These are all inextricably mixed together. Apparently different and divergent activities are tied together by economic, social and cultural links that make the inside walled city a compact unit.

These are the functional aspects of the walled city and over the 60 years period after Partition the walled city has evolved from being the small residential and manufacturing unit to being the territorial base of a socio cultural centre of a modern city. The natural increase in population and consequent doubling up of homes with the passage of time has made the walled city as overburdened. The expanded commercial activities and general decline in sanitation services have accelerated the departure of gentry from the walled city towards posh areas of Lahore. For example, doctors, engineers, bankers, executives and wealthy people, particularly those affiliated with the firm sector, have been leaving their ancestral homes for bungalows in the suburbs. The vacated houses are being replaced by bazaar merchants or lower-grade professionals or as construction of plazas. Despite this movements the walled city has remained a close-knit community.
The houses are in bad state of repair some of them damaged entirely and declared structurally dangerous by the authorities. Approximately 200 to 350 houses per year have been rebuilt since independence. There are 20 national monuments in the walled city (Fort, Badshahi Mosque, Wazir Khan Mosque etc.) along with another 4,000 buildings of historical nature and of cultural values. Most of these buildings are crumbling. In spite of all the above mentioned state of affair the expanded commercial activities of Lahore have increased the lands value of land. The highest property value can be seen at the Azam Cloth Market where gutters pour down into open drains and streets are so narrow that even a hand-cart cannot be brought in easily.

The other historical settlements such as Mozang, Ichhra and Baghban Pura physically and socially resemble the walled city of Lahore with similar intermixing of activities.

After annexation in 1849, the British were confronted with the problem of finding suitable place to station the imperial army and housing the civilian officers. The walled City was unsafe, crowded and unhealthy and the British considered it dangerous for themselves. Actually they also wanted to be segregated from the local population. Initially the British built a new town for themselves known as Civil Lines. As a physical form, the Civil Lines throughout British India were established on the basis of social structure that was in sharp contrast with sub-continental urban traditions. The indigenous
urban living required proximity to relatives and friends, but Civil Lines emphasized on the basis of individualism.

The civil line refers as such to an idiom or model of community in Lahore. The Civil Lines model is significant because it created town planning of segregated land uses. It created a standardization level of housing blocks by social rank. It differentiated homes from work places, and was based on separation of transportation facilities.

As a physical form, the Civil Lines were catered on the basis of social structure in sharp contrast with sub-continental indigenous urban traditions.

After independence, civil lines began to lose its shape and spaciousness. The indigenous family structure require collaborative living pattern and all these indigenous social patterns of living prompted a large scale infiltration in civil lines that initiated a process of mixed activities.

In Lahore, the Civil Lines area starts from McLeod Road in the west to the Canal in the east it includes the railway station in the north and Jail road in the south. The civil line area comprises the Government Officer’s Residences (GOR), the Governor’s house, the old Gymkhana Club, the race course park and the cricket ground.
The large tracts of vacant land in the Civil Lines area became available and soon it turned into a mushroom of multi-story office buildings, automobile showrooms, and air-conditioned shopping plazas. The commercialization and other economic activities at Queen’s Road, Egerton Road, Davis Road, Lawrence and Montgomery Roads signaled a new state of affairs in the evolution of the Civil Lines and soon it become an area of mixed functions. The multinational banks and international business agencies got locations in the civil lines area as per their choice. This new development of the Civil Line’s area made its new status as the commercial outlook of the expanded Lahore.

There is, however, some continuity with the past even in these particular evolutionary trends. Civil Lines has evolved with the changing structure of power and authority, and has remained the dominant centre of the modern segment of the Lahore city. The civil lines model survives to some extent despite its contact with local conditions and social structures.

For military’s residential requirement, Mian Meer cantonment was built six mile away from the walled city. The cantonment area was developed on the principles of city planning. Parade grounds, parks, bazaars and functional areas were developed which exhibited another appropriate form of urban area.
With the rapid growth of industrialization new opportunities emerged in Lahore. With the network of educational facilities, the new indigenous communities (NIC) are spread over almost half the city. These New Indigenous Communities, segregated by religious groups, continued their values during British rule. Karishan Nagar, Gawal Mandi, Mohni Road, Ram Nagar were modern Hindu neighbourhoods, and simultaneously Islamia Park, Farooq Gunj, Garhi Shahu were predominantly Muslim residential areas. Such an area has certain characteristics. Streets are wide and house design is based on structure of the combination of modern and traditional features. All commercial activities such as artisans, workshops, bakeries, firewood stalls, and warehouses can be found amidst homes. The commercial plazas can also be found in these areas. Generally, land-use patterns resemble the walled city rather than civil lines. The shops are very close to homes and almost for every meal groceries can be conveniently bought from nearby.

The new indigenous communities combine modern concepts of public health accessible with traditional preferences. But the mixture of activities and proximity are also the important features same as in the indigenous life-style of the walled city.

'The process of NIC development was started in 1930s, when exclusive residential areas for Hindus, Skihs, or Muslims were developed. Krishan Nagar, Sant Nagar, and Mohammad Nagar were the outcomes of such
initiatives. Even the names of these communities are revealing. These *nagars* were conceived as large, self-contained neighbourhoods where sites were set aside for parks, schools, mosques or temples, the clinics which were a step towards planned neighbourhoods. *Krishan Nagar* was a Hindu neighbourhood of spacious attached houses arranged in rectangular blocks.\(^2\) Provision was also made for parks, schools, and sewerage and drains, and arrangements were made to build and maintain these services properly. It was a particular example of the model of the indigenous but modernized neighbourhood.\(^3\)

The evolution of new indigenous communities began after independence when Hindus and Sikhs departed for India and thus the socio religious distinctions among neighbourhoods disappeared. The new Indigenous communities acquired specific social images and became individually specialized in serving a specific segment of the population. The localities such as *Wasan Pura, Shad Bag* and *Gujar Pura* have become lower-middle and working-class neighbourhoods. Whereas the western localities such as *Data Darbar, Mohni Road* and *Chota Ravi* are identified with middle level professionals, junior executives and small businessmen.\(^4\)

A large number of new indigenous communities have developed after Partition. The old communities have also changed in these circumstances. With increasing congestion and declining standards of public-services many

\(^3\) Ibid, p-259
\(^4\) Ibid, p-277
respectable neighbourhoods have turned into veritable slums. This is particularly the case in northern parts of the city, where such areas as Misri Shah, *Chah Miran*, and *Faroq Gunj* have become filthy and unhealthy areas.

“The planned residential units in Lahore originated with the Punjab Town Improvement Act 1922, which authorized Town Improvement Trusts to prepare development or expansion schemes for a designated vacant tract of land or redevelopment of different areas. The Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT) and its successor, Lahore Development Authority (LDA), [has] developed a substantial portion of land in various schemes.”

Generally the planned schemes are low-density and spaciously laid out housing estates. They are usually composed of bungalows and detached houses set on large lots. In these public schemes, streets, roads, and water and sewer lines are constructed before people move in, and sites are set aside for schools, shopping areas, parks, mosques and cemeteries. “These schemes essentially follow the Civil Lines model based on distinct neighborhood of the city with identifiable boundaries and autonomous system of facilities and services”.

