

Old Markets, New Ideas

Revitalization for Aminabad, Lucknow.

by
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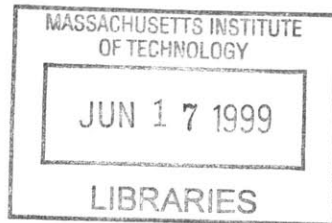
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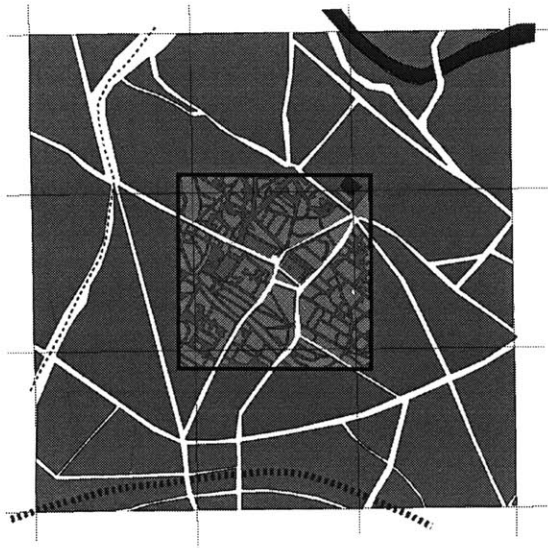


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Figure a: street facade 1

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dedicated to my maternal grand mother
Mrs. Prabhat Rastogi
who is directly responsible for my being here today,

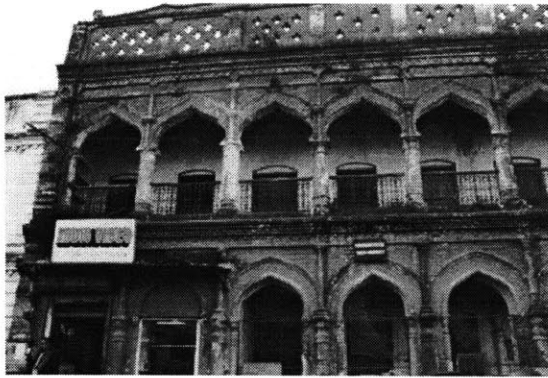


Figure b: street facade 2

Abstract

Old markets, new ideas: Revitalization of Aminabad, Lucknow

by

Mamta Prakash-Dutta.

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 20th, 1999, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Architecture Studies

Abstract:

Several cities in Asia are facing the same dilemma faced by Europe in the early twentieth century and the United States in the fifties. This dilemma is how to improve the 'blighted' old city that got left behind with its narrow streets and old ways. The symptoms and diagnosis are similar but the prescription will vary. In the light of old precedents; the background information of current urban theory; a different economic and demographic situation; and the addition of new parameters like sustainability and good community life; a new strategy needs to be devised.

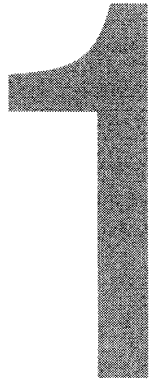
This thesis addresses the historic core of the city of Lucknow. Lucknow is the capital of the largest state in India, a secondary level city. Its old city is, at once, the vibrant commercial center and the point of discontent with the low quality of life it offers. This thesis shall analyze the current forces of change and the problems it faces and work out a strategy for its redevelopment. The goals of this project are to improve the quality of life and to preserve the special characteristics of this area like heritage, diversity and density while pursuing the ideals of efficiency, ecological soundness and social equity in the planning. The idea is to retrofit the old city to accommodate contemporary living and working while retaining the positive characteristics. The strategy tries to direct market forces to create a change in the area.

For the revitalization of Aminabad, this thesis explores a methodology that uses five classic revitalization strategies which suggest different priorities, modes of implementation and sources of funding. These include - conservation planning, tourism planning, residential community planning, mercantile community planning and a transit oriented plan. This thesis then develops an integrated plan which considers the congruencies and conflicts of the different strategies. It also explores implementation and management strategies for this plan.

One of the concerns of this thesis is to arrive at a strategy which can be replicated in other Indian cities and locations. In real terms, this refers to the revitalization of an average city center with almost no external funding.

Thesis Supervisor: Julian Beinart

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Introduction

The historic centers of many Indian cities give one a glimpse into a past of grandeur, of a certain way of life and community that cannot be found in the modern new developments most middle-income children grow up in. The quality of life offered by these old areas is extremely low, even in smaller towns. These areas have not been able to keep up with changing times and cannot cater to our present standards of living. Unfortunately, these areas saw a long period of neglect which began in British times and has continued until quite recently when conditions became so critical that the city had to begin to pay attention to them.

I am concerned about the trends of deterioration in these old parts of Indian cities. These areas are associated with the identity of the city and a nostalgia for the past and are an important part of Indian heritage. Revitalization of these areas needs to be addressed in a more comprehensive and sustainable way and this imperative drives my thesis.

Current situation in several Indian cities

The structure of many Indian cities today is very similar. Many large and historic Indian cities such as Delhi, Bhopal, Agra, Ajmer, Udaipur, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Ujjain, Gwalior and Lucknow can be divided roughly into three different areas - the old historic core, the British area and the new development since independence in 1947 - each with its own unique character¹.

Out of these three, the historic area has seen maximum disinvestment. The city authorities have chosen to spend most of their resources

on the newer developments and the Army Cantonment Board looks after the cantonment areas. The historic city, although it provides commerce, employment and housing to a large part of the city's population has been largely ignored. The old city was expected to perform the same functions as the rest of the city with no concern for its unique features or historicity. The historic center was the core of the pre-British city and the center of governance, nobility and commerce. It still has remnants of traditional housing, narrow winding streets and historically important buildings. This part of the city has a very high density and is usually a very unpleasant place to be in. The streets are congested and unclean and the informal market place creates a dense shopping area. The community that lives in this part of the city today consists of very few old traditional families. Most of these families have been replaced by low-income people when they have chosen to move out to newer developments at the edge of the city that offer a better quality of life.

The British area includes the Civil Lines, the army cantonment and the Railway Station. This was a very low density area with wide tree-lined streets and large open park areas, bungalows with very big yards and sports and leisure facilities like clubs, polo grounds, golf courses and such.

The Civil Lines housed British citizens in the Indian Civil Service. The Army Cantonment was the military base and was taken over by the Indian Army after independence. There is usually a small market area close by called the Sadar Bazaar which was the commerce run by Indian merchants to fulfil the needs of

¹Saha, Shovan K. Conservation based development of Shahjahanbad: the historic capital city of India.

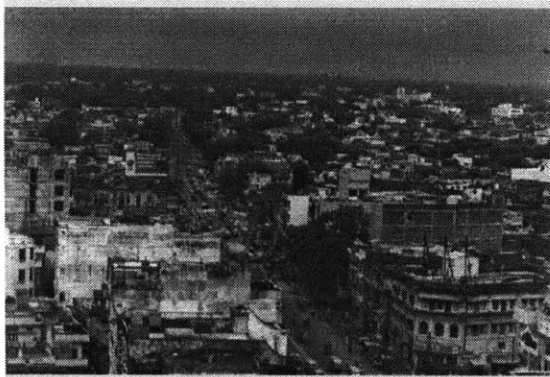


Figure 1.1: View of Old Lucknow - a market street.

the British Army. The Railway Station was surrounded by the houses of the Railway personnel - the Indian Railway Service being a complete institution by itself.

New developments after Independence lie somewhere in the middle of the two. To provide housing for the large number of refugees, who had arrived from Pakistan, areas were planned with small plots and simple houses. Later developments designed for medium density, divided into high, middle and low-income groups with provision for schools, parks and community centers. Further population growth kept pushing the edge of the city outwards.

As a result, most cities today have a historic area that is perceived as a problem. High levels of congestion, very high density of people, unclean environs and poverty has turned some of them into unlivable spaces. Historic areas seem to follow a trend. This trend can be clearly seen from the example of Delhi where the ingress of refugees in 1947 led to a severe increase in the population in Old Delhi and in new developments. In later years, development of newer areas in South Delhi and an increasing commercialization in the historic area, lead to the slow outward migration of residents. These fleeing residents were constantly replaced by poorer people often coming from rural areas. High-end retail also followed the same path. Slowly retail in the historic areas became no longer profitable and wholesale trade took its place. Wholesale trade unlike retail does not try to make the place pleasant for shoppers and is particularly indifferent to physical environs. This in turn led to the mass exodus of residents from the area; even the families of the merchants themselves

moved out. The empty houses were not abandoned or burnt but were re-occupied by poorer people much like American cities. In India, the old city has slowly turned into an area that houses immigrant workers and very poor dwellers.

City planning authorities have been slow to react to this downward trend in the area and very little has been done to improve the situation. Small improvements like moving out wholesale trade of messy and loud trades like vegetables and fruits, grain and iron and steel made some changes in the area but not enough to reverse the trend. Often the merchant communities resisted change as they saw this affecting their short-term profitability.

Different cities in North India are at different stages of this curve. Lucknow itself is on the brink of a major change. The shift from retail to commercial trade has not happened yet but can be seen as a possibility in the near future. Lucknow has recently seen rapid development at its outskirts giving people many new options for locating their houses.

Need for intervention

The current trends if allowed to take their course would result in a situation similar to Delhi where wholesale has largely replaced the retail trade, the residential community inhabiting the area is extremely poor, traffic is chaotic and the quality of life is very low. It would thus be appropriate to intervene to alter the current trend.

This thesis attempts to look at strategies that would alter the path for Lucknow, and improve the area of Aminabad.



Figure 1.2: A traditional residence in Old Lucknow.

Goals

This thesis will examine a revitalization strategy for Lucknow. The main goals of the proposed strategy are:

1. Improvement in the quality of life the area offers.
2. Preservation of the character of the area, in terms of its heritage, density and diversity.

Parameters that further qualify these goals are:

Creating functional and economic efficiency for the entire area.

Designing an environment that is ecologically sound and encourages good environmental practices.

Reinforcing social equity by including weaker stakeholders.

Organization of the thesis:

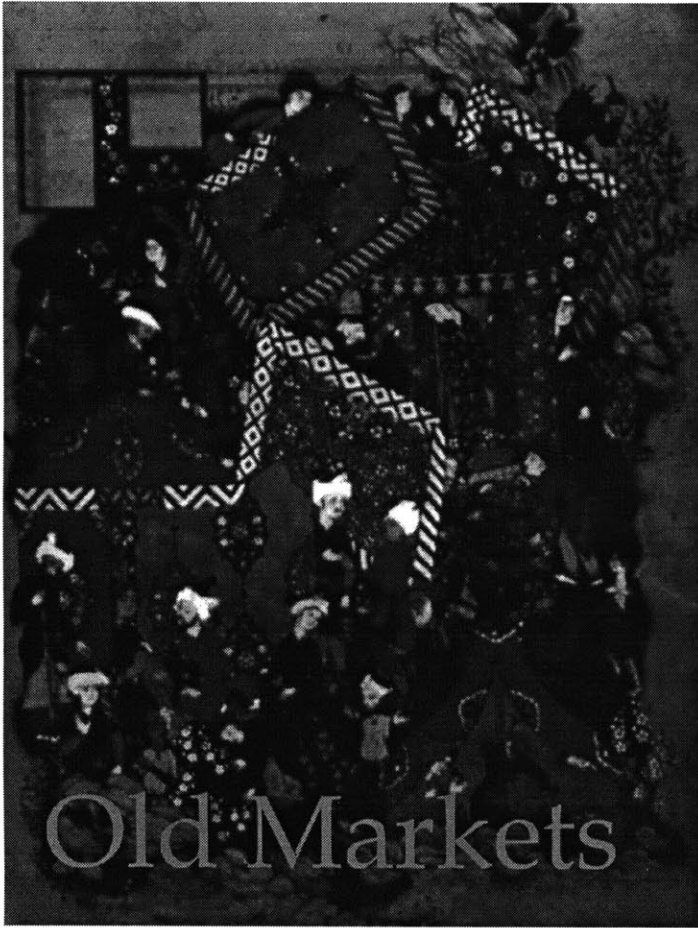
After the thesis and its goal have been identified in the Chapter 1, Chapter 2 describes the context — the city of Lucknow and the commercial area of Aminabad where the thesis is focussed. Chapter 3 goes on to analyze the site and the physical, social and economic aspects of the area — focussing on strengths and weaknesses of the site and the opportunities and threats they pose. It also defines the forces of change and the current trends in the area. Chapter 4 explains the background of the peculiarities of the Indian real estate market system and the public agency structure which have been strong influences in creating the current situation and will continue to effect future changes. Chapter 5 discusses the application of five different approaches

for revitalization of the area. These represent five different advocacy groups and are conservation, tourism, residents, merchants and a transit oriented plan. The last chapter brings these approaches together in an integrated plan and discusses the process of implementation and ends with conclusions.

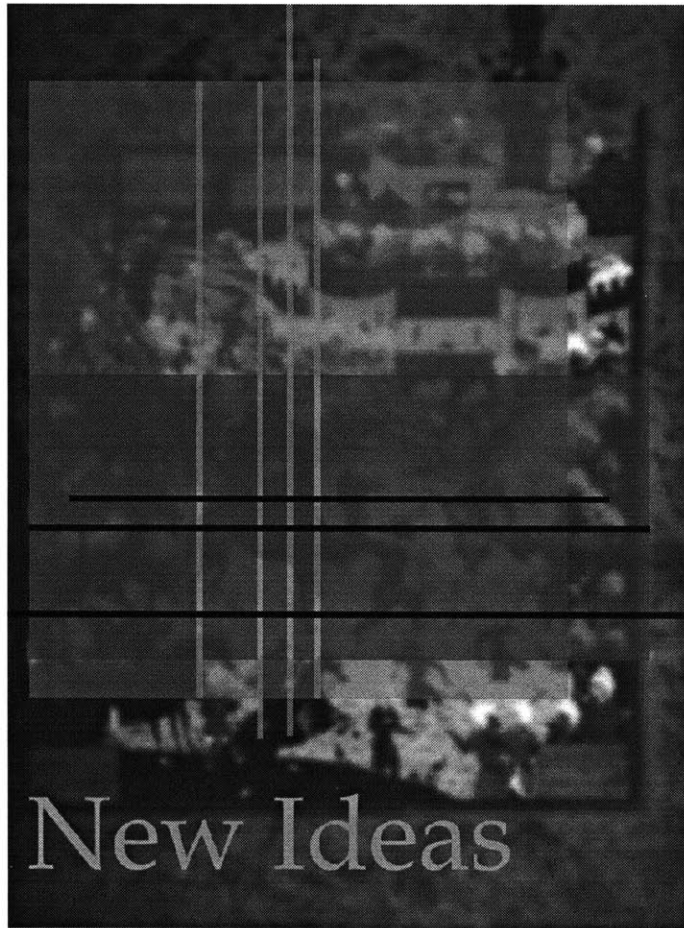
Reasons for selection of Aminabad, Lucknow as the focus for this thesis.

The area of Aminabad is an old market place. Almost all other cities in India have a similar market place that is very important to the city for the commerce it offers and generates, but is neglected and poorly-maintained by the city. Often the tourist appeal in these places is very limited and tourism is not a tool that can drive the revitalization. The reason for the selection of this marketplace Aminabad in a second level city of Lucknow — is to develop a process that could be replicated in other cities in similar situations. The method of using five different plans to reach the main plan allows for variations in emphasis and interventions to suit different situations.

Larger cities like Delhi or Bombay are special cases where the scales of operation are very different. Forces like government or commerce are much greater and the interventions that work there cannot be readily applied to other cities. The aim of this thesis is to try and work out a framework or a process of analysis and implementation that could be applied to almost any city in India with modifications.