The planned schemes are essentially the neighbourhoods that follow modern life styles. The influential and particularly the officers of various government departments have reserved quotas. Doctors, business executives, lawyers and landlords are seeking city residences. Quite recently oversees Pakistanis

---

5 ‘Daily Jang’ (Lahore) 22, December 2001
6 Ibid
are buying houses in these schemes. These groups are getting the bulk of the residents in planned schemes. That’s why the areas such as Shadman, Gulberg and New Garden Town not only have high priced houses, but also are expensive to live in.

Planned schemes can be found in all parts of the city, but the southeast sector has become a more important development in this regard. These new schemes were developed in appropriate manner and namely New Garden Town, Iqbal and Faisal Town were designed as a system of public amenities and provided a variety of house types, including apartments and town houses.\(^7\)

In planned schemes some household activities such as temporary stalls of bakers (tandoors), tea sellers, sweeper’s illegal occupation, etc. began to emerge in the vacant sites. In the beginning these activities emerged in an open space or a plot whose ownership was disputed.

With the increase of population and with the passage of time, a network of Khokhas and stalls emerged in residential areas. The bazaar-like clusters of vegetable and fruit stands, meat and fish stores, and minor repair establishments were automatically formed in open spaces around the designated commercial areas.\(^8\) Two factors contributed to the formation of

\(^7\) Daily Nawa-i-Waqat, (Lahore), 17 March 1999
\(^8\) ‘The Nation’ 22 June 1999
these bazaars. First, the official practice of separating commercial activities from residential areas went against local behavioral patterns. Secondly, property values and rent practices in these designated commercial zones were very high. That’s why the butchers, fish sellers, tailors, or vegetable vendors cannot survive. They are thus forced to create unplanned bazaars in planned schemes. These illegal practice with the passage of time emerge as commercial units.

By the time a planned scheme matures, the parallel process of unofficial development comes to the forefront. Ironically, the principal violators of use of land use are often public agencies. Even the governmental and public sector departments can also be found in these planned schemes. For example in the residential block of *Gulberg* Provincial Labour Court, Social Security Organization, Directorate of Production and Publicity, Directorate of Family Planning and the local office of the Cabinet Division can be found.

As the public agencies infiltrate the residential streets, kebab shops, clinics, showrooms, restaurants and schools appear along the main boulevards. The LDA’s attempts to collect the conversion charges these are very nominal. The commercialization of bungalows along *Gulberg*’s main road faced powerful resistance from ex-mayors and ministers and many others who were the property owners. However, those who favoured commercialization were more powerful than those who resisted it. As a result, it has continued unabated.
The planned schemes remain prestigious neighbourhoods of upper income housing and modern life style. Samanabad began as a high class modern suburb, but it evolved into a housing district particularly suited for merchants and second rung firm sector executives. However, Gulberg’s indigenization has not lowered its social standing and its Liberty Market has become a fashion centre, and the main boulevard has turned into the dining out strip and a cluster of big shopping centers as well as electronic market (Hafiz Centre) of the city. Shad Bagh, in the north, was planned as a middle income modern area, but now-a-day it presents a different picture. Thus each planned scheme becomes a special housing market for a segment of the affluent classes, and thereafter for associated commercial activities.

The cantonment originated as the settlement for the military of British Colonial power in Lahore. Since independence the cantonment has continued to be an area as an autonomous unit, physically, socially, and administratively. Since independence, the cantonment has become even more a centre of power and authority. For more than 30 out of the 60 years of independence, Pakistan has been ruled by the army. The physical feature of the Lahore cantonment consists of spacious grounds, arrangement of residences, offices, clinics, schools, and even shopping areas according to rank and official status.

Even in British days, the cantonment had a native bazaar. The Sadar bazaar became a commercial spot for lower ranks, whereas the Mall Road and the
surrounding area became officer’s territory. Due to greater administrative control in the Cantonment, its high income areas have not undergone the same degree of commercialization and conversion as has the civil lines. In the Cantonment, the indigenous and the modern institutions have generally remained separated. Thus, the upper class areas of the cantonment are the well-kept sections of the city.

The attraction of the cantonment’s residential and commercial area as a clean, modern and orderly place of Lahore city has made it a prime target for development. Furthermore there are substantial tracts of open spaces and vacant lands. These vacant strips have remained easy to serve the purpose for officers to build private homes. Similarly, around peripheral villages, clusters of modest houses have appeared in response to an ever increasing demand. Defence Housing Authority has become an organized locality9.

The city of Lahore is surrounded by approximately 800 unplanned and haphazard ‘kachi abadis’, where a considerable large number of population is living in poor dwellings on the strips of land without even the basic comfort of water, sewer and communication links as well as sanitary facilities.

‘…….A Katchi Abadi is a neighbourhood of the poor or, more precisely, it consists of one or two room mud and timber houses built on small lots on lands of disputed titles or ownership and government land. Public amenities are nonexistent, and a feeling of insecurity pervades.

9 ‘Daily Dawn’, (Lahore) - 14 February 1998
It is the temporary nature of the tenure, rather than of the structures, that has earned the adjective Katchi (dissolvable) for Abadis (settlements).

There are two processes at work in bringing about changes in the physical and social make up of Katchi Abadis. First, with age, a Katchi Abadi is stabilized and little by little gains acceptance from authorities and surrounding communities. It becomes a part of the overall scene. Relatively influential residents manage to get an electric connection from the Wapda and when the wires are strung to oblige a few, the rest cannot be excluded for long. Similar sequences of events take place for other facilities. ¹⁰

These kachi abadis present a scene of mushroom growth of ill-planned and overcrowded living network far beyond the requisite standard of health and decency. These illegal occupations lack all appropriate amenities and public services such as roads, open spaces, water supply, drainage, sewerage, street-lighting, gas etc.

‘The problems of unplanned and haphazard ‘abadis’, particularly slums, are assuming serious proportions. The poor population builds slums and ‘kachi abadis’ anywhere in the city in low-lying areas along the river ‘bund’, in ‘nullas’ in agricultural fields, in thickly populated areas, on the periphery of the town and whatever pockets of land are available. These slums tenements are formed without regard to the topographic features, relationship to the surrounding areas and land uses or relationship to the network of services

and amenities e.g. water supply, sewerage, roads, transportation or educational or health facilities, etc.\textsuperscript{11}

As Mrkus Daechsel remarks:

‘…By this time empty space within the municipal limits had become history. The city stretched without interruption from the Ravi to the Shalimar Gardens and beyond. Around Lahore uncontrolled settlements, Kucchi abadis, were springing up rapidly, and north of the city walls uncontrolled industrial estates grew like cancer cells.’\textsuperscript{12}

‘In April 1973, the People’s Planning Project was instituted for the planning of the poor areas in Lahore in accordance with the wishes of the people. The project aimed at motivating people for the implementation of the slums improvement plan, with a special emphasis to organize people, to cultivate their own leadership for the purpose of identifying the needs and requirements and for managing their own affairs on self-help basis. The project further aimed at carrying out necessary surveys to declare certain slums as ‘\textit{Kachi abadis}’ under the law for development and transfer of the proprietary rights to the occupants for the purposes of eliciting support and co-operation of residents of ‘\textit{kachi abadis}\textsuperscript{13}’.

\textsuperscript{11} Report, Lahore Municipal Corporation – “Lahore City Perspective-Developments, Prospects & Problems”
\textsuperscript{13} Report, Lahore Municipal Corporation – “Lahore City Perspective-Developments, Prospects & Problems”
People’s Planning Project had initially selected some *kachi abadis* to improve their physical condition. The 15 slums were surveyed and had been declared as ‘*kachi abadis*’ by Housing and Physical Planning Department\(^{14}\).

Natural increase in birth-rate and influx from other parts of the country continued to feed population growth of these *kachi abadis* that became high density areas. The vote bank in these *abadis* is very high. During elections their importance increases and every candidate wishes to secure their favour. As a result, false guarantees are being given for development and transfer of the proprietary rights to the occupants. Candidates also try to manipulate to secure the favour of their *biradari* men. In local political network *biradari* alliances are being accommodated.\(^{15}\)

During colonial rule the class of rich Hindu traders was distinguished from rest of the social composition of Lahore. This urban class was in clear majority inside the walled city of Lahore. As Markus Daechsel describes, ‘From within the city only the class of rich Hindu traders would manage to distinguish itself from the rest of the urban society. When the 1893 district gazetteer does actually give us a description of the walled city of Lahore, it speaks of a world of Hindu high caste, who make their living by lending money to rural groups


\(^{15}\) Interview with Anwar Kadwai, (Senior Journalist Daily Jang) – 22 May 2007
and trading in agricultural produce. The mainly poor Muslim majority of the city disappears in the background picture in the fashion observed in Kipling.  

“In 1961, estimated 50 percent of Lahore’s civilian population worked in agriculture. Between 1961 and 1972 Lahore grew population-wise and new industrial zone at the Ferozpur Road emerged. kot lakhpat area was expanded and the existing industrial area in Shahdara, Multan Road and the G. T Road, east of the city expanded and gathered illegal abadies built in village fashion on vacant plots along with suburban sub-divisions like Gulberg and Model Town.

“Lahore has grown almost 14 times in size since the beginning of the twentieth century. From a population of 202,964 in 1901, it grew to population of 2,920,000 in 1981”.

---

17 Muhammad A Qadeer, “Lahore, Urban Development in The Third World” p-187
### Table: Lifetime in-migrants in the district by Rural/urban areas, 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>All Areas</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total in-migrants</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1,034,848)</td>
<td>(144,421)</td>
<td>(890,427)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants from the same province</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants from other province</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants from AK/NA</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants from other countries</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the time Pakistan came into being (1947) Lahore was well on the way to becoming a metropolis. The civic structure of the Old City of Lahore is a remarkable study in planning efficiency; 260,000 people live in an area of one square mile, or approximately 400 inhabitants per acre. There are some 38,000 households in some 20,000 premises or approximately 58 dwelling units per acre. Within its walls there are 3,422,000 square metres of floor space, 135,000 metres of gulley, streets, roads and drainage lines. The commercial enterprises number over 4300, the primary schools number 65 and the mosques number over 300.\(^{18}\)

It is estimated that Lahore is likely to have population of about 3 million in 1981, and 5 million by 1990, about 8 million by 2001. Presumably it is about 10 million at present. It is indicating that the population as almost doubling

---

\(^{18}\) Municipal Corporation file
every decade. Lahore is becoming bigger every day and it is the second largest city of Pakistan after Karachi\textsuperscript{19}.

Post-partitioned social composition of Lahore can be divided into four social classes. At the bottom are domestic unskilled workers, and peons, whose earnings are very meager and uncertain. Without adequate food security and shelter they lead their lives under abject poverty. This class sought shelter in \textit{Kachi Abadies}. This class belonged to various \textit{biradari}. like Lohar, Kumhar, Mochi and many others. They survive on mutual help and other traditional entitlements of the \textit{biradari}. As Gilmartin says \textit{biradari} ties have been weaker among village service goups (kaminis) whose households are enmeshed in relation of dependency with village land controllers\textsuperscript{20}.

The second such group consists of clerks, craftsmen, supervisors, small shopkeepers and other members of the lower middle class. Post independent symbols of modernity like motorbike, television etc have become this group's preferred possessions. They also survive by borrowing and mutual help of their kin. That is why they have strong \textit{biradari} feelings and they seek help from one another particularly in bad days. They also live in \textit{kachi abadis} or in a portion of their ancestral homes. They belong to various \textit{biradaris} of Lahore. The stronghold areas of \textit{Arains} also became overburdened and the people of

\textsuperscript{19} Dawn Karachi, 12 September 1998
\textsuperscript{20} David Gilmartin, \textit{Empire and Islam: Punjab and Making of Pakistan} (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1989), p-114
lower middle class have shifted in the emerging kachi abadis near these areas.

The other class belongs to merchants, stockist, owners of small factories and Arthies. They also belong to almost all the major biradaris of Lahore. They maintain a traditional life-style. The owners of the small karkhanas inside the walled city, the shopkeepers of Shah Almi or Rang Mahal, the merchants of Circular Road or Brandthreth Road, the merchants of paper market of Urdu bazaar etc belong to this class. They lived near their business avenues and have now mostly shifted to planned schemes. Who among them became more rich and wealthy, he shifted to better locality. But mostly we can find them in Shadman, New Garden Town Faisal Town Johar town and newly developed areas close to Modal Town and Gulberg. The old families are being divided because of the new marriage patterns.

The fourth social class consists of bankers, industrial and commercial executives, seniour civil and military officers, top policemen merchants and obviously the politicians. They can afford an expensive car, independent bungalow and comfortable life-style. They can send their children to private schools. They can go to private clinics. They can arrange trips abroad. They are living quite comfortably, even they can afford extravagance. Mostly merchants have shifted from inside the walled city to posh localities. The bankers, industrial and commercial executives, seniour civil and military
officers, top policemen and the politicians, merely seventy percent of them have shifted from all over Punjab after partition to Lahore. They have accommodated themselves in newly emerged localities.

Lahore is expanding at Multan Road, Raiwind Road and on all sides. Some of the factory owners have built their palace-like houses in vacant areas within their factories. The workers in the factories, in order to live close to their place of work, have created *kachi Abadi* type of locations, nearby.

**Political History of Pakistan and Biradari representation in the Lahore District (1947-1999)**

**ELECTIONS**

1951 Punjab Assembly

Local Government

Basic Democracies (BD)

Local Government

---

*21 The institutional framework at local level was made in 1959 by the then president Ayub Khan in the form of basic democracies. The system continues till 1971 and then abolished by Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. It was reorganized through local government ordinance 1972, but the system was not functional and no elections were held.*

*22 General Zia-ul-Haq revived local government in 1979 and then 1980 through local government ordinance.*
Local Government 1985-98

General Elections


General Elections

1977 N.A. (PPP), P.A. (PPP) (party basis)

1977 military coup (Zia-ul-Haq)

1984 Presidential referendum (non-party basis)

1985 National, Provincial Assemblies (non-party basis)

1988 N.A. (PPP), P.A. (PML) (party basis)

1990 National Assembly (IJI) (party basis)

1993 N.A. (PPP), P.A. (PPP) (party basis)

1997 N.A. (PML), P.A. (PML) (party basis)

1999 military coup (Pervez Musharraf)
Role of biradaris in power politics of Lahore

*Arains* are among the oldest and biggest tribes of Lahore, tracing their origin to Aryans. For centuries they have been tilling the land and barring a few exceptions, have never owned large tracts of land. Their land holdings were individual and small, large enough to sustain their individual families. With the passage of time the sub-divisions of their holdings rendered the same un-economical and they were compelled to come out of their villages and seek fortunes in services, business and other professions.

Hundreds of *Arain* families from East Punjab migrated and settled in Lahore and elsewhere in Punjab. They too have same racial and ethical traits, except that they were economically less well off than their counterparts already living in this district.