Old Markets



New Ideas

2

The city and the historic core

L U C K N O W :

Introduction

Lucknow is the eleventh largest city in India with an estimated population of over 1.6 million people in 1991¹. It is the capital city of India's most populous state Uttar Pradesh (UP) and the seat of the state government. It would be categorized as a mid-size Indian town. It was established in about the seventh century and located on the banks of the River Gomti — an important tributary to the River Ganges.

In the eighteenth century, under the patronage of the Nawabs, the city of Lucknow flourished as a center of a unique culture known for its exotic cuisine and its very rich language and poetry. It is still known for a style of embroidery called Chikan exquisite lace-like embroidery on soft white muslin and for its perfumeries that create a range of perfumes and oils. All together these aspects mesh into a culture which is very rich and characteristic of this city. Lucknow still retains this image of a very genteel and polite place, a relaxed culture that is at the same time very beautiful. The city has an aura of royalty, an air of urbanity in the ways of greeting and the dialect that is spoken here - a mixture of Hindi and Urdu - Hindustani. The city is also known for its old monuments and the gardens that surround them.

Geographic location

Lucknow is located at 26 degrees North latitude and 80 degrees East longitude and is at an average height of 403 feet above sea level. The city has a very small gradient towards the Southwest at a slope of one foot

for one mile. The urban area of Lucknow is now situated on both banks of the River Gomti. It has a north-south extent of about six miles and east-west extent of about seven miles. The total area within the city boundary is about 40 square miles.

Lucknow is well connected to all the major cities of India by road, rail and air. It is 49kms from Kanpur, a large industrial center, 490kms from the capital city of Delhi, 970kms from the city of Calcutta and 317kms from the religious center of Varanasi. The climate of the city is a temperate or sub-tropical monsoon, with extreme summer and winter temperatures and a substantial rainfall in the rainy season.

History and development of Lucknow

Lucknow has never been the capital city of a large and important kingdom and thus there is no strong urban and architectural expression of power. Instead, it developed through spontaneous additions and accretions by consecutive rulers over the centuries. The river imposed an order on the city and important buildings and complexes were located on its banks. The meandering of the river organizes the city structure in a gentle curve.

Lucknow dates back to the seventh century BC, though there are no existing structures from this period. It was originally a Hindu city named after the valiant brother of the mythological king Ram Chandra, Lakshman. There still exists a mound near the river called the Lakshman ka Tilla that is a reminder of the city's origin.

PRE-BRITISH PERIOD

Historic records of Lucknow are available from 1031AD when Lucknow was attacked by a

¹ Source: Census of India, 1991.

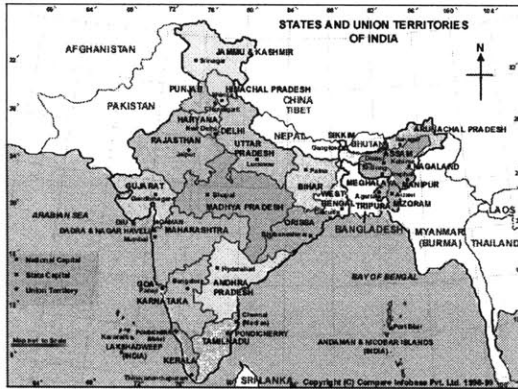


Figure 2.1: Map of India showing the location of



Figure 2.2: The Charbagh Railway Station, Lucknow.

²"Vestiges of its fame persist in the present." Sinha, Amita and Kant, Rajat. Urban Evolution and Transformation in Lucknow, India — a comparative study of its streets" in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements*, Working Paper Series, Vol91. IASTE, Berkeley, 1996.

Muslim king for the first time. The Afghan military leader Syed Salar Masud attacked the city and the surrounding area of Awadh or Oudh under the orders of Mahmud Ghazni. Thereafter Lucknow had a series of Muslim rulers, several of which were representatives of the Tughlaq and Lodhi rulers in Delhi at that time. During the Mughal reign in Delhi, the Emperor Humayun occupied Lucknow for a short period before the Afghans reoccupied it.

In 1530, the Afghan ruler in Delhi, Sher Shah Suri established a silver and copper mint in Lucknow. This was in operation even later in the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar in Delhi until about 1595. The city grew rapidly at this time and several important buildings including the Machhi Bhawan and the Panch Mahal were built. It flourished as a center for trade and commerce and it added some new residential areas under the next emperor Jehangir. During the reign of the King Aurangzeb in Delhi, the staunch Muslim king, a mosque was built on the famous mound, the Lakshman ka Tilla, replacing the original Hindu shrine.

In 1720, Saadat Khan was the appointed ruler of Lucknow and a representative of one of the last Mughal kings, Muhammad Shah. It was in 1728 that he revolted against the rule from the Empire in Delhi and refused to take orders from the Mughal court. He founded the Awadh or Oudh dynasty and proclaimed himself the Nawab (nobleman) of Awadh. This marked the beginning of an important time in the history of Lucknow when it was no longer a subordinate province of Delhi. The Nawabs left an indelible mark on Lucknow's history. Even till today the city is referred to as the city of Nawabs and fragments of the culture still

remain with the people and the place².

In 1754, he was succeeded by Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula who refused to transfer revenues to Delhi. He moved the capital to the city of Faizabad about 80kms away. Lucknow became a much smaller town, with two main areas of living one near Chowk and the other close to the Machhi Bhawan. The rest of the city became overgrown and covered by a jungle.

His successor Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula moved the capital back to Lucknow in 1775. He made extensive additions to the city building several buildings and gardens. Some of the prominent tourist locations in Lucknow today were built in his reign, including the Asafi Kothi, the Bara Imambara, and the Rumi Darwaza. His successor Nawab Saadat Ali Khan was announced by the British in 1798 and was succeeded by his son Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider in 1814. Lucknow flourished and grew towards the southeast part of the city. Saadat Ali who enjoyed hunting built the hunting lodge at Dilkusha and his son built the Haider canal — an important canal even now (though it unfortunately carries sewage rather than clean water).

At this stage, three areas of the city could be seen: first, the **homes of the merchants**, an area of narrow streets, congestion and small marketplaces within residential areas; second, the newer city built by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan with a wide street a mile long with markets and **houses of the nobility**; third, the quarter closest to the river that consisted of mosques, palaces, gardens and pavilions that together formed **the royal quarter**.

Ghazi-ud-din was succeeded by Nawab Nasir-ud-din (1827-37), replaced by



Lucknow City Level Plan
Historical Development

Figure 2.3: Map showing the development of Lucknow in three stages:
Development under the Nawabs.
Development under the British, 1858-1947
Development after Independence, 1947 onwards.



Figure 2.4: A birds eye view from the Roomi dar-waza - a historical gate

Mohammed Ali Shah (1837-42), by Amjad Ali Shah (18420-47) and finally by Wajid Ali Shah (1847-56) the last Nawab of Oudh. The most significant additions to the city in this last phase were the Iron Bridge across the river Gomti and the Hazratganj market.

THE BRITISH PERIOD

The British influence in India began in the late 1600s. After agreeing to have a British resident as his guest in 1763, the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula built the British residency in Lucknow (1780—1784). In 1765, the British signed a treaty for free trade in Awadh and asked the Nawab to pay Rs.5,000,000 towards war indemnity. This was to be paid partly in cash and jewelry and the rest over 13 months. The Nawab was also not allowed to employ foreign mercenaries in his army and was forced to support the British army in Lucknow. Over and above that the British company reserved the right to interfere in the day to day affairs of Awadh.

The soldiers' revolt or the first war of independence was in 1857. The British were kept prisoner in the residency and other English homes for several days till military support arrived to help them. The city of Lucknow was taken over by the British East India Company and Wajid Ali Shah had to sign a treaty surrendering the exclusive governance of his territories to the East India Company. This concluded the Muslim dominance in Lucknow. The British proceeded to make several changes in the city of Lucknow. It was made militarily safe from the British perspective and two-fifths of the city was demolished. New roads were built and all buildings, with the exception of old historic buildings, within 300 yards from the river were demolished. A number of military posts were established. In this period, the pop-

ulation of Lucknow dropped from seven hundred thousand to a mere two hundred and forty thousand. The floods in 1915 also destroyed large parts of the city. The 1930s saw more expansion in the city. The Secretariat and other offices, the new Civil Lines, the Mall Avenue and the Cantonment were constructed by the British.

AFTER INDEPENDENCE

When India got its Independence in August 1947, Lucknow saw a great increase in population due to migration of refugees after the national partition. Hasty unplanned arrangements for them resulted in haphazard organization of uses. Congestion in older parts of the city further increased. Over the decades Lucknow has grown stronger as an administrative town. The main economic basis of Lucknow has been administrative, judicial and institutional functions and other services and businesses they support. It has very few industries — mostly some large public sector industries.

Master Planning for Lucknow

Brief Planning History

After the flood in 1915, Patrick Geddes and H. V. Lancaster were invited to make a Town planning and improvement scheme for the city (1916-19). Geddes brought his survey based planning to use and conducted several surveys in Lucknow where the team looked at the different problems in the city. He made a set of drawings for the city and prepared a report that had recommendations for different areas like the conservative surgery for the old city area of Chowk. His suggestions ranged from creation of parks, planting trees, introduction of balconies in houses, creation

"In the Lucknow metropolis plan and the planning policy, Lucknow has been conceived as a single great entity with one main center, a transportation system providing radial movement to and from the main center, and a conical density pattern high near the center and falling off with greater outward distance, a more or less definable outer edge to its physically built up spread and approximately encircled by a substantial green belt."

Master Plan of Lucknow, 1975.



Figure 2.5: Image of the old market in Chowk.

of rotaries at congested intersections, improvement of housing and introduction of urban agriculture. The Lucknow Improvement Trust was founded in 1920, which undertook development schemes for opening up congested areas, preparation of new building sites, improving communications and demarcating areas for heavy industries and markets. Very few of Geddes's suggestions were actually taken up by the Improvement Trust.

After India's independence, The Town and Country Planning Department was set up in 1950 to deal with the problems of the urban areas and make comprehensive plans for all the cities. The first Master plan for Lucknow was prepared for the period from 1965 to 1995. Even as the plan recognized the historic character of the city, it did not make any special provisions for it.

Master Plan of Lucknow 1975

The next master plan for the city of Lucknow was drafted and passed in the year 1975. The 1975 Master Plan document defines the master plan as:

In this plan, efforts were made to retain the character of the city, which is famous for its gardens and open spaces. Some of the major problems as seen by the city are:

- High density ranging from 200-250 persons per acre in some areas
- Scarcity of land within a reasonable distance
- Rising cost of land and services

Three different types of residential areas were identified; high density closer to the city center (151-250 persons per acre); a medium density further out of 101-150 persons per acre in developments around the old city and a

low density of 51-100 persons per acre in the cantonment area and at the edge of the city. The main commercial areas in the city are Chowk, Aminabad and Hazratganj. The latter two have been recently declared as a combined Central Business District and a special zoning plan is being prepared for that. Apart from these, there are other commercial areas that are smaller and form the district and neighborhood commercial areas.

The Corrected Master Plan 1992

31 amendments were made to the 1975 Master Plan before a corrected plan was passed by the state legislature in February 1992. There is a proposal for a new master plan to be prepared in the next year or so, probably by external agencies or a private planning firm.

The corrected master plan updates the physical plans and facts as stated in the 1975 Master Plan and proposes several improvements within the city. The main problems in the city according to the plan are the lack of a transit system, lack of adequate housing, and the lack of a good economy. Among its many proposals are the improvement of current streets, building of three flyovers, an elevated expressway built over the historic Haider Canal, five bus/truck terminals on the city edge, a light rail transit system, improvement of the historic/cultural zone for tourist and recreational purposes. Proposal for commerce included the designation of the main market areas as the Central Business district, creation of district and sectoral commercial areas, and demarcation of bazaar streets where the buildings on the edge would be designated commercial use. One of the main reasons for congestion as stated here is the



Lucknow City Level Plan General Structure

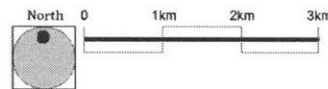


Figure 2.6: Lucknow: general structure and landmarks of the city.

centralized nature of commerce and offices that causes a lot of unidirectional commuting during peak hours. Inadequate mass-transit facilities, level crossings of railway on primary roads, 16% through traffic, 12-15% congestion during peak hours, unauthorized encroachments on streets and the lack of proper parking spaces add to the congestion and delay in travelling in the city.

1. Zonal division and general structure of the city

The present city of Lucknow lies on both sides of the River Gomti and the various uses are distributed evenly over the entire city. The historic areas, the important retail, wholesale markets, the main government institutions, educational institutions and offices lie on the South bank of the river. On the North bank lie the main Lucknow University and other educational colleges, several hospitals and shopping areas and a large residential area leading outwards. The central area of the city thus forms the focus for hospitals, universities, colleges and schools and the area around these uses houses the residential population and the retail, schools and health services that provide for them.

Southeast of the main city center lies a large area with very low density, wide tree-lined streets, and bungalows with lavish yards. This is the cantonment that hosts the military establishment, the governor's estate, the chief minister's bungalows and other prestigious government residences. Some small pockets in here are more densely populated and have a blue-collar civilian population.

The main commercial areas of the city are Hazratganj, Chowk and Aminabad. Together these cater for almost 85% of the cities retail

³Amitabh. *Urban Land Market and Land Price change*. Alsted Publishing House, England, 1997.

⁴Tempos seat eight persons (sometimes more) run on diesel and are usually badly maintained. As a result, they produce almost black smoke.

⁵Almost all of the short term projects were begun and completed by early 1999. These included:

- Traffic improvement in the form of road widening and alignment in many areas, widening of bridges that had become bottle-necks and improving the traffic signal system.
- Green area improvement that included renovation of dilapidated parks, traffic islands and fountains.
- Infrastructural improvements in some areas like addition of sewer and water lines, removal of poles, building/maintenance of sidewalks and road dividers and provision of improved cleaning equipment to the municipal staff.
- Creation of the first heritage zone in the city and its improvement in coordination with the Department of Tourism.
- Relocation of the Bus Terminus proximate to the Railway Station.

Long-term goals were initiated during his term but have not been fully achieved yet. These included:

- Completion of the Ring Road around the city.
- Building of several fly-overs to reduce congestion at intersections.
- Creation of a privately run bus/taxi service.
- Improvement of an old market as a tourist attraction.
- Improvement of the electricity supply situation to the city especially during peak demand time in summer, possible creation of a refuse-electricity plant,
- Setting up a passport office.
- Fast connections by rail to the other cities in the region and more rail-reservation offices in the city.
- Increase in the number of telephone/internet lines serving the city.
- Improvement of small industries.
- Education and information regarding the culture of Lucknow to the citizen of the city.

and 95% of its wholesale market. Shopping complexes and markets located near newer development cater for a lot of their residents' immediate requirements. A large belt along the southern bank of the river extending almost the entire stretch of the city encompasses most of its historical monuments and has recently been declared a conservation zone. Special guidelines for these are in the process of formulation.

The new development in the outer ring formation is mostly single storied single family houses that are quite densely planned with very small yards. Even in these areas there is a general problem of cleanliness and informal markets creating a very disorderly appearance.

Lucknow has traditionally been a center of education and political debate. It hosts a very prestigious medical college called the King George Medical College, the Lucknow University, the Isabel Thoburn College for Women, the Pantnagar Engineering College and a branch of the Indian Institute of Management. It also has a very good network of private and public schools.

2. Current trends of growth

In recent years, the city of Lucknow has encouraged housing development and growth towards the south of the city. Land was offered to private developers at a market price to develop, subdivide and sell as plots of land or built houses. Meanwhile semi-government housing agencies developed housing towards the northeast section of the city. This growth averaging about 63% in the last census decade (from 1981 to 1991) is the result of both natural increase and migration.

A large part of the localized growth is due to people moving out of the central residential

areas to better housing and lifestyles in the suburban areas. The outward growth has mostly been residential accompanied by basic services and there has been no movement of jobs to these areas, dramatically increasing the number of commuters. This is visible both in the form of two-wheel vehicles on the road and pressure on the public transport service. Many cultural institutions have been given land in the eastern area to develop their institutions. A five-star hotel has also been established on the banks of the Gomti.