In the early years of Pakistan two landlord families of Lahore dominated the power politics of Punjab: Mamdot and Qazilbash. After partition Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot was appointed as the first chief minister of the Punjab. After One Unit Nawab Muzafar Ali Khan Qazilbash, the resident of Lahore became the chief minister of the province.

During Bhutto regime, Malik Maraj Khalid (*Awan*) and Muhammad Hanif Ramay (*Arain*), the residents of Lahore became chief ministers of Punjab.
President Farooq Laghari in 1990’s appointed Malik Maraj Khalid as caretaker Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Two Kashmiri brothers from Lahore, Mian Nawaz Sharif and Mian Shahbaz Sharif became the chief ministers of Punjab and the elder one Mian Nawaz Sharif was elected twice as Prime Minister of Pakistan. Originally, his family came from the village of Jati Umra (Amritsar) and permanently settled in Lahore. This family owns a joint ownership of Ittefaq Group. Ittefaq Group is one of the largest business conglomerates in Pakistan. Mian Nawaz Sharif rose to political prominence during the 1980s. He served as the Minister of Finance and Minister of Sports in the provincial government of Punjab. He served for two consecutive terms as Chief Minister of Punjab, (April 9, 1985 - May 31, 1988). From 1988 to August 1990, he became the Caretaker Chief Minister after Zia-ul-Haq dissolved the assemblies. He became Prime Minister on 1 November 1990 and succeeded Benazir Bhutto. He was again elected Prime Minister in 1997.

After partition two communities have dominated the power politics of Lahore i.e Arains and the Kashmiris. Since independence there have been six Arain and three Kashmiri elected Lord Mayors of Lahore. Mian Ameer-u-din was the first (Kashmiri) Mayor of Lahore after independence. During early years of Ayub Khan and then also during Bhutto regime, administrators were appointed by the government instead of Mayors of Lahore Corporation.
Results of the Elections of the National Assembly of the Lahore District from 1988-1997

The results of the four general elections held for National Assembly from 1988 to 1997 reflect that two major biradaris of Lahore, the Arains and Kashmiris, took very active part in politics. List of the candidates who won the election without the support of the biradari reflects that they are small in number. The political parties consider biradari affiliation of the respective constituency while giving the party tickets.

**NA: 92 Lahore-I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Hussain Ansari (Ansari)</td>
<td>Mr Hamayun Akhtar Khan (Pathan)</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Kashmiri)</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Azhar (Arain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NA: 93 Lahore-II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Aitzaz Ahsan (Jatt)</td>
<td>Mr Aitzaz Ahsan (Jatt)</td>
<td>Mr Hamayun Akhtar Khan (Pathan)</td>
<td>Mian Abdul Waheed (Arain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NA: 94 Lahore-III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Benazir Bhutto (Arain)</td>
<td>Mian Umar Hayat (Arain)</td>
<td>Mian Abdul Waheed (Arain)</td>
<td>Mr Tariq Aziz (Arain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Arain majority constituency_

**NA: 95 Lahore-IV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Kashmiri)</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Kashmiri)</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Kashmiri)</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Kashmiri)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Kashmiri majority constituency**

**NA: 96 Lahore-V**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Jahangir Badar</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td>(Kashmiri)</td>
<td>(Kashmiri)</td>
<td>(Kashmiri)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kashmiri majority constituency**

**NA: 97 Lahore-VI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khawaja Ahmad Tariq Raheem</td>
<td>Mr Liaqat Baloch</td>
<td>Mr Tariq Badar-ud-din Banday</td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Ishaq Dar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kashmiri)</td>
<td>(Baloch)</td>
<td>(Kashmiri)</td>
<td>(Kashmiri)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NA: 98 Lahore-VII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mian Muhammad Usman</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Usman</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Munir</td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Munir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Arain majority constituency**

**NA: 99 Lahore-VIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haji Muhammad Asghar</td>
<td>Mr Wazir Ali Bhatti</td>
<td>Mahar Zulfiqar Ali Babu</td>
<td>Sardar Kamil Umar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td>(Rajput)</td>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td>(Sindhu Jatt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NA: 100 Lahore-IX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Meraj Khalid</td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Ashiq Ali Dyyal Jatt</td>
<td>Ch. Khalid Javail Ghurki</td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Ashiq Ali Dyyal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Awan)</td>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td>(Arain)</td>
<td>(Jatt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results of the Elections of the Provincial Assembly of the Lahore District from 1988-1997

PP-116- Lahore-I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Muhammad Aslam</td>
<td>Mian Mahmood Ahmad</td>
<td>Mr Abdul Wajid Hamayun</td>
<td>Malik Riaz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PP-117- Lahore-II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr Zia Ullah Khan</td>
<td>Mr Arshad Hussain Saithi</td>
<td>Mr Abdullah Sheikh</td>
<td>Mr Obaid Ullah Sheikh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PP-118- Lahore-III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mian Aziz-ur-Rehman (Arain)</td>
<td>Al-Haj Sh. Rohail Asghar</td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Hanif Ramay (Arain)</td>
<td>Haji Imdad Hussain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PP-119- Lahore-IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Salman Taseer (Kashmiri)</td>
<td>Muhammad Hakim Ali Bhatti</td>
<td>Mr Haroon Akhtar Khan</td>
<td>Kh. Saad Rafiq (Kashmiri)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PP-120- Lahore-V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Khalid Latif Kardar (Arain)</td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Awar-ul-Haq (Arain)</td>
<td>Mian Mehraj Din (Arain)</td>
<td>Mian Mehraj Din (Arain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### PP-121- Lahore-VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Sardar Zafar Iqbal</td>
<td>Malik Muhammad Sadiq</td>
<td>Mr Abdul Razzaq</td>
<td>Haji Abdul Razzaq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PP-122- Lahore-VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Mian Shahbaz Sharif <em>(Kashmiri)</em></td>
<td>Haji Muhammad Shareef <em>(Arain)</em></td>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Anwar Saeed</td>
<td>Haji Muhammad Sharif <em>(Arain)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PP-123- Lahore-VIII

|------|------|------|------|------|

*Kashmiri majority constituency*

### PP-124- Lahore-IX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Mr Jhangir Badar <em>(Arain)</em></td>
<td>Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif <em>(Kashmiri)</em></td>
<td>Mian Abdul Sattar <em>(Arain)</em></td>
<td>Mian Abdul Sattar <em>(Arain)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PP-125- Lahore-X

|------|------|------|------|------|

### PP-126- Lahore-XI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP-127- Lahore-XII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Mahmood-ur-Rashid</td>
<td>Mr Mahmood-ur-Rashid</td>
<td>Mr Arshad Imran Sulehry</td>
<td>Mr Arshad Imran Sulehry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kambhoo Biradari** majority constituency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP-128- Lahore-XIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Akhter Rasool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kambhoo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP-129- Lahore-XIV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch. Ghulam Qadar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP-130- Lahore-XV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch. Muhammad Hayat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP-131- Lahore-XVI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Mohsin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mian Iftikharuddin remained active in power politics of Lahore from 1937 to 1956. Mian Iftikhar-ud-din and Mian Bashir Ahmed *Arain Mians* of *Baghbanpura* had contested election in 1946. Bagum JahanAra Shah Nawaz was elected on a Muslim League ticket to the Punjab Assembly and West Pakistan Assembly respectively. She was very active in power politics of Lahore. Arif Iftikhar son of Mian Iftekhar was also very active.

**List of Mayors of Lahore**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year to year</th>
<th>year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mian Ameer-ud-din</td>
<td>30-5-1946</td>
<td>22-01-1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mian Abdul Aziz</td>
<td>23-01-1948</td>
<td>16-05-1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ch. Abdul Kareem</td>
<td>24-05-1952</td>
<td>29-05-1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ch. Kaleem-ud-din</td>
<td>20-07-1953</td>
<td>20-09-1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Syed Hadi Ali Shah</td>
<td>21-09-1953</td>
<td>10-07-1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ch. Kaleem-ud-din</td>
<td>17-01-1980</td>
<td>12-10-1983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Malik Barkat Ali Kakeyzai lived inside walled city. He was very active in politics. He was member of working committee of Muslim League. He was also the member of the reception committee. He was member of Punjab Assembly. His son Malik Shaukat Ali also took part in politics very actively and was elected as a Mayor of Lahore in 1950’s.

Kaleem-ud-din served the Lahore Municipal Corporation as a mayor twice with the support of Kashmiri biradari. He was lawyer by profession. His brother Kaseem-ud-din was very active in politics.

A Qazilbash family came into the limelight of political arena of Lahore. Hadi Ali Shah became mayor of Lahore in 1953.

In the early years of biradari politics of Lahore the family of Mian Ameer-ud-din played very active role. He was the first Mayor of Lahore.

Mian Majeed became mayor of Lahore Metropolitan Corporation in 1992. He was son in law of Ch. Muhammad Hussain Lahori who also served as Vice
Chairman Lahore Municipal Corporation. Ch. Muhammad Hussain promoted Arainism.

Khawaja Riaz Mehmoud, a Kashmiri was a political worker and rose to the position of Mayor-ship of Lahore with the biradari support. He had close relationship with Mian Nawaz Sharif’s family.

Likewise Khawaja Ahmad Hasaan became the mayor of Lahore in 1998. He was also a political worker who rose to political limelight of local level with the support of Mian Nawaz Sharif’s family.

Other Arain Mians who participated in elections and were actively engaged in power politics were Mian Muhammad Rafi, Mian Marajddin Crown waley, Mian Umar Hayat, Dr Sardar and Aziz-u-Rehman Chaan.


Mian Merajdin actively participated in local level politics and also contested Provincial and National Assembly elections. He secured in 1962 and 1965 Basic Democracies Member seats. Simultaneously he won a seat in West Pakistan assembly and became Parliamentary Secretary (Minister) in 1965. He was member Municipal Committee. He was also Deputy Mayor of Lahore

Mian Umar Hayat contested Municipal Committee elections in 1983 and 1987 but lost. However he secured the seat in the National assembly in 1988 and 1990 respectively.

Dr Sardar is a doctor by profession. First time he became member provincial assembly in 1977 (PPP) and then in 1985 (non-party) and became minister in Nawaz Sharif’s cabinet.

Mian Aziz-ur-Rehman Chann was a student activist of People’s Student Federation (PSF). He entered in Politics in 1988 and was elected to the Provincial Assembly membership on a PPP ticket. He contested thrice for MNA on PPP ticket but could not succeed. He also worked as president of Pakistan People’s Party of Lahore wing and member CEC (Central Executive Committee of PPP).

Mian Muhammad Ishaq (Nursery waley, a famous Arain leader, is a president of Arain Association. He contested various elections. He was a deputy Mayor of Lahore in 1990s. He also secured a provincial Assembly seat in 1985. He also served as member Municipal Committee for four terms.
Another family of *Baghbanpura* (Kashmiri Sheiks) is very active in politics of Lahore. Sheikh Asghar was Member Provincial Assembly of Pakistan People’s Party in 1970. Later on his sons Sheikh Shakeel Asghar was Member National Assembly and Sheikh Rohail Asghar was Member Provincial Assembly.

Mian Ghulam Qadir an officer of Railway secured a title of ‘Khan Sahib’ and received Kasire-i-Hind (Caesar of India) medal for his social services from Lord Wavell in 1945. His three sons were very active in politics. Mian Shujha-ur-Reman was elected as Mayor of Lahore for two terms (1979-1987). He was very active in Local Bodies elections and was a permanent member of the Municipal Committee of Lahore from 1950s to 1980s. His brother Mian Zaka-ur-Reman was also very active in power politics of Lahore. He was BD member in 1962, 1965 and then MCL member in 1987. He also contested National Assembly election in 1962, 1965 and 1970 but lost. Mian Misbha-ur-Rehman also contested for Provincial Assembly in 1985 and in 1997 and then for National Assembly on PPP ticket but lost. He was a very close associate of Ms. Benazir Bhutto the Chairperson Pakistan People’s Party. He was also president PPP Lahore and member (CEC) 1997-2002. His wife is currently a Member National Assembly (PPP). Mian Zaka’s son was also member MCL (Gulberg) in 1995. Mian Shujha’s son Mian Mujtaba Shujha-ur-Rehman is currently member of Provincial assembly (PML-N), and is working as minister in Shahbaz Sharif’s cabinet. The son of Mian Misbha-ur-Rehman is also very
active in power politics of Lahore. Mian Omar Misbha-ur-Rehman also contested election of MNA on a PPP ticket from Lahore. Begum Bushra Rehman, maternal aunt of Mujtabha Shujha was an MPA in 1985 and 1988. Currently she is also serving as MNA of PML_Q. This family is still playing very active role in the power politics of Lahore.23

The Arain political family of Sandha/Mozang having close relation with Mian Misbha family are very active in politics. Malik Bashir rais of Sanda kalan secured a title of ‘Khan Bahadur’ from British Government. His nephew Malik Nisar was elected MPA on Muslim League ticket in 1985 and 1988 (PML) and also served as advisor to Chief Minister of Punjab in 1985. Malik Bashir’s maternal grandson Malik Pervaiz became MNA (PML) in 1997 and 2002 (PML-N). He is currently senior advisor to Chief Minister Punjab. His brother Milk Qayyum remained a Judge of Lahore High Court for over ten years. He also served as Attorney General and Constitutional Advisor to President of Pakistan. Malik Qayyum’s father Malik Akram also served as Judge of Lahore High Court and Supreme Court of Pakistan.

Chaudhry Muhammad Hussain Lahori of Mozang was very active figure of power politics of Lahore. He was elected as vice chairman Lahore Municipal Corporation and member National Assembly during Ayub era. He was considered as a strong supporter of Ayub Khan. His son Chaudhry Ilyas

23 Interview with Omar Misbha-ur-Rehman, son of Mian Misbha-ur-Rehman. 29 June 2010
contested MNA election in 1985 but lost. This family politically is non functional currently.

From 1946 to 1976 Kasur was the part of Lahore district. The Arain family of Ganga Kalan politically known as Sardar family had dominated the rural politics of Lahore district. Sardar Muhammad Hussain won the Lahore rural seat of Punjab Legislative Assembly 1937 (Unionist), 1946 (Muslim League), 1951 (Muslim League), 1956 (Independent) and in 1962 (independent). He lost in 1965 because he supported Muhtama Miss Fatima Jinnah. His nephew Sardar Ahmad Ali won the rural seat of Provincial Assembly in 1951 (Muslim League), 1956 (independent), 1962 (independent), but he lost in 1965 and 1970 as independent candidate. He secured a seat (MNA) on PPP ticket in 1977 from Kasur. His son Sardar Asif Ahmed Ali remained MNA from Kasur for four terms and served as Foreign Minister of Pakistan (1993-1997).