It should also be noted that there has been a major increase in slum population in Lucknow and about 39% of its population live in slums. This is a reflection of the slow growth in the local economy of Lucknow. Lucknow is currently suffering from a range of urban problems relating to unemployment, housing, transport, water and electricity provision, environmental pollution and crime. A chart showing the growth of population in Lucknow in the last five decades and the phenomenal growth in the last decade by 63%³:

1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
0.50 m	0.66 m	0.81 m	1.01 m	1.67 million

3. Public transportation

Lucknow's urban transport consists of a fleet of privately run small coaches called tempos that ply along designated routes stopping and starting as requested by the passengers. These routes have been decided by the city and licenses are given for running these vehicles as taxis. Although not a very efficient system this is a popular and effective mode of transport. There is a small fleet of city buses but these are not as frequent and have not been very popular. Although these tempos provide an important service to the city, they

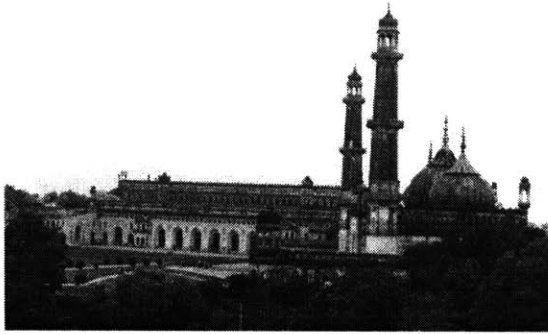


Figure 2.7: Image of the Bara Imambara - the main historical tourist attraction in Lucknow.

greatly add to congestion and pollution⁴ on the streets.

4. Political situation

As the seat of the State Government, Lucknow is also very rife with political tensions. Politicians try to make changes in the way the city is operated, disrupt the normal city life with lectures and rallies and try to cajole votes from the residents with false promises. The major universities are treated as training grounds and many student activists become politicians or socially disruptive elements. Unfortunately their strong presence in the city hinders the decision process and the smooth functioning of the developmental bodies. The ex-Prime Minister of India, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, was elected from the city of Lucknow. He initiated a very ambitious improvement plan for the city of Lucknow in 1998. A beautification drive was launched in Lucknow that included several short and long term goals that addressed all the main concerns of the citizens of Lucknow today⁵.

5. Political Administrative Structure

Planning, development and maintenance of the city are carried out by different agencies. The Lucknow Development Authority is concerned with all new construction. They set the Floor Area Ratio and the Development Control Rules and are responsible for the Master Plan. However, the Master Plan was prepared by the Town and Country Planning Office. The state agency of Housing and Development is built and sells new housing to the city dwellers. The Municipal Board is in charge of the maintenance of the infrastructure and the services. There is a separate Transportation Office that is in charge of the planning and development of roads and the

transportation network. The work of these agencies, although connected, is not carried out with enough coordination often leading to situations where they are working at cross-purposes.

THE HISTORIC AREA: AMINABAD

Description of the area

Aminabad is a major commercial area of Lucknow, built under the reign of Amjad Ali Shah between 1842 and 1847. It is located on the southern side of the River Gomti, to the west of the new market area of Hazratganj and south of the conservation zone. His minister Aminuddaullah conceived it as a grain and vegetable market. Long rows of shops and warehouses were built with a rose garden in the rear. In later years, however the grain market moved out to other locations and it is now the largest clothes and general merchandise shopping area for the city. It is linked to other smaller markets around it - the hardware market on Sri Ram Road, guns and bullets on Latouche Road, small knick-knacks in GarbarJhala and vegetable markets in Nazirabad and Qaiserbagh. All these together form a major destination for the people of the city.

The market area is concentrated around two main parks. These parks form large open spaces around which commerce can flourish. Half the area of the main Aminabad Park was converted into small temporary shops for the refugees who moved to the city after the Partition in 1947. This has now assumed a more permanent nature. The park behind has a main temple and a clock tower, which were

⁴Geddes, Patrick. *Town Planning in Lucknow: a report to the Municipal Council*. Murray's London Printing Press, 1916, page 43.

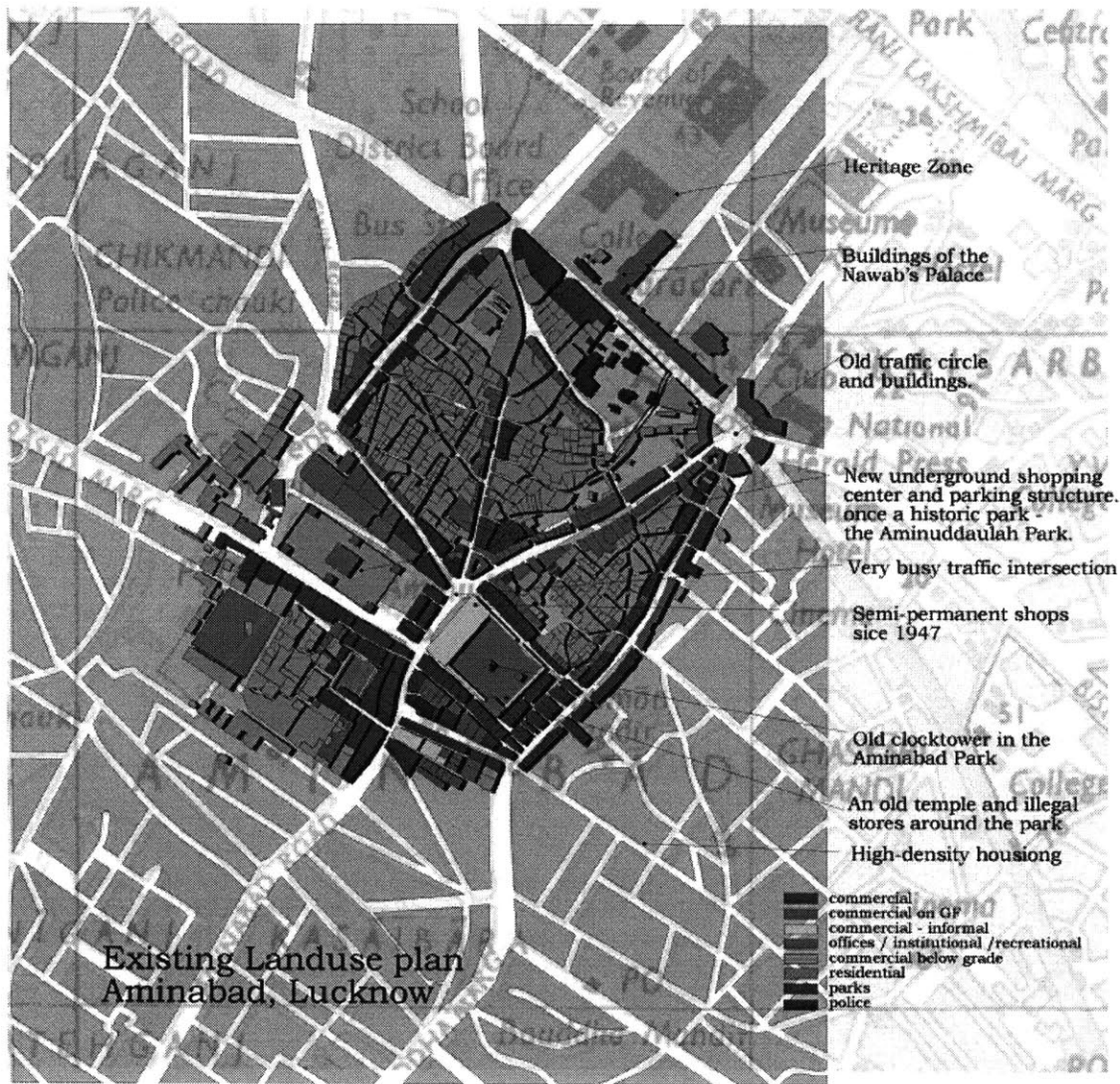


Figure 2.8: Detail plan of the site- laduse

both major landmarks in the area once. Now the park is neglected and the shops have almost enveloped the temple having extended even into the basement area of the temple.

The second and larger park is called the Aminuddaulah Park that once had the tomb of Aminuddaulah in the center. In 1997, this park was transformed into a multilevel underground parking and shopping complex commissioned as a public-private project by the city. It shall house about 500 new shop and provide parking for 100 cars. This concrete structure projects above the ground for about 5 feet and has a central glass atrium and four traditional looking staircase structures on four sides to allow access. The structure is nearly complete, but construction has been stopped and occupation denied by a stay order from the Supreme Court of India in response to a public-interest litigation. The appellant has questioned the incorrect interpretation and application of landuse zoning by the city.

Buildings of uniform color and style surround this park on three sides: predominantly institutional buildings on the north side, large residences on the west side and storefronts on the south side. The area surrounding these parks and edging the streets traditionally has been commercial. Beyond this layer, however, there co-exists a traditional residential community. Its streets are irregular, curving and private serving courtyard houses. Two other smaller parks existed here, one for children or private use and the other only for women. This area though is seeing a huge expansion in commercial activities and the two activities are in conflict.

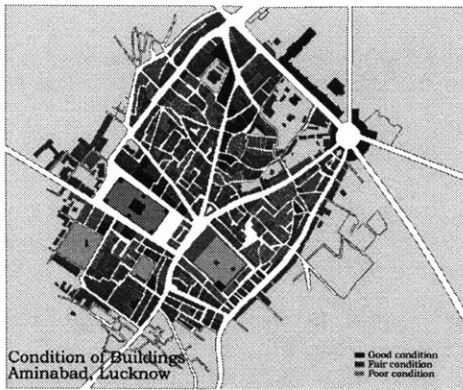


Figure 2.9: Condition of buildings in Aminabaad



Figure 2.10: Height of Buildings in Aminabad

⁷In other cities like Old Delhi, there has been no net decrease in population since 1970 but the affluence and quality of life offered by the area has decreased in a major way.

⁸This is what happened in Delhi, where Shahjahanbad is a very big wholesale market for the Delhi region. With the expansion of the city, the retail trade moved out to other more convenient and modern locations with better services. The old city became a stronger center for wholesale trade. (Saha, Shovan K. 1995).

Master plan landuse recommendations for the area

Regarding the historic areas of the city, the corrected Master Plan expresses major impediments in improvements. The reasons stated are very high levels of population density in the old areas - they occupy 4.57% of the city's area and support 27.5% of the city's population — a gross density of 415 persons per hectare. In some localities the density is almost as high as 1000 persons per hectare compared to the average density of the city at 69 persons per hectare. The high density and the activity this generates put a lot of pressure on the old infrastructure and the roads.

This area has historically been a mixed-use area and supports a variety of activities that overlap each other's boundaries. There are businesses with residential on the upper floors and homes that are also cottage industries during some hours and so on. Thus being a historical area, it is difficult to rezone it to any single use. The corrected Master Plan has regulations allowing mixed use in these areas such that buildings could be commercial use in the lower floors and residential on upper floors.

However contradicting that, the corrected Master Plan has also declared Aminabad and Hazratganj to be the Central business District of the city of Lucknow and allowed an increased Floor Area Ratio from 1.2 to 2.5 to accommodate the expected growth to encourage intense commercial use. It proposes that conflicting uses like the wholesale vegetable and fruit market and the grain market be moved to other locations at the outskirts of the city. These areas shall be replaced by parking and resettling informal shops. The sur-

rounding area has been declared largely as high-density residential area and mixed use towards the west, where the market is currently seen to be moving.

Back in 1918, Patrick Geddes's plan for the area included recommendations for connecting these two parks visually. He regretted the building low-quality retail structures on the road dividing the two parks. He suggested the removal of "four middle stores on each side of the road"⁶ as to "give a pleasant peep of each, and access from one to the other." He also suggested the planting of flowering trees on the edges of this road. At this time Aminabad was not such an important part of the city. This area between the two parks was the location of the cloth market. In the Aminuddaulah Park, the planning principle was "to give the park variety with minimum expense". He prepared a tree-planting plan with palm trees around the tomb (this tomb no longer exists), improvement of the central fountain and planting flower shrubs at the edges to brighten the park.

Site details

1. Buildings

a. Condition of buildings

On looking at the general condition of buildings in the area- one can see that they are visibly in a poor and shabby condition. There are several older structures that are falling apart and badly in need of repair. Although the ground floor space may be used and maintained by the person running the store, often the second floor level is dilapidated.

The cause for this in many cases is the difficulty to evict old tenants, to increase rents for the stores on the ground floor and the high



Traffic Study showing Relative Traffic Volume
Aminabad, Lucknow

Figure 2.11: Traffic volumes in Aminabad.

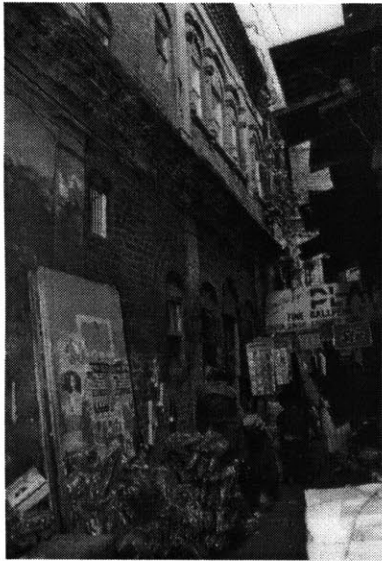


Figure 2.12: Image showing the use of the street for storage of wares during the day.

cost of repair. Low residential rents or vacancies due to dilapidated premises on upper floors and multiple ownership further intensifies this problem. Upgrading the building stock is an important part of revitalization and good housing is essential to attract people to live in this part of the city.

b. Height of buildings

All buildings in this area are traditionally built up to ground and two floors or in some cases ground and three floors. The attached plan will show that most buildings along a single street are of a similar height.

Newer construction has been allowed an increased FAR of 2.5 and a ground coverage of 65% which means that buildings are now allowed to go up to four floors and a basement, since that is not counted towards FAR calculations. Most new construction is being built with a plinth height of 1.5m and a lower ground floor that is at -1.5m level. This allows two levels of retail floors on the lower ground floor and the upper ground floor. The third floor and above are then used for residential or office uses.

Any interventions planned in this area will have to understand the regulations currently in place and new compatible uses for higher floors would have to be worked out. New design guidelines are required to maintain the character of the area — buildings without setbacks and similar heights as the adjacent plots.

c. Demolition and Reconstruction

Repair and remodeling is not regulated and there are no existing building codes or development rules for these. Cases of demolition and reconstruction, however, have to comply with the bylaws and need approval from the

city. To avoid the cumbersome and expensive process of approval by the city, construction is done secretly without permission by bribing the building inspectors. The construction cost in this area reflects this aspect and is very high - approximately Rs550-600 per sq. ft. compared to the usual cost of Rs300 per sq. ft. in the rest of the city. New buildings are being built with a basement and a ground floor for commercial retail use and a second floor that could be used for retail, offices or residential use. Usually the third floor is not built.

Our vision for the future has to shape our public policy and design regulations. If we want our buildings to be preserved as they are, our development control rules have to reflect that. New incentives need to be created to alter the current trend of transformation and these should pay attention to the market forces.