Mian Muhammad Azhar (Arain) the resident of Santnagar Lahore was appointed as Governor of the Punjab, during the Nawaz government. He also headed the Pakistan Muslim League-Q group during the elections of 2002. His brother Mian Ashraf is very active in politics of Lahore Chamber of Commerce. Mian Azhar and his brother Mian Ashraf are also important personalities of power politics of Lahore. Mian Azhar contested MCL elections

---

24 ‘The New’ English daily (Lahore) 14 July 2002
25 Daily Nawa-i-Waqat Lahore 12 June 2002
for two terms and also served as Mayor of Lahore. Later on he became MNA and then Governor of the Punjab.

The Zaildar family of Achhra was also active in local level politics. Mian Usman was elected as a member MCL Lahore thrice and also served as MNA. Actually he was the leader of Jamat-e-Islami. He won the MNA election as a coalition candidate of PML and Jamat-e-Islami. His cousin Mian Muhammad Munir remained MCL member for three terms and also served as MPA and MNA. His brother Mian Muhammad Jahangeer also contested election but lost.

Another family of Achhra, Mian Muhammad Shafi became member Punjab assembly in 1950s. His grandson Mian Khalid Saeed is very active in PPP Lahore and contested twice for MPA. He also contested for MNA on PPP ticket but could not succeed.

Akhtar Rasool, National hockey player, is a very active politician. He is politically leading the Kambho biradari of Achhra. He was member MCL Lahore and also served as MPA in 1985 as independent candidate. In 1988 he became MPA on IJI (Islami Jamhoori Itihad) ticket. He also secured a ticket from PML-N in 1993 and 1997 and won.
The researcher has evaluated that *Arain, Kashmirs*, *Kamboos* and kakeyzai took very active part in the power politics of Lahore since independence. We can name the *Kashmirs* like Mian Amir-ud-din, Mian Salahu-u-din, Mian Yousaf Salahu-u-din, Ahmad Saeed Karmani, Ch. Kaleem-u-din and his brother Ch. Kaseem-ud-din, Mian Muhammad Nawaz sharif, Mian Muhammad Shahbaz sharif, Malik Ghulam Nabi and his son Malik Shahid Nabi, Barrister Sadiq Hussain, Khawaja Riaz Mahmud, Qasim Zia, Triq Banday, Khawaja Rafiq, Khawaja Saad Rafiq, Salman Taseer, Khawaja Ahmad Hasaan and many more.

We can also name the *Arains* like Mian Iftekhar-ud-din of Baghbanpura, Mian Bashir, Abdul Aziz Malwada, Mian Shuja-ur-Rehman, Mian Miraj Din, Crown waley, Mian Jan Muhammad and Mian shafi of Mouzang, Ch. Muhammad Hussain Lahori, Mian Azhar, Mian Ashraf, Muhammad Hanif Ramay, Mian Munir, Mian Majeed, Mian Usman, Jahangeer Badr, Haji Muhammad Hanif and many more.

We can also name *kakeyzais* who took very active part in power politics of Lahore like Malik Barkat Ali and his son Malik Shaukat Ali, Ahad Malik, Malik Akhtar and many more.
Chapter: 7

Conclusion

We come now to the final part of this study, where some conclusions and perspectives are required about biradari politics in Lahore. The special aim has been to discover the role of the biradari system in power politics of Lahore after Partition 1947.

Lahore expanded considerably during the colonial rule and its political and administrative importance eventually increased because of its educational and commercial activities. Lahore possessed a diversified and vibrant population, the followers of three major religions; Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. Simultaneously the network of caste and biradari alliances dominated the territorial divisions and the urban life of Lahore. Similarly the district of Lahore’s composition was prosperous but overwhelmingly agrarian. Its larger European population lent it more cosmopolitan. We find that many of those who first grasped the opportunities created by colonial rule, e.g. employment with government, moved to Lahore from areas of longer-standing British rule. Elite responses, however, were only one level of responsive change and in this thesis attention has been given to the responses of lower-status individuals and groups.
British imperial rule that specifically framed the Punjabi politics by creation of intermediary rural elites for collaborative linkage system was another important factor. New rulers gained the acceptance of various groups in Punjab by perusing the policy to acquire support of local elites, which enabled them to rule over vast areas of land and huge population only with small administrative body and a limited army. These local chiefs were mostly the heads of various castes, tribes and biradaris.

Considerable social change occurred in Lahore district as the result of the imposition of British rule though institutions, policies and personality impacts of British colonialism and altered the existing patterns. It must also be recognized that much of the social change in the district was not caused directly by British decrees only but was result of the indirect operation of the colonial situation. South Asians, individually or collectively responded to opportunities created by the colonial situation and in so doing generated social change – the development of a semi-westernized middle class in the 19th century British India was a prominent example of responsive change.

In the later half of the 19th century responsive change was more frequent and more important and the imposition of the colonial rule created new opportunities. When these opportunities were seized by the Indians, the result was the advancement in the fortunes and status of individuals and small groups.
The imposition of the colonial rule in the Lahore district marked the beginning of a major structural change. The British government became the ultimate legal authority. Hence the structural change was significant and social action was altered. The structural and organizational change adjusted various actors within the colonial situation. These became actors increasingly powerful and influential.

The establishment of the *zaildari* system and *ala-lumberdari* system in the rural areas of Lahore and the formation of the Municipal Committee and Board of Honorary Magistrate in the city of Lahore shows how the British devised their policies so rationally to consolidate their rule by linking the structure of district administration more effectively to the masses of the ruled. The British government institutionalized the policies to formulate and to collaborate with Indian elites successfully.

Lahore had emerged by the time as the largest center of engineering industry. The north-west railway repair workshops were established in 1875 but at the outbreak of the First World War the railway engineering activities were further expanded rapidly. The greatest industrial development occurred during the Second World War and Lahore experienced more industrial development. The process of rapid growth of Lahore was linked to the development of colonial system. Lahore being the provincial headquarter the western presence became larger. Bureaucracy expanded and maintained an
exclusive position along with number of white-collar workers and labourers. The accumulative result of the growth was the emergence of the middle class. These government employees created the urban social class.

New inventions swiftly appeared and modern science dispelled ignorance, supersition and blind faith generally, and started the path leading to progress and development. Educational institutions were developed which opened the mind to reason and people possessing thought became dispensers of improving knowledge and public opinion.

A general look about biradari power politics has been taken that will enable us to extend our observations as to how the biradari system is working and providing a social base. The biradari system in post-partition Lahore (1947-1999) as a colonial product and the post-colonial state continued to use the existing ‘over-developed’ state structure that protected, projected and entrenched the biradaris in this system of power. Therefore this study has elaborated the working of the dominant biradaris, like Arains and Kashmiris that played an important role in the power politics of Lahore during the post-partition period.

Pakistan’s Industrial development, which was at its peak in 1960s, have produced a variety of new social groups which acquired political identities and associational forms of organization and high social and economic aspirations.
This was the awakening of the mass public into the political sphere, a process that signaled a fundamental and ultimate irreversible alteration in the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. The public sphere is an area in social life where people can get together and freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion influence political action. Politicization of mass social sectors, that alters historical relationships over times the politics of modern and modernizing states include the politics of ideas. The central subject of this work is the historically-specified phenomenon of public opinion that has developed in Lahore over the last sixty years. The material operation of public sphere has transformed the Lahori society as a motivational force. Civil society in Lahore, after partition, was established around rational critical arguments that gained validity and institutionalization through norms of reasoned discourse in which arguments, not status or traditions were to be decisive.