2. Traffic

a. Intensity of use

Like old towns all over the world, traffic is a very major issue in this area. The problem of congestion is much more acute on the main streets and intersections which get very clogged between 11.00am to about 7.00pm. The traffic consists of many categories including pedestrians, handcarts, bicycles, pedicabs, scooters, mopeds, motorcycles, cars and small pickup trucks, sometimes even bigger trucks. The mix of traffic combined with narrow streets, unauthorised stalls and haphazard parking at the edge of the street intensifies the problem. A large number of pedestrian shoppers add to the mix and choke the traffic completely. Most of this traffic is destination traffic to this area and cannot easily be diverted. A general lack of park-

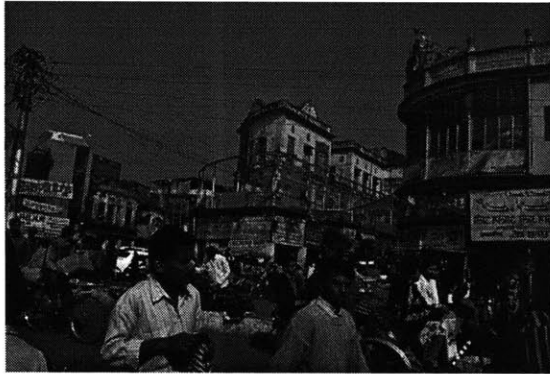


Figure 2.13: Image showing pedestrians on the street.



Figure 2.14: Image showing poor condition of buildings in Aminabad.

⁹A shopping complex in India would mean a structure which would have a many shops on different floors connected by common spaces like lobbies, staircases and corridors. Even here, retail is only on two floors, other floors would have office uses. Usually the shop sizes are small, as the market for smaller retail is much higher than large retail. The common areas are poorly lit and maintained and the stores themselves do not have any natural light.

ing sace for the shoppers, residents and shop-owners accompanied by a dck of enforcement of parking rules leads to very erratic parking.

The city has responded by creating unidirectional traffic flows in most of the area and designated parking areas but that has not completely alleviated the situation. Enforcement of fines and other disciplinary measures need to be taken. This is one of the most important barriers which stand in the way of better living and shopping in Aminabad.

b. Variations during the day - intensity, use and type

The traffic peaks in the hours between 11.00am to 7.00pm. In the morning till about 11.00 the main activities in the area is the opening of shops, deliveries of goods to the stores and other preparations for the shopping hours. Stores open at about 11.00 and shoppers begin to arrive- peaking at about 1.00pm when the streets get full of people and shopping and eating is in full swing. The numbers begin to recede in late evening around 6.30pm when most people begin to head homewards. Traffic management of the area should acknowledge this pattern and respond to it by pushing some activities to less busy hours.

3. Landuse

a. Variations in the area - physical location and percentages

Aminabad is an area of mixed and intense landuse. It has historically been an area of commerce - wholesale, retail, warehouses and cottage industries coexist with residential and institutional uses. The percentage of areas occupied by different uses in 1990 was:

Commercial	17.0%
Offices	5.0%
Residential	42.0%
Service industries	3.5%
Institutional	7.5%
Governmental	1.5%
Recreational	10.0%
Open spaces	5.5%
Circulation	8.0%

This shows a very low percentage of circulation space that refers to the narrow streets and high density of built-up area. The percentage of commercial activities is rapidly growing taking over areas from residential, open spaces and circulation. Other uses like offices — both private, institutional and governmental have also been on the decrease and are moving out to better locations in other parts of the city. Recreational uses like movie-halls are also facing a very low market and considering changing to other uses.

The affluent residential population that once proudly owned houses in this district has now opted to leave the area for a better quality of life in newer areas of the city. Between the years 1971 to 1981 the population declined from 23,000 to 13,000 persons. Since this brought prices down in the area, this population was replaced by less affluent persons who prefer to be near their place of work and for whom the lower quality of life is not an issue⁷.

It is evident that the current trend is moving the area from its original mixed use to a more homogenous commercial use and the master plan recommendations are aiding the process. The sentiment of the city authority



Figure 2.15: Image showing the vibrant informal market in Aminabad

reflects that of the business community and is encouraging commerce by putting in the new market, changing the area's denomination to a BCD and increasing FAR. High residential density (200-250 persons/hectare in Aminabad but higher in other adjoining areas) is seen as a problem and this is seen as one way to reduce the intensity of land-usage.

b. Commerce

Aminabad accounts for about 40% of the retail trade of Lucknow. The area presently has about 2000 shops and provides employment to 3,000 persons and this number is growing per year by about 1.8%. Retail and wholesale trade is segregated by type into different parts of the market. The ratio of wholesale to retail is 1: 5 reflecting that retail is a large part of the commercial activities of the area. Businesses were originally concentrated around the parks and along the main streets. Now, it is expanding into the residential areas beyond that. Businesses in this area are very satisfied with the way things are since their stores are doing well. Almost all traders in this area from very small to big do not want any changes in their set ways.

These statistics reflect two important aspects of commerce in the area — first, that the city of Lucknow depends on this area for its retail and wholesale needs and second, that even now the percentage of retail in this area is very high. These two facts indicate that this is a popular shopping area for a large number of Lucknawi citizens. Lower quality of shopping experience coupled with a mushrooming of smaller markets all over the city are predicted to reduce the attraction of the area for a large number of shoppers. The market is likely to respond to this by switching to being a

largely wholesale market⁸. As a result, the concern for a better environment in Aminabad will be greatly reduced. This is because unlike a retail market, the success of a wholesale market is not related to the physical surroundings of the store but the prices it can offer. A better managed and more pleasant market area would be beneficial for both the shoppers and the shop-owners. However, most shop-owners in Aminabad are suspicious of any interventions and resist change. Any interventions suggested should take the merchants into the planning process to win their confidence in the project.

c. Vertical differences in uses and intensity

The distribution of uses and their intensity varies floor-wise. The ground floor is used mainly for retail or small industries depending on the location of the building. On the second floor the use is secondary retail, small offices or light industrial use such as a clothes manufacturer or a courier's office, a small hotel or a residence. Traditional industries like chikan embroidery and cane furniture-making have been replaced by more profitable businesses. The upper floors are then residential or sometimes part of a small hotel or inn.

The intensity of commercial use on the ground floor in prime locations is very high and every square foot of space is used. This includes covered sidewalk areas, side alleys and lofts for activities like temporary storage of goods, installing a sewing machine during the day, keeping a water-cooler and so on. Small stores have been illegally constructed using the edge of the park as a rear wall and numerous temporary stalls are set up during the day. Many stores spread their wares onto the sidewalk during the day and fold it up when they close their stores.

¹⁰ 1 US dollar = Rs. 43/-

¹¹ Refer chapter 4 for an overview of the peculiarities of the Indian real estate

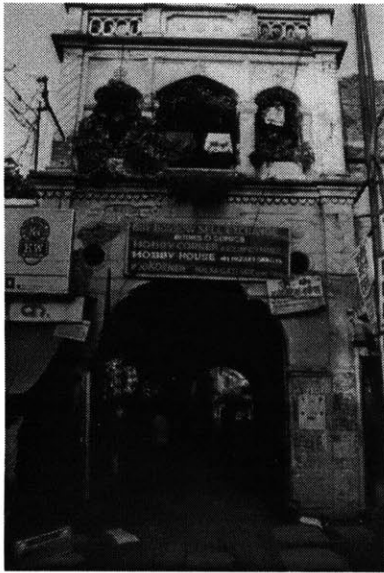


Figure 2.16: Image showing the intensive commercial use of an old house.

New uses for the under-valued floors, improvement of the residential market, and the issues of the rights in a public space are important questions to be addressed here.

4. Basic Infrastructure

The infrastructure in the area is inadequate for the new uses and population that the area now supports. This includes access by roads, condition of streets, parking area, electrical wiring and street lighting, water and sewage connections and open spaces. All these infrastructures are supporting a load that is much higher than the designed capacity. There are thus many cases of breakdown and upgradation is badly required.

Currently all infrastructure is owned and operated by the city. The city organizations suffer from corruption, inefficient management, poor collection process and the lack of resources for maintenance and up-gradation. Any improvement in the area will be incomplete without improving the basic infrastructure system. For more efficiency or the need of capital for improvement, this might involve the privatization of the infrastructure.

5. Real Estate Market

The real estate market for retail on the ground floor (mostly small shops) is strong. The most preferred area for stores is around the Aminabad Park followed by Latouche Road, Pratap Market (around the smaller Neighborhood Park) and Gwyn Road (area for the book wholesale trade). There were many more small hotels located on higher floors in Aminabad about ten years ago. These were used by travelling businessmen who came to the city for a few days to trade commodities. However their numbers are diminishing due to construction of better

hotels in other parts of the city and an increase in business conducted on tele-phones reducing the need for travel.

The residential and office real estate markets in Aminabad are not performing as well as the retail and it is almost impossible to sell this kind of development. Some developers that constructed third and fourth floors for offices have not been able to sell their property.

The main reason for this depressed market has been sited as congestion, choked roads, lack of parking, noise pollution and air pollution. The cost of land (Rs900 per sq. ft.) is also much higher in this part of the city compared to newer areas (Rs500 per sq. ft.). These aspects make the area unattractive to most people other than those who feel they need to be here due to the peculiarity of their business and the importance of clustering in the Indian wholesale market system.

Large building complexes combining residential and office uses and fitted with facilities like elevators are not considered feasible in the area, though some shopping complexes⁹ have been built. Demand for space on the second floor is nominal. Areas on the second floor, given out on *pagri* fetch a nominal rent of Rs200-300¹⁰ a month.

To circumvent the low and unrealistic rents set by the Rent Control Act, the prevalent system of trade called the *pagri* system¹¹ is used. In this system, the building is rented out on the regular minimal rent and a large cash down key payment at the time of signing the rent papers. This money is unaccounted for and becomes a part of the parallel economy (black market). It is not taxed and no benefits of this deal come to the society.

In this entire system, the owner of the proper-

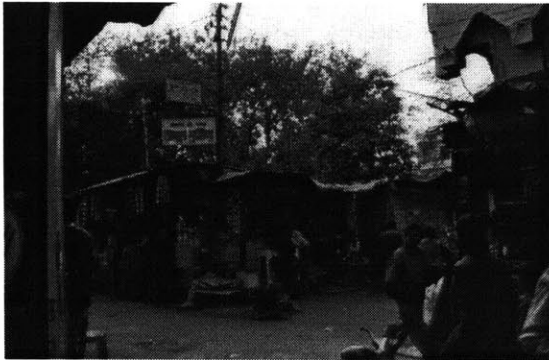


Figure 2.17: Image showing the surrounding of a neighborhood park by small commercial stalls.

ties is the most disenfranchised link. He has no incentives to undertake the repair and maintenance of his properties since he would still get the low rents. Although 30% of the key money is paid to him, he has no reason to invest that in the property as that has no economic benefits for him. Hence the buildings see repairs only as they are seen fit by the tenant-occupant of the structure. Parts of the building which need bigger repairs, or are not used or valued by him get neglected. Interventions in this area would have to create the incentives for maintaining a building in good condition.

The selling price for shops located on the first floor or the basement are on average, as follows:

12-15 ft x 10 ft @ Rs25000/- sq. ft. or pagri
Rs22000/- sq. ft. + Rent

25 ft x 10 ft @ Rs22000/- sq. ft. or pagri
Rs20000/- sq. ft. + Rent

40 ft x 10 ft @ Rs16000/- sq. ft. or pagri
Rs12000/- sq. ft. + Rent

These rates clearly show that the demand for smaller shops is much greater than that for larger shops and are selling for higher prices.

One such project on a narrow plot and near the Aminabad Park has set the sale prices for its property as:

Lower ground floor/Basement @ Rs1200/-sq.ft.

Upper ground floor/First floor @ Rs3000/- sq. ft.

Second floor @ Rs700/- sq. ft.

Third floor @ Rs600/- sq. ft.

Fourth floor @ Rs500/- sq. ft.

The difference in the prices for the lower two floors and the upper floors clearly shows the difference in demand for retail versus that of

other uses.

This survey of the real estate market in the area clearly exhibits the economic dynamics that work in this area. Any interventions proposed could use these dynamics in a positive way and then make changes towards a more balanced real estate demand.

6. Environmental concerns

Environmental concerns in this area include a high level of noise air pollution. The chief cause for this is traffic congestion and the lack of trees in the area. Ecologically-safe garbage and sewage waste disposal systems are lacking in the city and should be considered as something that could be addressed.

The existing public transit systems is not an energy efficient system as it is not really a mass rapid transit system but a slow, low capacity system. The coaches that are used are based on a diesel engine that is highly polluting and fuel-inefficient. Since the system is not well-regulated, it does not serve the entire city uniformly through all hours of the day. It also causes problems of parking at the points of termination and starting of the routes. This system would need to be improved, managed and coordinated to make it fit better with the city.

7. Community

Apart from the physical ecology there is another community ecology that should be addressed. Does the community work well together? In this case, the answer is negative. Although the relationship between commerce and residence started as a symbiotic one, now there is a conflict between the two. Resolution of this conflict would lead to a harmonious existence of diverse uses and people in the area.

3

Analysis of the site and the situation

¹Refer Chapter 2 for the historical background of Lucknow and Aminabad.

²*The Mughals were known for the beautiful parks they built in several towns all over India, a tradition brought by Emperor Babur from Afghanistan to India. These parks were associated with the concept of paradise and were designed in the pattern of a square divided into four equal squares - the charbagh and planted with fruit trees. These parks were, however, almost always built for the enjoyment of the royal family or in association with a royal monument like palaces, tombs or simply royal gardens located in exotic locations.*

This chapter analyzes the different aspects of the market area of Aminabad, that were discussed in the last chapter, in order to understand the process and direction of current transformations. In view of future changes and towards benefiting the largest number of players, this chapter lists the relative strengths and weaknesses of the site leading to an analysis of the current trends, the stakeholders and the factors that affect these trends. This chapter is aimed to lead us towards identifying the main forces of change, the need for intervention and possible methods of influencing the trends in a more desirable direction.

It is arguable at this point that the positive and negative aspects of Aminabad as they are categorized here do not express a universal view. This categorization is based upon current planning ideas and minimum standard of living accepted by international organizations. Realizing that there may be some aspects that may be considered positive by some groups of the society and negative by others, categorization is based upon values of sustainability — equity, benefit to a large number in the society, efficiency and economy.

Positive aspects

Historic /heritage value and character, urban identity

Aminabad is a market area that was established by the minister Aminuddaulah in the seventeenth century . The area was designed to have two parks - the Aminabad Park and the Aminuddaulah Park - with the market and the residential area surrounding the parks. A

special vegetable market was also designed in the vicinity. The street intersections were well detailed and all the buildings on the street followed strict urban design rules to create a coherent and continuous facade. This was an important part of the city and many noblemen had their residences in this area. Exquisite architectural details can be seen in many buildings that remain from that period.

For the people of Lucknow, Aminabad is closely related to the identity of their city. This area holds for them the nostalgia of their younger days, the embodiment of the old and the traditional and the association with history. Unlike the more archaeological relevant monuments, this market and the urban fabric around it, is the living and continuous heritage for Lucknow.

Parks and open-spaces

Apart from the two main market parks — Aminabad Clock Tower Park and the Aminuddaulah Park, there are two smaller parks in the area - a more intimate neighborhood park and the Ladies Park - that had a restricted use only for women. These have historically been very important open spaces in the middle of the city².

Vibrant commercial area

This area of Aminabad is one of the most vibrant places in the city of Lucknow. The streets are lined by stores, informal vendors selling colorful household ware, food, toys and clothes. As the day progresses the market attracts more and more shoppers, till at about midday or early afternoon the streets completely fill up with shoppers. The noise of the market place, the colors and smells are reminiscent of an old traditional bazaar³.



Figure 3.1: an informal bangle market.

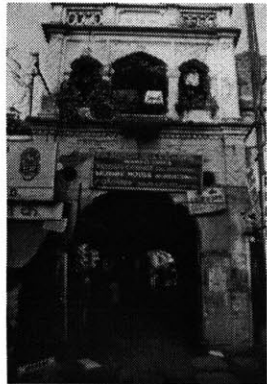


Figure 3.2: a traditional house with new uses.

³"Aminabad, which was developed primarily as a wholesale grain market, is currently the focus of all activities of the middle-class salaried city with anything and everything available there. Although the linkages to Aminabad are cumbersome (due to traffic densities), Aminabad is enjoyable not because of the formal activities alone but more importantly, because of its intense variety and contrast which the informal sector provides. Aminabad without its street vendors is no place to be in."

Kant, Rajat. "The Urban Character" in *Architecture + Design: A journal of Indian Architecture*, Vol. XV, NO. 2, Mar-Apr 1998.

Retail and wholesale trade center for the city, job center

Aminabad is the largest market district in the city of Lucknow catering for over 40% of the total retail trade of the city and serving about 3000 shoppers everyday. It has 4000 big and small businesses, approximately. These businesses employ approximately 15000 persons. These include the families that own the big businesses, the small entrepreneurs running their own stores, the informal sector people running their own roadside stalls. Many of these stores employ people as managers, salesmen, accountants, oddjobsmen, delivery boys and watchmen at night. Apart from these directly employed people the market also gives indirect employment to many chartered accountants, tradesmen, delivery boys, rickshaw-pullers, tempo drivers and porters. Interestingly, this is still a very traditional market⁴ where there are very few jobs for women.

Good informal economy

As is true for all cities and markets in India, the number of informal businesses is equal to or more than the regular businesses. The main reason for this is that informal businesses do not need to go through the expensive process of buying a store where real estate in prime locations is expensive. It is cheaper to open a stall at the edge of the street (where the cost is the bribe paid monthly/ weekly to the police as permission to operate). This row of stalls adds to the strength of the market as goods of all costs and kinds can be available in the same place making it more attractive to the shoppers.

Over time such a stall evolves from a temporary covered structure, to a semi-permanent

structure. Investments in a permanent structure are only made once the owner feels reasonably confident that the municipal demolition squad will not threaten him. In this process, the community of these businessmen also becomes stronger and negotiates for itself as a collective group with the city and the police.

Negative aspects

Over commercialization

Over the past few years, this area has seen a tremendous increase in the commercial activity and the shopping crowds it supports each day. Previously commerce was restricted to the street edges and the main market area and there was a symbiotic relationship between the traders and the residents where residents enjoyed the services of the market at a short distance and the traders enjoyed the residents' patronage. However, now commerce is rapidly extending into the residential areas. It is no longer a local market place but a market whose hinterland is the entire city. It is thus expanding at a rapid speed and replacing other uses like residential or institutional that do not want to share the congestion of people and traffic at a daily basis. This is changing the mixed-use character of the area to solely commercial.

Deterioration of building stock

Due to the old age of the structures, multiple ownership of the properties⁵, low rental rates⁶, and the rejection of upper floors by the retail dominated real estate market, many buildings are seeing serious deterioration especially on the upper floors.

Congestion on streets



Figure 3.3: mixed traffic and congestion.



Figure 3.4: commercialization around the parks.

⁴In this part of India, both Hindu and Muslim families have been traditionally protective of the women in their family. In recent times, education of women has seen a rise but they are still essentially home-makers. Some young girls do move out of the society to become professionals but this is a small percentage. In the market place, there are very few women sales people – in government run stores, for some feminine articles, or as tailors/seamstresses and beauticians operating out of their own homes.

⁵Refer Chapter 4 for details on multiple ownership of properties.

⁶Refer Chapter 4 for details on the pagri system.

The disorganization of the market has reached chaotic proportions in recent. The hordes of shoppers, bicycles, scooters and rickshaws together on the streets cause the streets to completely clog up years — congestion is almost 50% over the carrying capacity at peak hours. At the intersections, there are constant traffic jams with people and vehicular traffic vying for space and jostling to get from one point to another. This also gives rise to several petty crimes, squabbles, pick pocketing and eve-teasing⁷ which is becoming a major deterrent to the more sensitive and higher-income shoppers.

Garbage

The intense use of the area generates a large amount of waste. Although the formal stores are kept clean, the informal stalls have no system of cleanliness and litter piles up on the street. The system of municipal cleaning is inadequate and garbage has become another issue that mars the environment of the market.

Unfit for contemporary living

Although quite densely populated at 200-250 persons per hectare, Aminabad supports a low to middle income class population. Those who are in a position to choose their residential location have been steadily rejecting this locality as an appropriate area for dwelling and choosing to live in newer and less-congested areas on the outskirts of the city. Contemporary living styles for the middle and higher income group of residents is much higher than the area has to offer. Apart from the lack of cleanliness, noise and congestion created by the market area, residents are interested in clean parks for their children, safe and secure environs, proximate parking

and school and health facilities. Although the Indian suburbs are a far cry from an ideal picture, they still win over such areas as Aminabad.

Lack of parking

Shoppers, shop-owners and residents with cars would greatly appreciate to be able to park close to their destinations and be able to drive in and out at their convenience. This is absolutely impossible in this situation. Most residents and shop-owners occupy the roadside parking near their houses or shops at an early hour and leave their cars there. Consequently and clearly the demand for parking is far in excess of the supply. Regulation, when present, is too lax thereby inviting drivers to park illegally causing disruption to easy movement of traffic.

Parks surrounded by commerce

Three out of the four parks in this area are totally enveloped on all four sides by stalls which have their rear walls attached to the park fence. All construction of this nature and is illegal and happened incrementally. The park is thus completely cut-off from the main area. The fourth park has been converted by the city into an underground parking and shopping area- a structure which protrudes above the ground by about five feet. The structure has six entrances and a central atrium, which project out much higher. Although a lawn was created on the top, the area has no trees.

Safety and security concerns

Due to a large transient population in the area, there are many incidents of theft in the area. Parents do not feel safe sending their children out by themselves and they have to

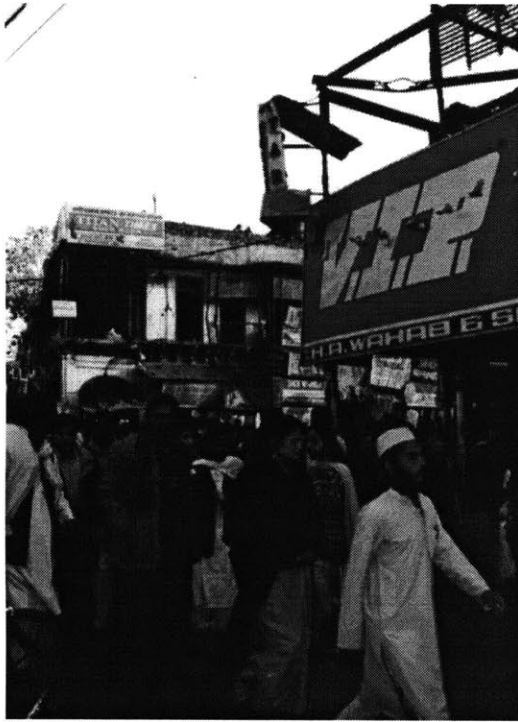


Figure 3.5: Deteriorating buildings especially on the first floor.

⁷Eve-teasing refers to a phenomenon in Indian society which refers to teasing and harassment of women in public places by young men. The range of teasing could extend from mere words said to being touched or fondled in a crowd. Under Indian law, it is a punishable offense.

⁸It is important to note that in the Indian market there is a high premium for land. The highest component of the value of a property is the land not the construction.

be escorted to their schools or their friends places.

Current trends

The current trend in Aminabad suggests a further decline in the quality of life it offers its residents as well as in the quality of experience it offers its shoppers. Although the area has a rich heritage, a vibrant street and market life if left to market forces the area would become more and more unpleasant.

Changing from a mixed-use to single-use commercial

The displacement of residential activities is apparent since almost fifty percent of the original residents have moved out of the area. These movers often include the families of the traders themselves. Between the years of 1971 to 1981 the population here declined from 23,000 persons to 13,000 persons and has since declined further. This reduction is accompanied by a partial replacement of the original population by less affluent persons. The main reason for this is the reduction in the quality of life offered by the area in comparison to newer areas being developed around the city.

On the other hand, the number of commercial establishments, especially low and middle end, in the area have more than doubled in the last decade. There is a large disparity between the real estate prices of retail on the ground floor and offices and residences on upper levels signifying the wide variance in the demand for commercial and residential spaces. The market's preference for retail uses in this area is clear by the high cost of retail property. The higher land cost⁸ in Aminabad compared to other parts of the city reflects

the high density in the area and the high demand for ground floor commercial space.

Change of area from high income to low income

The high-end commercial stores are also moving out. Most of them have opened branch stores in other parts of the city to augment their sales and income. The shop-owners believe that the main shoppers in Aminabad are the middle and low-income group and that these shoppers are more price-sensitive and less environment-sensitive. Their strategies are thus to place themselves in two different markets and offer a range of goods that would satisfy all types of customers.

Congestion on the streets and an increase of commercial activities has greatly reduced the quality of life that the area offers. The housing stock in the area has seen drastic transferring of property from higher income groups to lower income groups.

Deteriorating building stock

The buildings in this area are very organized and exhibit coherence in their facades. They have been built to a similar height and style and it is evident that there was a strong urban design control especially on the street facades. The buildings show great architectural character, a sense of scale and proportion and are well designed. The materials range from wood to bricks to stone carving in some places. However, these are rapidly deteriorating and there is no concern for maintaining them. Problems like those of the social structure; multiple ownership, absentee landlords and disputed properties have led to a large percentage of blighted buildings in the area. Low rental rates and long term leases give little incentive to landlords to invest in mainte-

nance and repairs of the buildings. This is coupled by factors like age of buildings, high cost of repair, low rent for upper levels and the high degree of difficulty faced when evicting tenants.

On the main streets linking various bazaars 90% of the buildings have changed from residential use to commercial use. In the shopping areas, about 20% of the buildings have been rebuilt with new basements. Many such conversions have been taking place in the interior parts of this district. All new constructions are not making a profit. There seems to be some saturation in the market now, when larger stores are finding it difficult to attract new clientele and sustain old clientele since the area is unattractive to rich shoppers. Smaller stores are waiting and watching.

Stakeholders

The merchants community

The merchants' community is the most important and influential community in the area. They are the also the biggest stakeholders in the improvement of this area. They control the trade and the money in the area. No improvement in this area would be possible without the participation of this group. They are currently organized into a merchants organization called the Aminabad Vyapar Mandal. This organization looks after the economic interests of the merchant community — represent the community in city meetings or with politicians to get any improvements sanctioned for the city or opposing any changes that may have negative repercussions on the commerce in the area. The commerce supports about 5000 merchants and 15,000 persons directly employed by them.

At a more fine-grained level, the merchant community can be categorized in several ways — wholesale and retail merchants; big and small merchants; and formal and informal merchants. An upward swing of the market and a move towards regularizing the informal market may not be a positive change from the perspective of the small and informal traders.

The smaller traders benefit from the low/middle income shoppers of Aminabad. They also keep no formal records of their sales and pay no taxes. Regularizing their trade and upgrading the market may show negatively on their books. Where retail traders would be concerned about making the area cleaner and more conducive to high-end shopping, wholesale traders may not share the enthusiasm as his trade would not change by a change in the composition of the areas shoppers. Similarly stores run by the public sector for causes like local/rural handicraft promotion may not be able to contribute to a local fund and this should not exclude them.

It would be important to retain the diverse nature of the market and the shoppers that visit the area. Interventions should be so designed so as not to alienate any of the groups but reach a solution that accommodates the diverse needs and does not alienate any particular group.

The residential community

The residential community also has a large stake in the area as it affects their immediate surroundings and the quality of life they lead. Any changes in this area would directly influence their lives. Although their stake is almost as big as the merchants, they may not have the wherewithall to support programs mone-



Figure 3.6: image of a traditional house in Aminabad

tarily. The residential community is not a homogenous mix. It is divisible into tenants and owners; older and newer residents; and poorer and richer residents. Improvement of this area and increased real estate prices would be a positive change for owners but would have a negative connotation for tenants whose rents would go up. Higher prices might tempt low-income owners to desert the area too and encash on the price rise. For owners, higher prices and higher rents may mean higher property taxes. There is a high risk of displacement of the poorer community, both owners and tenants, and this should be guarded against. Older residents might be more resistant to change rather than newer residents and this could be a possible point of conflict. Interventions would thus have to look at the aspect of fairness and equity and have a policy of inclusion.

There is no social organization that unites the entire residential community in Aminabad. During festivals or other community events, people come together as communities based on religious or the regions they are originally from. Organizations are temporarily made for that event but are inactive at other times.

The shoppers/ visitors

The shoppers or the visitors to this market get the maximum advantage of this area — they enjoy the richness and variety of the wares offered in the market while they live in better conditions in other parts of the city. However, they suffer from the congestion, petty crime and unclean conditions in this area. In general, any improvement in this area would improve their shopping experience greatly.

One should however distinguish between low income and high-income shoppers. Moving

the market towards the high end may deprive the low-income shoppers of a market geared to their needs.

Tourism industry

Currently this area attracts no tourism. Lucknow is not on the international tourism map and very few tourists come here. Of the domestic tourists who come here, very few come to Aminabad. Most people only visit the monuments that are located on the river edge and some go to Chowk — the older traditional urban area in the city. If this area were to become a major tourist attraction, the tourism industry in the city would greatly benefit. This would include the hotels and guesthouses, travel agencies and restaurants primarily and the shop-owners in different parts of the city.

The local politicians

Currently the politicians support the merchants in not wanting any change in the area. Although they would definitely support a general improvement of the area, it is unlikely that they will support any structural changes in the area that may have negative implications for any component of the local community. It is important for any project to happen with the goodwill of the local politicians to be assured of their support. Successful projects in their area would reflect well on their public images.

The city agencies / the municipal corporation

The city agencies are very important stakeholders. Since they currently invest very little in the area, improvements in the area might actually mean that it is demanding more attention. Initial expenses on facilitating and



Figure 3.7: Image showing the *tempo* in the foreground and an old street facade in the background

⁹The goals of this project as stated in Chapter 1

1. Improvement in the quality of life the area offers.
2. Preservation of the character of the area, in terms of its heritage, density and diversity.

Parameters that further qualify these goals are:

- Creating functional and economic efficiency for the entire area.
- Designing an environment that is ecologically sound and encourages good environmental practices.
- Reinforcing social equity by including weaker stakeholders.

managing changes in the area might be seen as a possible block. Agencies like the Municipal Corporation would benefit from a better collection of bills and management of services and higher property tax revenues. This could in turn subsidize other improvements in the area or support low-cost housing.

The state government

Since Lucknow is the capital of the state of Uttar Pradesh, improvements in the city of Lucknow would directly benefit the state image. In the current political situation, being the ex-Prime Minister's electorate, visible improvements would give the state a lot of prestige.

Forces of change

Commerce

Today, commerce is the factor that drives this area. It effects the area in many positive and negative ways as discussed above. There is great potential in the way this force can affect the area in a positive way. Methods and processes need to be put in place for this.

Distance from the suburbs

Being in the center of the city is a disadvantage for this district in some ways since the center of development, growth and investment has shifted to the suburbs. The area now needs to reinvent its purpose to the city and re-create its economics.

Public transport

A lack of public transport to come to this area has led to an influx of private vehicles trying to reach this area leading to an acute problem of traffic congestion and parking problems.

Infrastructure

The infrastructure like roads, parking places, electrical and water supply and garbage disposal services are inadequate to handle the great demand for their use.

Need for intervention

The current trends as pointed out earlier in this chapter point towards a future scenario where there would be a vibrant commercial community serving the middle and low income section of the society; some marginalized low income housing groups; very few offices or better housing in the area; and a general air of deteriorating buildings and a heritage that once was. This is a scenario that would come about from the combination of current building regulations by the city and the response of the private sector to that ruling.

Cyclical processes or a downward spiral could also be predicted where repeated offenses of neglect or bad planning for the area would cause further deterioration of the situation and hasten the process of deterioration. This seems to be an appropriate point for intervention to gently change the direction of the trend to a more positive direction.