Modernization, as the term has been used here involves more than political, economic and social development. It presupposes a transformation of the mind. Three major government public works – the construction of Mian Meer Cantonment, the railway, and the Bari Doab Canal created public sphere in the Lahore district and at the same time provided job opportunities. The railways Company being a large industrial sector has not been unmindful of the comfort and social enjoyment of its large staff of highest employees. The railway community of Foremen, Drivers, Guards, firemen, and Mechanics
were comfortably housed in quarters built by the Company in vicinity of the station. The presence of military cantonment at Mian Meer also expanded the urban view of the Lahore district.

The establishment of the large educational sector in the city primarily designed to produce manpower needed for imperial administration. Later on the missionary activities in the field of education increased the educational network in the Lahore district. The government sector educational facilities also developed the educational institutions in the Lahore district which increased the intellectual outlook.

The European residential pattern affected the Indians in different ways. The interaction between European and Indian society played a very important role in changing the social and cultural situation in Lahore.

The men employed by the government in civilian capacity held variety of position. They were working in different occupations. The diversified occupational structure includes most of professions, such as considerable number of clerks, white-collar occupations, and elite cadre of executive colonial administrators who were living in Lahore. The presence of Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, high officials, clerks, teachers in government schools and colleges, judges, doctors, policemen, railway officials, public
works overseers and so on played very important role in social composition of Lahore.

With the development of the colonial rule a new structure with new possibilities and opportunities emerged in the Lahore district that opened up new vocational jobs. In pursuance to acquire wealth, power, influence and status people moved in the Lahore district to take advantage of the new opportunities. This new pattern of social mobility resultanty created a new semi-westernized middle class. This social class, based on professions and white-collar clerical employment appeared in the Lahore district, more particularly in the city in both governmental and private sectors.

Lahore Zilla School was established in the city. Lahore Government College was established in January 1864. Punjab University College was established in 1870 which became degree-granting University of the Punjab in 1882. A professional medical college was established in Lahore in 1860’s with a hope to popularize western medicine in the province. Punjab High Court was established in 1866

In 1850’s Punjab Civil Engineering Department established a school to provide training facilities to Lahories to fill the sub-ordinate positions such as surveyor, draftsmen, and overseers.
The establishment of the Colleges and schools by missionaries and as well as the government policy to provide educational network in Lahore opened the way for proper institutions of higher education and training ground for the eventual emergence of semi-westernized, regional Punjabi elite. The establishment of these educational institutions also guaranteed the city of Lahore a dominant position in the educational and intellectual life of the province.

The educational, administrative and vocational policies of the British rule significantly changed the outlook of Lahore. Lahore became a new commercial and manufacturing centre. Lahore emerged as a centre of education with growing middle class. The network of bureaucracy was expanded and migrant from all over Punjab sought services in Lahore. A new social class emerged. The voluntary associations emerged in Lahore with the help of the educated persons. In 1869 a Muslim Anjuman was formed in Lahore to administer the Badshahi mosque.

Arains as the most outstanding gardeners and hereditary custodians of Shalamar Garden of Lahore retained their custodianship of the gardens under the British. The British had also appointed the head of the families as zaildar of Baghbanpura. Thus the Arain Mians became influential rais in the city.
Before partition Amritsari Kashmiri families had played very important role. The kashmiri rai’s had dominated the politics of the Municipal Committee at Amritsar. The Kashmiri professionals and journalists have also gained considerably influence in the city of Lahore. Allama Muhammad Iqbal a great poet and philosopher played very important role as a political leader and also presented the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. The distinctive political visions of leaders like Saifuddin Kutchlue (Kashmiri leader of Amritsar) and Iqbal earned for Kashmiris a distinctive cultural position in Punjabi politics. The Kashmiri Baradri’s Anjuman was founded in the late 19th century. The ‘Anjuman Kashmiri Musalmans’ was organized at Lahore in 1890s. At Lahore, Amratsir and Slalkot Kashmiri Baradri identity were central features of election campaigns. Mian Amir-ud-Din, the Kashmiri leader of Lahore contested election in 1937 on Unionist ticket from inside the wall city of Lahore on Muslim Assembly seat.

The painful aspect of partition for both India and Pakistan was the huge demographic upheaval. This created the single biggest refugee movement in history which produced a huge influx of refugees into Lahore.

This massive exchange of population considerably changed the social composition of Lahore. One in ten people in Pakistan was a refugee. The newly created state, Pakistan, had to resettle, feed and house a large group of people who entered the country by train, sea and foot. This crossing into
Lahore had unbalanced the entire structure and composition of the Lahore district. By October 1953, Lahore’s estimated population was 1,200,000; it had been 700,000 in 1947.

Lahore has expanded considerably during the colonial rule and its political and administrative importance eventually increased because of its educational and commercial activities. Lahore has possessed a diversified and vibrant population.

The district of Lahore’s composition was prosperous but overwhelmingly agrarian. Its larger European population lent it more cosmopolitan. Lahore had emerged by the time the largest center of engineering industry. The north-west railway repair workshops were established in 1875 but at the outbreak of the First World War the railway engineering activities were further expanded rapidly. The greatest industrial development occurred during the Second World War and Lahore experienced the industrial development.

Those shifted to Lahore during 1947 to 1970 belonged to different biradaris. It is estimated that seventy percent of the present population of Lahore district has shifted from outside.

Pakistani politics, particularly in Lahore revolved around various issues: Daultana and Mamdot engaged in power competition in Punjab; the Anti
Ahmadiyya Movement took shape in mid 1948 and reached its peak in 1953; the constitutional making process in Pakistan was delayed. These issues were also discussed among other small organizational bodies. The important people in these groups were literary figures.

Rapid economic development from 1947-1970, due to the growth of small industry and a dynamic economy which flourished at the same time, was one of the main reasons for urbanization which provided opportunities to formulate public opinion in Lahore.

The role of biradari politics in 1970s has been a subject of much speculation and many claimed that Bhutto shattered the biradari system at least insofar as its customary political functions were concerned. Various biradari elites joined Bhutto’s struggle against Ayub Khan: Mian Arif Iftekhar son of Mian Iftekharuddin, the famous Arain leader of Baghbanpura; Mian Manzar Bashir (Arain of Baghbanpura); and Hanif Ramay (Arain), joined PPP of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The rural-urban setting of the district’s population presented the picture of a large rural majority living in small villages with sizeable minority located in one urban area of Lahore. Pre-partition Lahore was an agricultural city and the social composition was predominantly rural, based on farmers, peasants’ craftsmen, and labourers but there was also a small urban group of white-collar clerk students, lawyers, doctors, and civil officers. The new social
framework of Lahore during British period emerged in result of systematic exposure to western influences and the British, literally, built a new Lahore.

The old agricultural colonial Lahore is still growing fast and has developed from a small provincial town into one of the greatest cities of the world. The population of Lahore city as the census of 1941 showed was no more than 672,000 inhabitants while the 1991 census placed Lahore’s population at seven million. According to the 2006 census, Lahore's population is expected to top 10 million. Population of Lahore is increasing rapidly while its economy is also expanding and industry is developing. This expansionary trend is affecting the internal structure of Lahore profoundly that generating additional demand for goods and services and correspondingly precipitate new opportunities for production. Population increase is expanding existing pattern of economic activities.

The growth of industry in Lahore started in different directions i.e consumer good industry and capital goods industry. The consumer goods industries were developed in to two directions i.e bazaar mode industry and firm mood industry.