We need to devise an intervention that is multi-dimensional and can include all the stakeholders' interests. Preferably it should be model which includes citizen participation and allows the players to participate in the decision-making process and the selection of tradeoffs. Although the actual interventions chosen for the site would be based upon the goals⁹ of the project, the ease of implementation and the resources available, at this point one can outline the possible areas that need

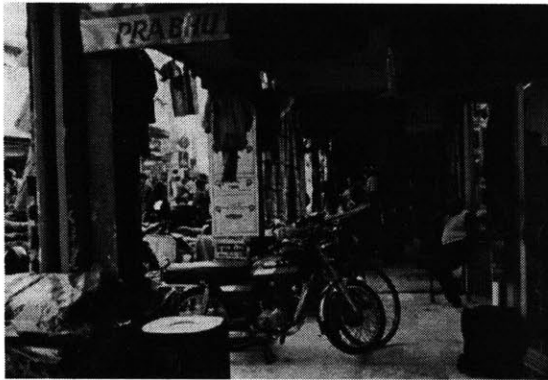


Figure 3.8: Image showing the multiple uses of a colonnade.

addressing:

Maintaining the historical mixed-use character of the area

- Education and importance of the historic urban fabric
- Economic incentives for reuse/repair of old buildings
- Information about relative advantages of mixed use vs. single-use area
- Improvement of the area and policies to attract residential and office uses.

Retaining the mixed-income aspects of the area.

- Improvement of housing for all income levels
- Income generation for the area
- Increasing the affordability of the lower-income groups — appropriate jobs, transit, houses

Improving the building stock in the area — historical as well as new.

- Appropriate uses for upper floors
- Economic incentives for reuse/repair of old buildings
- Design guidelines for repair and construction of new structures

General improvement.

- Cleanliness, safety and organization of spaces
- Provision of basic infrastructure - water, electricity, waste, sewage, telephones
- Traffic management

Address the environmental concerns

- Environmentally sound - waste, energy, pollution, transit
- Mass transit system
- Increasing the green component of the city

Social and community concerns

- Community cohesiveness and participation

in matters of area-improvement

- Places of entertainment and cultural centers

Studying this list of possible interventions, it can be noticed that a number of the interventions under different objectives overlap. This is because some interventions would clearly achieve several objectives. For instance, a good mass transit system would connect low-income people to job in other parts of the area, improve the traffic and pollution condition and be environmentally beneficial to the area as it is more fuel-efficient. Such overlaps make the interventions more valuable to the community.

4

Factors contributing to the current situation

¹This is a fairly typical scenario in any North Indian town with a population over 50,000 persons.

This chapter analyzes the different components and the unique features of the real estate market system in Lucknow¹ in order to understand the development of the city and how it would affect future interventions. Future interventions would have to work with these factors, effect policy or legal changes and incentives to break out of the system.

Indian Real Estate Market System

Social aspects

1. Fragmentation of properties

Old properties have over the years been fragmented due to tenancy or hereditary situations. A fixed property would thus get divided between different members of the family and tenants or buyers. Families often sold only part of the house, other parts would be disputed or usurped by tenants or belonging to another member of the family.

The Hindu Undivided Family was a system of joint ownership by families where ancestral property received from your grandfather or a forefather (not father) is the joint property of sons, daughters and grandchildren. This could be divided between the members or jointly owned as a HUF. Such properties could be sold only when all members agree to sell, making such sales complicated and infrequent. High property prices increase the incentive for families to live together. It should be noted here that land values in a land-scarce country like India are astronomical and always increasing in the urban areas.

2. Property as a non-economic asset

Residential real estate, for most Indians, is more a family inheritance than an economic

asset. Property is treated as a long-term asset and represents about 70-80% of the family's assets. This results in low mobility and relatively low property sale volume.

These two issues suggest the relative difficulty in acquiring land and property in the older areas of the city for redevelopment or large improvement schemes. It may be more effective to have incentives whereby individual owners/occupants would improve their own structures. Alternatively, for large schemes involving many properties, time and money should be allocated for overcoming the problems of multiple ownership.

Legal Aspects

1. Tenancy rights and the pagri system

During the days of Nehruvian socialism, to protect the rights of the tenant, especially in city centers where there was a scarcity of housing and very high prices, rent control was proposed in the major cities of India. This law was, however, passed only in Delhi and Bombay in 1972.

However, in almost all other cities rents have not changed since 1972. This is because traditionally Indian courts supported the tenants and evicting tenants from their living quarters that they chose not to leave was very difficult. There was also a hugely backlogged court system and inflation rates higher than 10%. Consequently rents decided even 5 years previously would be ridiculously low. Any attempts by the landlords to increase rents would be resisted by the tenants and in a relatively short time actual rents and market rents would have no relation to each other. In response to this, the pagri (literally meaning turban) system emerged. Whereat the time of handing over possession of the property a

large sum of money would change hands, the interest on which would produce an inflation-adjusted income flow. With the exception of the first time, possession would typically go from one tenant to another and the pagri money would reverse the direction but stay within the tenant group. The courts upheld the landlord's rights in transfer cases. The pagri system factored this in and the landlord keeps a third of the pagri money going from the new tenant to the old tenant. It thus became in the interest of the landlord to keep the property circulating. It is apparent that the owner of the property does not gain much from these deals.

As a result of the strong tenancy rights, property owners became wary of renting out their property. Most people enter into a lease deed for a limited period and have escalation clauses for renewal. Although this is a market adaptation that helps to mitigate the strong tenancy rights, rental is still considered a risky proposition and restricted to the strong-hearted. Most new development is also geared towards sales rather than rental properties. The direct impact this system, in the redevelopment of Aminabad, is it increases the initial upfront money required for the project and could be a hurdle for small developers.

2. Urban Land Ceiling Act

A major reason for the location of new development at the edge of the city in the past few decades was the enforcement of Urban Land Ceiling Act in the urban areas. The Urban Land Ceiling Act 1976 was enforced in towns with a population higher than 300,000 persons so that no one person could own more than a specified amount of land. The basic objective of this Act is to ensure orderly

development, to check speculation and price escalation in land, and to promote low-cost housing. This ceiling limit varied according to the size of the city — 500 sq. m. in Class A cities like Delhi and Bombay, 1000 sq. m. in Class B cities with a population greater than 1 million persons (Lucknow) and 1500 sq. m. in Class C cities with a population between 300,000 and 1 million and 2000 sq. m. in Class d cities with a population between 200,000 and 300,000 persons. Developers then could not acquire any reasonable size of land to develop in the city. The overly regulated market gave rise to all manner of subterfuge to circumvent regulation.² Developers resorted to making fake cooperative housing societies /cooperatives or making deals where, on paper, the property changed hands from the original owner to the final owner without ever being owned by the developer.

This Act was removed in 1998 and that makes it possible for private developers to enter the real estate market in legal ways and develop reasonable pieces of land. This has caused a drop in urban land prices, and projects that were based on earlier prices are facing a financial crunch. There is thus a temporary slump in the markets especially in Delhi. This point makes the connection that it is important for any policy or proposal to work with the market rather than against it.

3. Poor law enforcement mechanisms

Although India has a large legal framework, poor law enforcement makes them less effective. This is visible in the large amounts of corruption in the administrative and legal systems, extreme delays in the delivery of the legal process and political interference in its procedures. Disputes in property ownership reach the courts when they cannot be settled

²Delhi was an extreme case of regulation where all private development was banned. Development could either be done by the Delhi Development Authority or through housing cooperatives only.

by arbitration. However, they have to wait their turn in a backlogged system and can become very expensive to fight. This makes it an improbable course for most people. There have thus been innumerable cases of property usurpation in several cities as poor legal recourse results in the owner settling for a price much lower than the market price.

In such a scenario, it would be advised to write design codes and regulations that need no exercise of discretion but are "as of right". Simple clear and unambiguous rules are easy to understand and adopt with no misinterpretations. This should be accompanied by a large amount of public information and transparency of procedures to ensure protection against misuse of political powers.

Financial Aspects

1. Limited rental market

The strong tenancy laws make the rental market an unattractive option. Most old and new developments/ renovations are done for direct sales to the users and could be subsequently rented but are not originally planned for rental. The high returns available from an immediate sale add to the incentives. There are almost no agencies that manage rental properties, only those which sell them.

2. Scarcity of housing

There has always been a scarcity of housing in the urban areas. In recent years it has increased due to the enormous increase in urban population in recent years because of rural migration and natural growth. Traditionally where Indian lived in a joint family and shared a house, young couples are now moving out to form their own households, thus increasing the demand for housing. The situa-

tion is somewhat mitigated by the fact that government agencies and most companies provide either housing or housing allowances to their employees or low interest loans for house purchases. Provision of good housing in the older areas would thus help reduce some of the pressure and be an environmentally superior solution.

3. Financial terms - housing loans, user finance

Due to a yet undeveloped credit market housing loans were extremely rare. Employers often offered housing loans to their employees to help with the housing problems. It is only in the last decade since economic liberation that the housing finance market is emerging. Loans for housing can now be got from a bank's Housing Loan section. The loan amount is based on the individual's monthly earning and 30% of the salary is considered his repaying capacity. Agencies like the Housing Development and Finance Corporation (HDFC), Maharishi Finance and several other private finance companies offer housing loans. The interest rates are roughly 12.5 to 15.5%. The Housing and Urban Development Company (HUDCO) usually financed group housing but has now begun to offer loans for individual housing. The financing rate offered to real estate developers range from 18-24% depending on his securities and mortgages. Every quarter or six-monthly the loan amounts get revised upwards. Some developers create a cooperative society of probable buyers and collect periodic installments, which they pay towards the loan amortization.

In most cases, the future property-users provide a large proportion of the financing for commercial property. Deals are struck on the basis of plans even before construction has



Figure 4.1: Image showing a tempo-stand in Aminabad - a convenience or a bother?

begun. The property-buyer pays a large percentage of the purchase price when he signs the deal and then makes further payments as the construction progresses.

Looking at possible funding solutions for the old city, there may be a need to create a loan system with local banks for refurbishment. Cooperative societies together could get a loan to sponsor a collective repair project of an entire area. The most powerful incentive would have to come from the market itself where a higher demand for the housing and new income generating uses for the spaces would increase the returns on the property.

Public agencies and their functioning

1. Multiple agencies

Like most cities in India, Lucknow is administered and managed by multiple public agencies. The division of their responsibilities is as follows

- Municipal Corporation - maintenance of infrastructure and services.
- Lucknow Development Authority - plans all new construction, sets the Floor Area Ratio and the Development Control Rules for the whole city and is responsible for the Master Plan.
- Town and Country Planning Office — manages the regional level planning as well as drafted the master plan for the city of Lucknow.
- Uttar Pradesh Jal Nigam (Water Corporation) and the Uttar Pradesh Awas Vikas Nigam (Housing and Development) - state agencies that are responsible for planning and execution of water and irrigation projects and housing for the state. They focus a lot on development within the urban boundaries of

Lucknow.

There is a lack of hierarchy and coordination between the activities of these different organizations which lead to a haphazard poorly managed mess in the city.

2. No clear vision for the older areas

The older parts of the city are not considered of prime importance. The city administration focusses its resources on the needs of the new areas being developed. The older areas get neglected, there is no clear vision or comprehensive plan for the area. Hence there are some disconnected interventions at different times like the relocation of a wholesale market and the use of the vacated space.

Lack of social organizations/ NGOs

There are very few social organizations functioning in these areas. The only group organization is the Vyapar Mandal, a Business Community organization which represents the political interest of its members and represents them in disputes against the city. Some communities come together to participate in festivals but become inactive soon after.

The role of public authority

There is no real efficient public transport system in Lucknow and other cities. A sketchy system of 8-seater cars are privately owned and publicly organized along specific routes. In the absence of anything else this seems to work pretty well.

Conclusions

In consideration of the above aspects of the real estate market in Lucknow, it is evident that these have had strong ramifications on the manner in which the city has evolved.

- Aspects like multiple ownership, joint family system and the attitude towards property as a non-economic asset make property as an asset that is not very mobile. Removal of the land ceiling act is a positive factor and will in the future allow private developers to redevelop larger properties in the city.
- Tenant protection laws have actually warped the real estate market in a negative way. Problems of eviction, the inability of the owner to increase rent, an expensive and long legal process together make the rental market very insecure.
- The availability of financing and the scarcity of housing are positive aspects that could be a positive impetus for redevelopment projects.

In terms of the redevelopment of the market area of Aminabad, this means that although acquisition of houses/property especially that belonging to old families would be difficult to acquire due multiple ownership, it would be legal to acquire large parcels of land and redevelop them economically. With the availability of financing for single or group projects, it would be possible to improve the condition of the housing. There would have to be a system of renting using leases and rent management companies to encourage new people to move to the area. It would be imperative to form an arbitration/legal cell in the area to assist in the resolution of property disputes. Marketing of the area to the city may have to extend beyond real-estate marketing to selling an image of a new vibrant area and a

unique quality of living.

The lack of a coordinated and well-funded administrative organization on the public side coupled with a general neglect of the old areas has aggravated the problems in the city. Social organizations and institutions would have to be instituted to aid the process of redevelopment with social coordination and participation.

5

Possible Approaches

¹The original is defined by a certain period or time which is considered to be the most important phase in the development of the city.

On looking at examples all over the world, where the depressed or deteriorating inner historical cities of the world have been improved (whether the process was redevelopment/ rehabilitation/ revitalization /renovation/ adaptive reuse or any other innovative term) one can boil these down to a few guiding themes or basic ideas. These in my view would be:

1. Historic Preservation
2. Tourism Planning
3. Mercantile improvement plan
4. Community improvement plan
5. Transit oriented plan

What these categories suggest are not the processes that were undertaken but the different issues that were given importance in the planning process as the vital key for bringing about the revitalization. In my process of analysis, I will try to look at these approaches as if they were used singularly, and try to see what the possible strengths, weaknesses and the appropriateness of such an approach in Aminabad, Lucknow.

From there, I would create an integrated plan which would be best suited for this particular situation in the market area of Aminabad in the city of Lucknow, India at the beginning of the new millennium.

Approach 1 :

Historic preservation

In this approach to urban regeneration, the main aim is to preserve the original¹ city fabric and structure as far as possible. This approach varies in its different applications and has come to include preservation of buildings,

preservation of urban precincts and preservation of general character of the area. After establishing the criteria for selection of specific buildings and designating conservation areas, the area is surveyed and the buildings listed. The area is designated and legally incorporated in the master plan of the city. The buildings in this area have to be maintained as they are, and although new uses may be allowed, there should be minimal changes in the buildings original structure and appearance. Specific design controls and guidelines are set for any rebuilding or infill projects so as to maintain the character of the area. Although old uses are generally permitted to continue in the area, any uses seen as inappropriate for the area are asked to move and new inappropriate uses are discouraged.

Recently the conservation and preservation movement has begun to recognize the need for buildings to be lived in and the importance of infrastructure and modernization of some aspects of the built environment. However, these would be regulated by strict controls on appearance. The conservation or historic preservation approach recognizes the importance of the historical buildings in the area. It would focus on returning the district to an earlier "glory" based on restoration of buildings and sites as also preserving the "character" of the area.

The main focus of such an approach is preservation. There are many downstream positive results such as the creation of jobs, preservation of building skills, improvement of the general area and possibly tourism. This kind of approach is usually a top-down approach where the city or some other institutional funding agency provides the funds for the man-

agement and actual execution.

Issues that need to be addressed in conservation projects include:

- Increase in property prices leading to gentrification or displacement of poorer communities.
- The benefits of such an approach are segmented or unequally distributed and so this approach may not have the backing of all members of the community or a strong political will to support it. (Richer people/owners of properties enjoy greater benefits from the appreciation of property values and gentrification of the area.)
- Strong design regulations laid down by the conservation group can actually make the repair or renovation both difficult and expensive. It could even stifle new growth.
- Conservation primarily preserves the historic elements of the city in order to create value for the next generation or national pride. Any other social benefits are usually incidental.

The people who are mainly involved in this process are conservation groups, historians and architects, funding agencies and the city. These are predominantly funded by large funding agencies, donors, patrons or the city. In itself, conservation is not a direct revenue generator and other systems have to be instituted to make the money.

BOMBAY:

The Fort area in South Bombay has been recently declared as a conservation area and new legislation has been passed in support of it. The process that has been followed here is²:

- the listing/selection of a set of buildings as worth preserving on the basis of a certain criteria (pre-decided by the team).
- declaring them as marked for preservation

and prescribing special design guidelines for the repair and renovation of these buildings.

- passing legislation to demarcate the conservation areas.
- special regulations/ building bylaws for new construction in this area.

The enactment of the Conservation Regulations was an important step in this process of conservation. Careful analysis of this document reveals some shortcomings that exist in the Conservation plan now administered by the Heritage Conservation Committee. The main shortcoming is that the plan has not been coordinated with the Development Plan of the city and contradictory information is given in both plans. In the Fort area³, Transferable Development Rights have been given only to Grade III buildings that can be demolished and rebuilt and not to Grade I buildings which have to be preserved. The conservation regulations offer no clear financial incentives that would respond to the particular situations in different parts of the city. Remembering that conservation is an expensive business and people should not be taxed for owning a historically important building, ways and policies need to be devised to enable a positive change.

SINGAPORE:

Singapore's conservation plan delineates several areas within the city that have historic/traditional buildings. These are viewed as the city's heritage and have been earmarked for conservation. The planning approach is characterized by the 3Rs — maximum Retention, sensitive Restoration and careful Repair⁴. Very selective replacement or re-construction if at all is allowed in these areas. A strict set of guidelines has been worked out for minor and major changes or

²Mehrotra, 1995.

³Chatterjee, Sudeshna. "Cracks show up in the city's heritage policy" in the *Indian Express Newspapers* (Bombay), 1999.

⁴Refer the web site for the Urban Redevelopment Authority in Singapore.

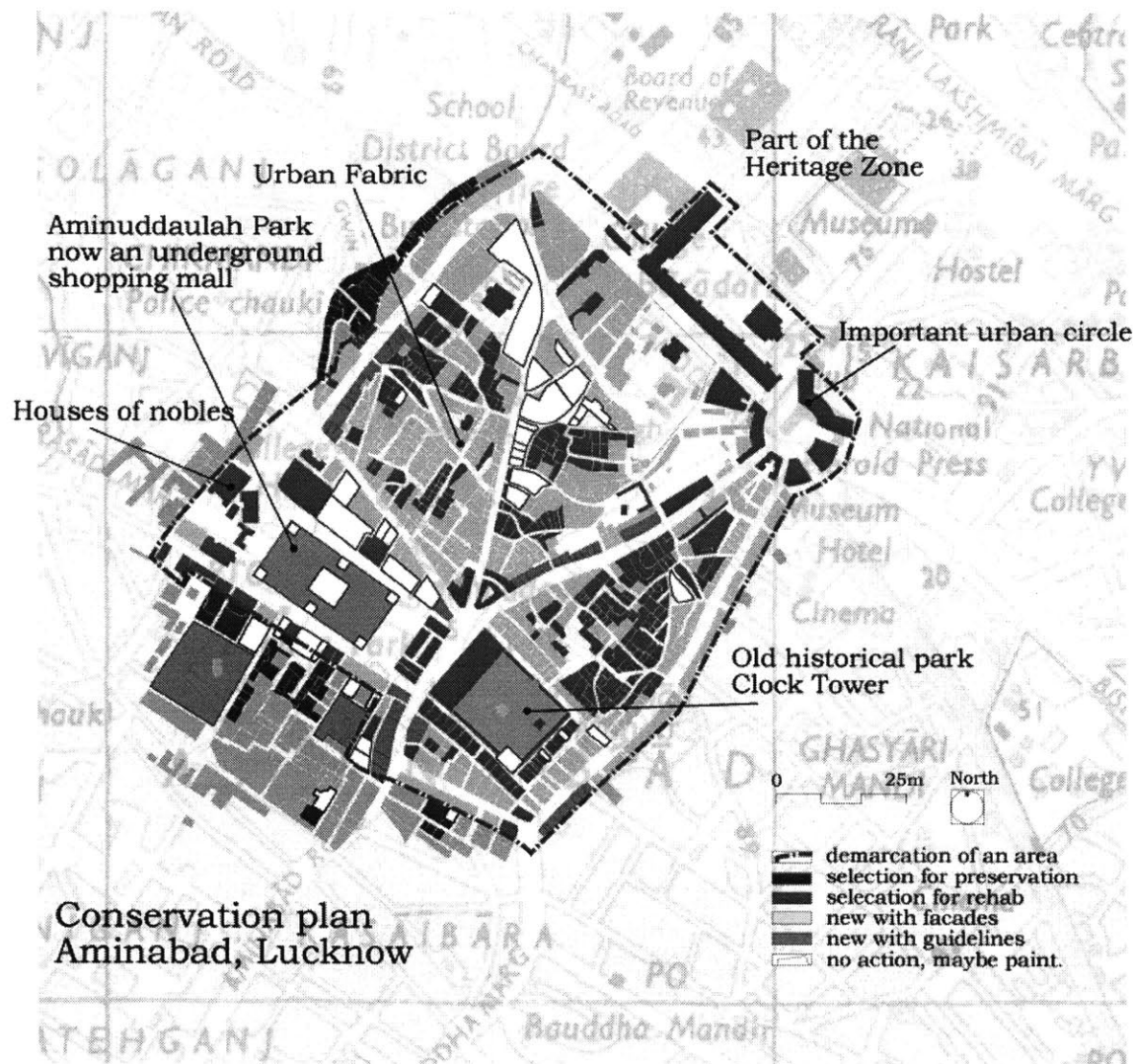


Figure 5.1: Conservation Plan for Aminabad

repairs. The existing structures should be repaired or strengthened in the most sympathetic and unobtrusive way. All changes like a proposed new use or alteration in the external color of paint have to be first approved by the city.

After the conservation area has been delineated, the city undertakes a pilot project to show its commitment to conservation and to demonstrate restoration techniques for old buildings. The city then proceeds to upgrade the local street environment and State-owned properties. Historic sites are periodically offered for sale to private developers for restoration. All restoration or conservation work has to be first approved by the city before it can be started on site. Other goals like economic development of the locality or provision of housing for the city are also included alongside the goals of conservation. The city authorities are seen as facilitators and managers of the conservation work and funding for this restoration work would come primarily from private investment. The URA also instituted heritage awards since 1995 to recognize the efforts of the owners and the professionals who were involved in an exemplary restoration project. The projects are assessed on their approach, design and detailing, the restoration process and the final product.

This project can be seen as top-down planning where the community participation and the needs of the community are not addressed. The city assesses the uses needed in the area and encourages the change. The Singapore government, however, does not make cash grants or tax relief for the conservation project. The only aid is indirect, with the waiver of development charges, car parking requirements and car park deficiency

charges, providing infrastructure and legislating rent decontrol. This is an example of a very well regulated system of conservation, where the rules are clearly stated and there is little room for misinterpretation of the rules. Although it is easy to implement and reduces controversies, it also stifles creativity.

Application to Aminabad: Application of the conservation approach to the district of Aminabad would need the following steps:

- Demarcation of the boundaries of the area to be designated as the " Conservation Zone".
- Listing of archaeologically, historically or culturally significant buildings within this zone.
- Grading of all the buildings in the area into categories which would include —

(a) Statement buildings - buildings of high significance — total preservation.

(b) Façade buildings - buildings that have significance as part of a continuous urban street façade — external face and heights to be preserved and the buildings could be reused.

(c) Urban fabric and character buildings - buildings that can be rebuilt with strict guidelines to fit into the urban vocabulary in the district.

(d) New buildings - buildings that are in relatively new condition and can be fixed by small façade changes.

Apart from controls on buildings, the conservation approach would also extend to parks, streets and open spaces. It would be appropriate to make changes in the street furniture and sidewalk details to represent that of a certain period in time. Other non-physical interventions would include restrictions on height of all new construction in the area, restrictions on indiscriminate use of spaces around the buildings, removal of non-confirm-

ing uses, restrictions on the increase of commerce and removal of 20th century encroachments on streets and around the parks. There would also be a special approval process for all new buildings and repairs or modifications on the external side of the building.

Appropriateness to Aminabad: Several issues emerge when the conservation approach is applied conceptually to Aminabad.

Although this plan would bring the heritage value of Aminabad into positive focus, Aminabad does not have a large collection of archaeologically, historically and culturally significant buildings that could be listed for historic preservation. Its buildings instead form a part of the urban fabric of the city and need to be repaired and adapted to different uses. Very strict design regulations and guidelines would make changes difficult and a rigorous and expensive approval process could stifle regeneration. The region does not have a sufficiently flourishing economy to support such a conservation program. It would be important to include ways of income generation / economic development within the project so as to make it sustainable over time. A program concentrating on conservation would not offer such opportunities.

Approach 2: Community planning approach

Community planning is an approach that suggests a plan that would be created by the community for the community. Benefits to the community and an improvement of their living standards would be the chief concern of this approach. In the long run, this is a more sustainable approach. Non-governmental community planning organizations would work to coordinate and facilitate community interaction with each other as well as with the city or private developers. This approach could potentially benefit all the people who are part of the group and would be more likely to be implemented with community support. Resources for such an approach would come partially from the community and partially from the city or other aid-organizations.

Some of the issues that come up in the implementation of such an approach include the high cost of time — time to inform and educate a community about the issues at hand and the time to reach a consensus. Initial teething issues and political problems of group dynamics and power get played out at public meetings and sometimes the community may even block certain projects for lack of consensus. In spite of these shortcomings, the community planning approach is a sustainable method that allows the representation of all sectors of the community, builds public support for projects as well as for the area making its long-term benefits much higher.

CALCUTTA:

In this case study, community support has been mobilized to support the preservation/

conservation of North Calcutta by the Foundation for Conservation and Research of Urban Traditional Architecture (CRUTA) in Calcutta, India.

CRUTA, a non-governmental organization formed in 1992, approached the issue of conservation differently. They created a vision for the area based upon their studies of the resources available in the area. Support for the transformation was garnered from the community and important individuals and institutions in the city that had a bearing on the project in some way or the other. These included schools, universities, trade organizations, the municipality, school and college communities, prominent citizens, property-owners, religious trusts, trade associations etc. Through this process the vision was strengthened and fine-tuned to include the interests of all the different members of the community. CRUTA was developed as an organization to develop initiative, create a list of interventions and an action plan for the area based on the community interaction. They also studied possible interventions in details including the funds required, ways of raising the funding and then set up an ongoing local development process. Initial interventions included a community temple was first chosen for restoration with funds from the different parts of the community and supervision by CRUTA⁶.

The creation of a unified vision puts into perspective and ties together several small changes being made in the community. Awareness of the physical surroundings, pride and identity as well as recognition of the potential of tourism in their cultural resources are the main objectives of CRUTA. The organization hopes to extend this approach to other parts of the city.

⁶Nayak, Debashis, 1995.

HAVANA, CUBA:

In Old Havana historic preservation and economic improvement for the area has been fueled mainly by tourism concerns. However, "the success of Old Havana's restoration not only depends on obtaining the necessary finances and resources, but also on the effectiveness of the links and sense of cooperation between the different groups and agencies working towards, and having a vested interest in, the Old city's development."⁶ Institutions like Friends of the Earth encourage the local people to express their opinion on issues such as which buildings should be preserved and share in the actual process of development.

LAHORE, PAKISTAN:

In the conservation of the old city of Lahore, Pakistan the situation was very similar to Lucknow .

The old walled city of Lahore was demarcated for historical conservation as well as general improvement of the area. The main goals of this project were to reduce external pressures on the old city, conserve and enhance the urban fabric highlighting the important areas. It was envisaged that it would be a project where the city with help from international organizations would invest in the area—especially the conservation of the prime historical pieces and the up-gradation of the infrastructure. It would then offer financial incentives, easier permission process and technical advice to private owners and developers to repair their own properties in accordance with a prescribed design guidelines. These would be aided by a quicker permission for demolition; incentives for conservation and dealing with each building in a case by case method. The needs of the community

would be addressed by the creation of community-based conservation groups, mobilization of public opinion through information and education and employment creation by initiating training programs especially for women. The processes of urban decay would be arrested and the Walled City would be restored to a middle class residential area⁸.

A framework or master plan would be created showing the proposed landuse, traffic and circulation patterns in the areas earmarked for conservation or improvement. Certain activities in conflict with the area's image (like the steel traders) would be removed and other commercial activities greatly regulated. The area's chief positive features namely its centrally located commerce; high land values and its historic building stock are balanced in this new proposal. All this was accompanied by changes in the structure and coordination of public agencies, use of existing legislation for the implementation of the plan, removal of some functions and improvement of roads, services and infrastructure, change in landuse regulation and traffic control. Some pilot projects were selected for demonstration. The city, with funding assistance from the World Bank, funded several of the pilot conservation projects and infrastructure up-gradation.

The infrastructure and services in the old walled city were upgraded. Social services like school buildings and community centers were also improved. The five gates to the city and several important historical buildings were conserved. These improvements have led to other improvements like the dispensaries in the area have been upgraded, a 120-bed hospital has been set up and several renovated buildings are used for schools and col-

⁶Williams, Diana. "Sustainable strategies towards Improving and Developing Old Havana for the benefit of its residents and visitors" in *Trialog 58*, Stuttgart, March 1998.

⁷Williams, Diana. "Sustainable strategies towards Improving and Developing Old Havana" in *Trialog 58*, Stuttgart, March 1998.

⁸PEPAC, 1996.



Figure 5.2: Community Planning Approach as applied of Aminabad

leges.

On the private front, this has led to a renewed interest in the expansion of the commercial activities and needs to be checked. The conservation activities have been carried out by the city but not really supported by the residents who have been watching as bystanders or making uncoordinated changes in the city. There is some confusion in the distinction between squatters, residents and encroachers and several property disputes in the area are a major hindrance to the success of the program. The monies earmarked for aid to residents for upgrading their houses were not distributed, as the Punjab Urban Redevelopment Project could not identify legal residents.

Application to Aminabad: When the residential community is given priority in the revitalization of the area, a very different set of issues come to the fore. The residents of the area will undoubtedly want to claim their parks for use by the community, better access and improvement of the parks may need the removal of permanent stalls at the edge of the parks. There is a need for smaller community spaces in the middle of the urban fabric, designated parking pockets, and restrictions on conversion of houses to warehouses and small industries. Although the residents enjoy the convenience of the market, there is nuisance value to it, and certain restrictions would be needed in the market place.

Appropriateness to Aminabad: The people who live and work in this area are the primary stakeholders and their concerns and vision for Aminabad would take priority over all others. Aminabad has a very diverse set of players and stakeholders for this project and a community-participation approach would allow

maximum transparency. Although it would not be an easy task to reach consensus among such a diverse group, middle paths would emerge from such a process. The process would help identify common goals and allow the community to contribute to achieving them. It is definitely a viable approach for Aminabad.

Approach 3: Tourism planning

Planning to promote tourism is an approach that can be seen in several third world cities where the architectural resources or the natural resources have a tourist potential. The main concept behind this approach is to upgrade the important buildings and the buildings that are on the way to the main sites. Facilities are provided for tourists - hotels, bed and breakfasts, and restaurants, souvenir shops that are run predominantly by the local people. Tourism then is expected to bring in the money that would spark off more revitalization. "It makes sense that an industry which capitalizes on, and benefits from, an area's cultural and historic resources should have a vested interest in maintaining and restoring these assets." This can be done in several ways that are more or less sensitive to the local character and people. It could be developed as a process where the community is involved in the initial revitalization and directly benefits from the tourism versus an upgrading done by the city/ministry of tourism and then maintained by the local people. Often the community benefits are marginal in comparison to the benefits to the airlines or the large hotels. Tourism also creates new problems when the pressures of tourism are

very great. New hotels and restaurants erupt all over the city often destroying the original charm of the place.