The contemporary modern industrial city of Lahore was flourished after partition. Ninety percent industries were established in Lahore after 1947. The bazaar sector factory is produce consumer goods like fans, steel crockery,
garments, leather goods, hosiery and etc. These new entrepreneur initially established inside the walled city and penetrated into surrounding residential areas and thus spread everywhere. The bazaar mode industries flourished in the local areas where bazaar activities were operational in more particular way. The analyses of Lahore as an industrialized city after partition showed that firm mode factories were emerged in that particular locations where bulk sources of raw material was nearby available. Some of these type of factories were established in Lahore city along with main highway at the distance of ten to fifteen miles of Lahore’s adjoining areas.

The demographer growth stimulates the expansion of trade. It increased purchasing power and further expansion of trade. Lahore has become the most consumption area of the province. It is the distribution point of the import goods, industrial products best place for entertainment and tourism. Since the mid 1970 remittances have further inflated the demand for all kinds of goods. For these various demands the city is the supplier of goods and services. The multiplier effects of regionally oriented business further strengthened city’s commercial base and so on.

**Five major biradris in Lahore have played very important role in Lahore.**

The *Arains* are in majority and this *biradari* is also active in industrial and commercial activities. Few families are playing very important role in power politics of Lahore at national and local level.
The Kashmiris as well are very active in power politics of Lahore. They have established strong hold in the urban areas of Lahore.

The Kakeyzais are also playing important role in power politics. They are engaged in commercial activities but some of them are serving in government jobs. They are also attached to military services.

The Kambhoos are also living in substantial portions of Lahore and also playing role in politics of Lahore. Kambhoos are attached in firm mode industries and mostly engaged in education sector. Some of them are renowned professors like Dr Ghula Rasool who was Principal of Atchison College, Lahore. Dr Ghulam Rasool was a national hockey player and captain of Pakistan hockey team in 1963. He took his PhD from Kansas State University, Kansas, USA. He also served as a vice chancellor of Agricultural University Faisalabad.

The Mughals are also a majority biradari but have no substantial role in power politics of Lahore directly. This biradari is engaged in manual works and mostly attached with woods and iron manufacturing on small scale.
After 1970s the *biradari* system is shattering. We can see the role of *biradaris* in power politics very actively since independent but as far as *biradari* affiliations are concern it is being shattered.

Pakistan had to fight four major wars with India such as in 1948, 1965, 1971 and the Kargil war. The hostile attitude of India also played a role in the urbanization of Lahore. For example, people from border areas such as, Narowal and Pasroor also migrated to Lahore. People from Lahore's border areas also shifted to the city.

The natural growth of population is increasing with great intensity. The walled city of Lahore became overburdened and people shifted to new colonies. Simultaneously people from old residential areas are shifting to other areas of Lahore. The distribution of industrial and institutional activities that evolved after partition has initiated changes in every aspect of city’s life with wide diversity. The growth of workshops, stores, houses and offices, along with bazaars, markets and plazas which are the manifestations of different commercial activities are in the processes of spatial development that have changed the physical structure in different forms from village outlook to post modernistic city. Lahore is an educational city having so many colleges and universities. These educational networks attract people from all over Pakistan and mostly people from Punjab shifted here permanently.
The aftermaths of Afghan war also contributed to the urbanization of Lahore. The Afghan *mahajreen* migrated to Lahore and permanently settled here. The Kalashankof and other illegal commodities have created an impact on the social and cultural life of Lahore. *Robbery*, murder and *gundagardi* became a regular feature of Lahore. Some people accumulated wealth and a new trend of Kabza group emerged in Lahore.

After 1990 the working of media also played a very important role in changing and shaping the socio-cultural behaviour of the inhabitants of Lahore. It diminished the parochial thinking of *Lahoris*.

Lahore has grown from a provincial capital of half a million people in 1947 to a metropolitan city of around 3 million people by 1981 and at present its population is estimated to be nearly 10 million. The demographic growth on large scale after partition has changed the spatial structure that evolved the mix economic activities and determined the socio-economic, cultural and physical structure of Lahore. The enlargement of the existing setting towards worker’s colonies, officer’s residents and ‘*Kachi abadies*’ as the residential areas and the growth of autonomous economies have shaped Lahore as a modern second city of Pakistan after Karachi. The commercialization of Land in Lahore enhanced the land value and people became rich. Those shifted to Dubai, Middle East or European countries in 1970s and 1980s now are coming back. They are purchasing houses in Lahore. The prices of a house in
all colonies became very high. The above mentioned factors created an economic class in Lahore which is no more attached to *biradari* bonds. They do not care about *biradari* affiliation and entering into matrimonial alliances with other *biradaris*. But the lower middle class is still attached with *biradari* system. In general elections *biradari* affiliations are being manipulated but in local level of politics, *biradari* is still playing a very important role.
Bibliography

Books:


**Articles:**


**Banerjee, Abhijeet and Lahshmi Iyer.** *History, Institutions, and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India*” (article taken from Jstore)


**Broomfield, J.H.** *The Regional Elites: A theory of Modern Indian History*. Indian Economic and Social History.


**Fuller, Christopher J,** *The oxford India companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology*, edited by Veena Das (2003)


**Hamza Alavi,** "Kinship in West Punjab villages," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 6 (1972)


**Mathur, Y.B.** *Judicial Administration in the Punjab, 1849-75*. Journal of Indian History (1966)


Journals:

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society London

Journal of Research Society of Pakistan, Punjab University Lahore

Historian, Journal of Department of History, Government College University Lahore

Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.

South Asian Studies, Centre of South Asian Studies, Quaid-e-Azam Campus University of the Punjab Lahore

Gazetteer:


Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1883-4 (Calcutta: Punjab Government)

Illahi, Faiz, Some Poorer Artisan Classes of Lahore, Board of Economic Inquiry Punjab No.71. Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1941.


**Reports:**


**Censes, Punjab, 1868**

**Brown, Annual Report of the Medical School, 1871-72.**

**Chand, Wazir. Final Report on the Settlement of The Urban Areas in the Lahore District 1925-27.**

**General Report, The Administration of The Punjab for the year 1849-50.**


**Lahore Chronicle.** (File in IOL London)

**Leslie S. Saunders,** Report on the Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Lahore District of the Punjab, 1865-1869 (Lahore: 1873)


**Tupper, C.L. Customary Law, (vol, 1), Calcutta, 1881: Government Printing Press, 1881.**
Interviews:

1. **Anwar Kadwai**—Senior Journalist (Daily Jang Lahore)
2. **Shafique Mirza** (Daily Jang Lahore)
3. **Maqsood Butt** (Daily Jang Lahore)
4. **Shafquat Tanveer Mirza** (Senior Journalist (Daily Dawn)
5. **I.A Rehman** (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan)
7. **Haji Hanif** (Ex-Deputy Mayor Lahore Municipal Corporation)
8. **Ghulam Yasin Mugal** Section Officer Civil Secretariat Punjab.
9. **Adrees Hanif** (Naib District Nazim Lahore).
10. **Khushnood Khan** (Public Relation officer Lahore Municipal Corporation)
11. **Mian Waheed** (Ex-MNA)
12. **Mian Eshaq** (Ex-MPA, Deputy Mayor Lahore, President Arian Association).
13. **Mian Wajid**, renowned *Arain* and ex-civil servant)
14. **Ch. Muhammad Saddique**, Ex-Deputy Commissioner.