GHADAMES, LIBYA:

In Ghadames, the revitalization of the old city of mud houses has been planned on the basis of revenue that would be earned and the boost to the local economy from national and international tourism. A special organization called the Service for the Planning and Management of the Old City of Ghadames (SPMOCG) was established to do the initial survey work and planning, propose a comprehensive action plan and then proceed with its execution. The city and international bodies like the UNDP and UNESCO are the major funding sources for the planned interventions. These include new tourist hotels, guesthouses and restaurants; a new health cure spa; a renovated palm garden; small museums and a large museum displaying local history, geography and culture; and events like festivals and bazaars displaying local popular traditions, culture and handicrafts have been planned for tourist benefits. Attention has been paid to the renewal of water sources for better living in the city and to support agriculture as a means of supporting the life and economy in this area. The community will be encouraged to renovate their houses as an effort to improve the tourism in the area — they will be given free advice and soft loans. A strict set of design guidelines and building regulations has been imposed in the entire area so as to maintain the character of the area⁹. Since Ghadames had been declared as a World Heritage Site due to its unique traditional settlement, it has received a lot of attention from the international press, international bodies like UNDP, ICOMOS, UNESCO and so on

⁹Abdullac, Samir, 1998.

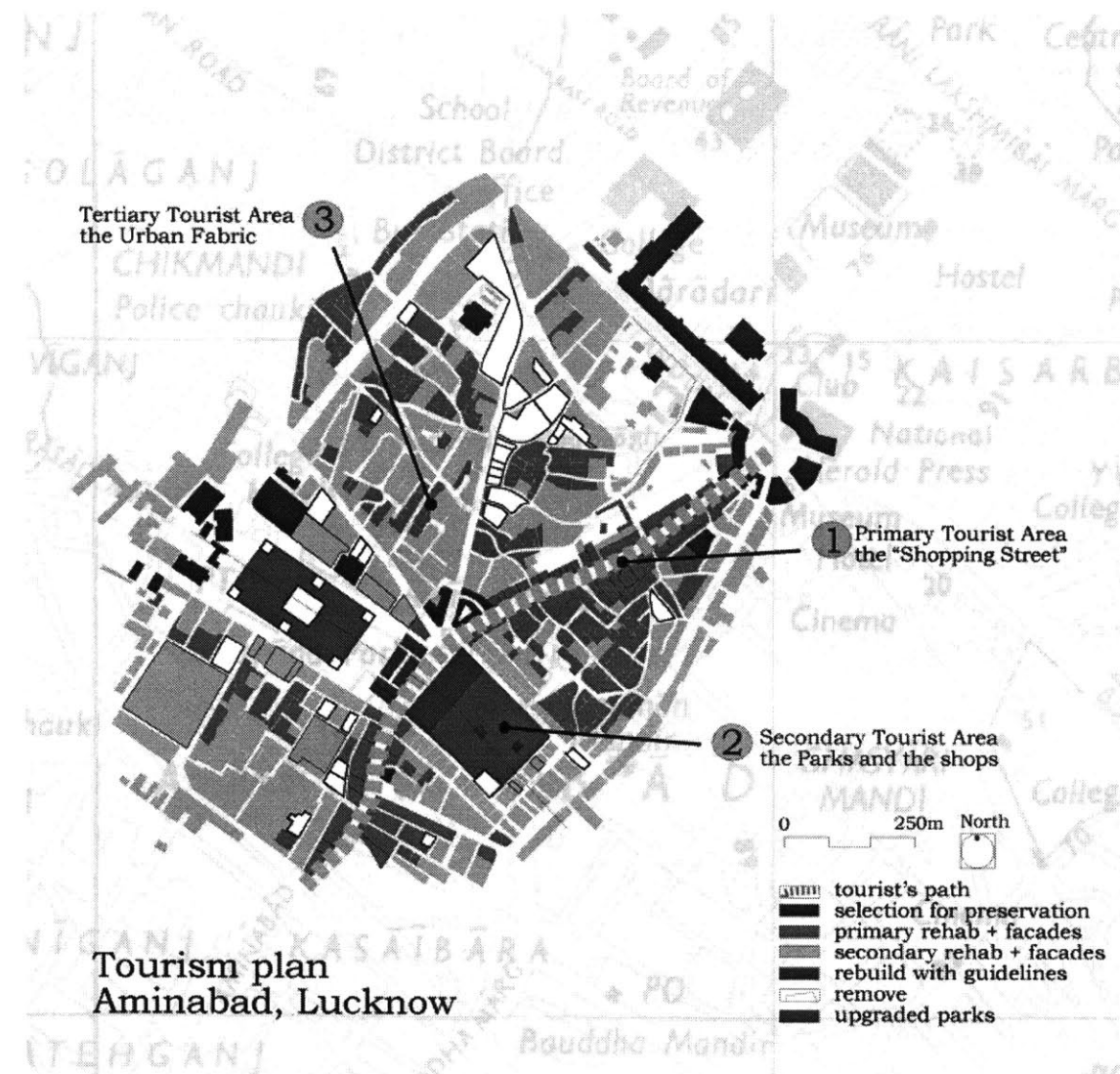


Figure 5.3: Tourism plan as applied to Aminabad

and is likely to be an important tourist destination for the same reason. This is, however, not true for most other cities which would not attract that much attention.

BEIJING, CHINA:

Another good example of such an approach can be seen in Beijing or Suzhou, cities in the People's Republic of China. Since the opening of China to tourists in recent years, tourism servicing and the creation of an image of a wealthy nation have been important to the government of China.

In Beijing, several streets are selected from the historic urban fabric and the houses on this street are completely restored to look like they once did or sometimes even better than their original condition. The building-use in these structures is changed to tourist-oriented uses like stores selling souvenirs, antiques and traditional goods, and restaurants or teahouses. This transformation is almost completely publicly funded, and managed by people employed by the government or leased to the people. This gives some economic boost to the area as some stores and restaurants mushroom around the area to serve tourists which stray from the beaten path. However the restoration and regeneration is very localized and benefits are restricted to the people who have shops on the street. Investigating in side streets reveals great poverty and the lack of basic services.

Application of this approach to Aminabad: A plan to change this area into an attractive tourist destination would lay down the main street as a shopping street, with immaculate facades and traditional stores. The second axis would include the two main parks and the shops that surround it. Benefits from these

improvements would slowly reach the residents in the area and influence the improvement of the overall fabric, whereby tourists would be encouraged to go inside and explore some select houses and restaurants on side streets. An improvement plan of this kind would encourage the market to use its resources on one street and improve it before moving incrementally to other areas.

However, the success of such a plan would lie in the number of tourists the area would attract. The benefit to the local community would be the profits from souvenir sales to tourists, tickets to see restored traditional houses and improved business in local restaurants. This would also cause an increase in the number of small hotels in the area. There however is no direct improvement in the lives of the residents.

Appropriateness to Aminabad: Lucknow is currently not on the international tourism map and even within Lucknow, there are other important sites that offer competition to Aminabad in becoming a tourist attraction. Unlike Ghadames, Lucknow is not on the World Heritage List and never will be. Although domestic tourism to the city is also quite small, this offers greater potential for expansion. However, tourism promotion cannot become the main focus of our plan. Instead the plan should focus on the improvement of the area and conservation of its local heritage for the people of Lucknow. Any increase in tourism revenues gained from that would be incidental.

Approach 4: Merchants community approach

This is the approach that taps the economic potential of local businesses and uses these resources to improve the area for the businesses by the businesses. The process in such a plan would be to collect the businesses to form a community or support an organization that then looks after the upkeep and improvement of the area. All businesses provide funding for this activity as a proportion of their earnings or a fixed sum of money. The services provided in return can include a whole range from cleaning the area, ensuring security, maintaining parks and sidewalk trees and plants to actually creating a business strategy for the area.

This plan has a lot of potential as it involves the actual users of the city to control their surroundings. Since financing comes from the business community, this is an approach which could work without the aid of external agencies or the city and this system could be sustained over time building up on its own achievements. The management of these activities can be private with some coordination with the city. This system cannot however take care of all the problems of the area or replace the work done by city planning and service agencies. Examples of this can be clearly seen in the Main Street programs as well as the Philadelphia Business District.

PHILADELPHIA, USA:

The Business Improvement District in Philadelphia was proposed by a group of pri-

¹⁰Levy, Paul. (Executive Director, Central City District, Central City Development Corporation) "*Downtown, Inc.: still in business?*" presentation at MIT, Cambridge, March 30th, 1999.

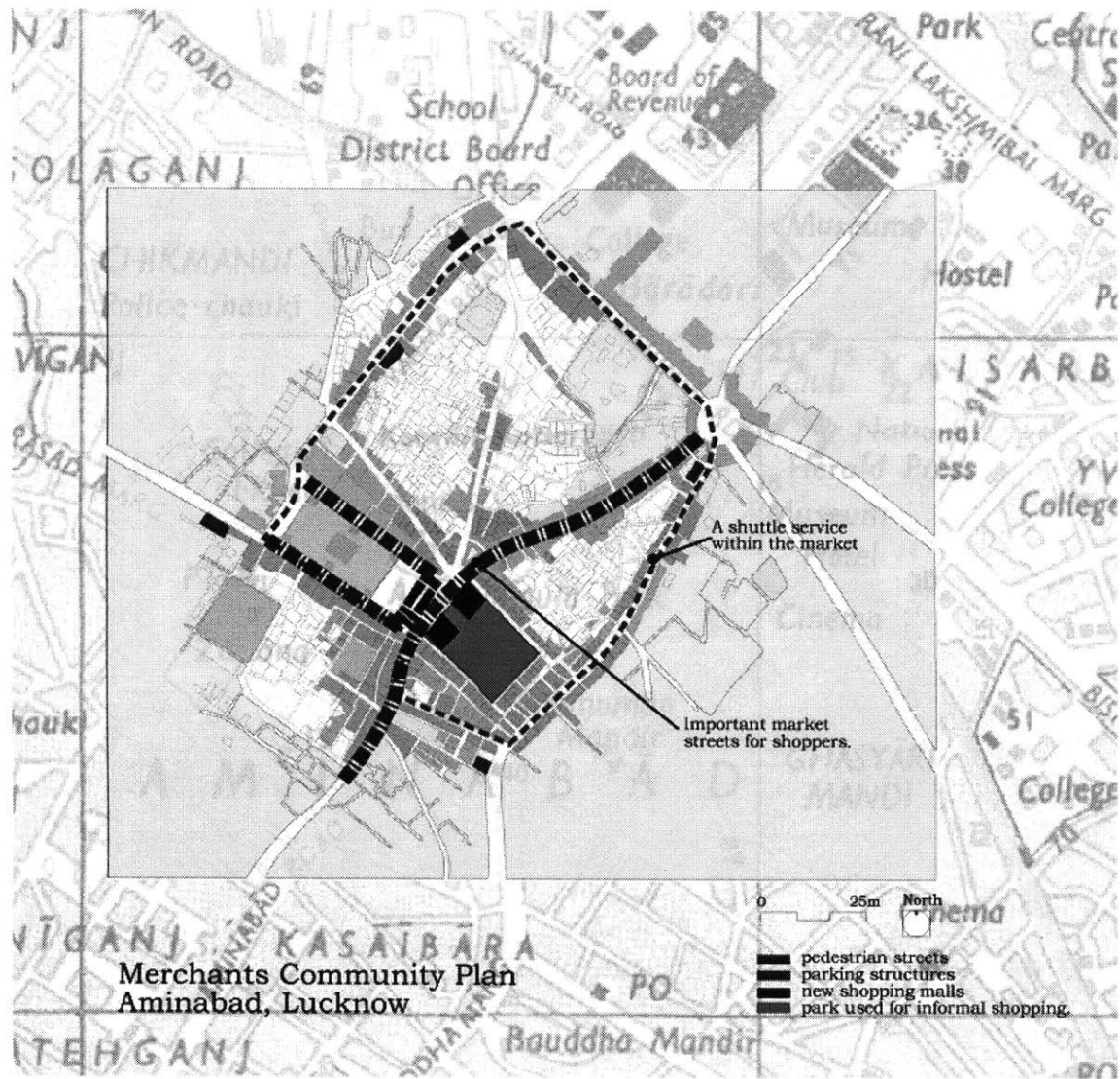


Figure 5.4: Merchants Community Plan as applied to Aminabad

vate planners to counter the lack of investment by the city in the central city district. It was felt that since the core city catered for only five-percent of the metropolitan population it could not demand a large share of the city's funding. However, since it also offered 40% of the area's jobs, it was evidently a large corporate sector and as such had access to a ready source of private funding. Drawing obvious conclusions from these regional statistics, the Business Improvement District (BID) was established with the contributions of the private companies — retail, offices and hotels — in the area. Depending on the square footage of their properties they paid a proportional sum to the BID¹⁰.

The first goals set by the BID was a general improvement of the area. This included a "clean and safe" campaign. For one year, the BID concentrated on aspects like cleaning streets, proper garbage collection, removal of graffiti from walls and improvement of parks. The "safe" aspect was to tackle the crime situation — this was addressed by patrolling the streets constantly, putting up information and help desks at different locations in the city and creating a database for crime-watch — all to support the work of the local police. The next move was to make more physical changes like fixing sidewalks, planting trees, adding bollards and newspaper vending machines and maintaining them. The primary concept was to make the city friendlier, safer and prettier. In the next years, the BID cell moved its concentration to making the city a center for arts, culture and entertainment. It worked with the city to facilitate the building of a new convention center and several new hotels and the creation of a new image for the downtown aided by publicity campaigns.

They have more recently moved into the area of strategic space planning and are mapping their information of businesses to show possibilities for newcomers in the area and diversification of the current uses.

As far as possible, local residents were employed for the different jobs. The positive influence of the business district does not extend to the residential areas in the central city. In using such an approach it would be helpful if the residential communities could also be added onto the program or some kind of a connection made with them.

Another issue that comes to the fore in using this approach is the initial skepticism of the businesses in the success of the project. The Philadelphia BID countered this by setting a time period of five years for reassessment and continuation of the project.

Application to Aminabad: A physical description of a business development plan would probably show the entire area of Aminabad demarcated as commercial landuse — as prescribed by the current master plan. No restrictions would be made on business expansion. However, a strategic business development plan would involve taking the whole market as an entity and looking at the interests of the different components of the market. The strength of the market lies in its diversity — that you could buy a sari or a pin, peanuts or a book. The needs of the smaller traders vending from the street are very different and they would need a different business improvement — maybe ways of moving to more permanent stalls or comfort in the form of tree-shade and traffic restrictions. Larger stores may see the parking problem and crowded streets as the problem that needs addressing. However, when we can get the different segments

together, we could work out a plan for everyone. So this solution looks at remedies like market strategizing¹¹ placement of different trades, new buildings for the semi-permanent vendors, stall/space allocation to informal traders and rules about parks and colonnades which could improve the area.

Appropriateness to Aminabad: Aminabad shows great similarity to the inner city business district in Philadelphia — it has very little investment from the city and supports a large section of Aminabad's jobs and business community. However, it is not a corporate center and would not be able to raise a large amount of monies and support extensive services. Aminabad also has a large component of residential population and our interventions should try to integrate the two different communities and not divide them.

Approach 5: Transit-oriented plan

This is an approach to revitalization of a historic core by connecting it with the rest of the city and reducing congestion on the streets at the same time. Transit stops become important nodes in the city around which development occurs in a concentric pattern. Such an approach benefits the entire city, connects people to jobs, makes commuting cheaper and quicker, and reduces congestion on the street. This is however, in most cases, an expensive proposition and takes time for both planning and execution. There are several choices which include in an increasing magnitude of investment coaches or buses, electric buses, trams, light rail system to a subway system. Funding for such systems has usually

¹¹Market strategizing refers to the planning the future of the market as whole by the agency. What would strengthen the retail of the area? Should we add more restaurants or clothes stores? What is needed to improve business?

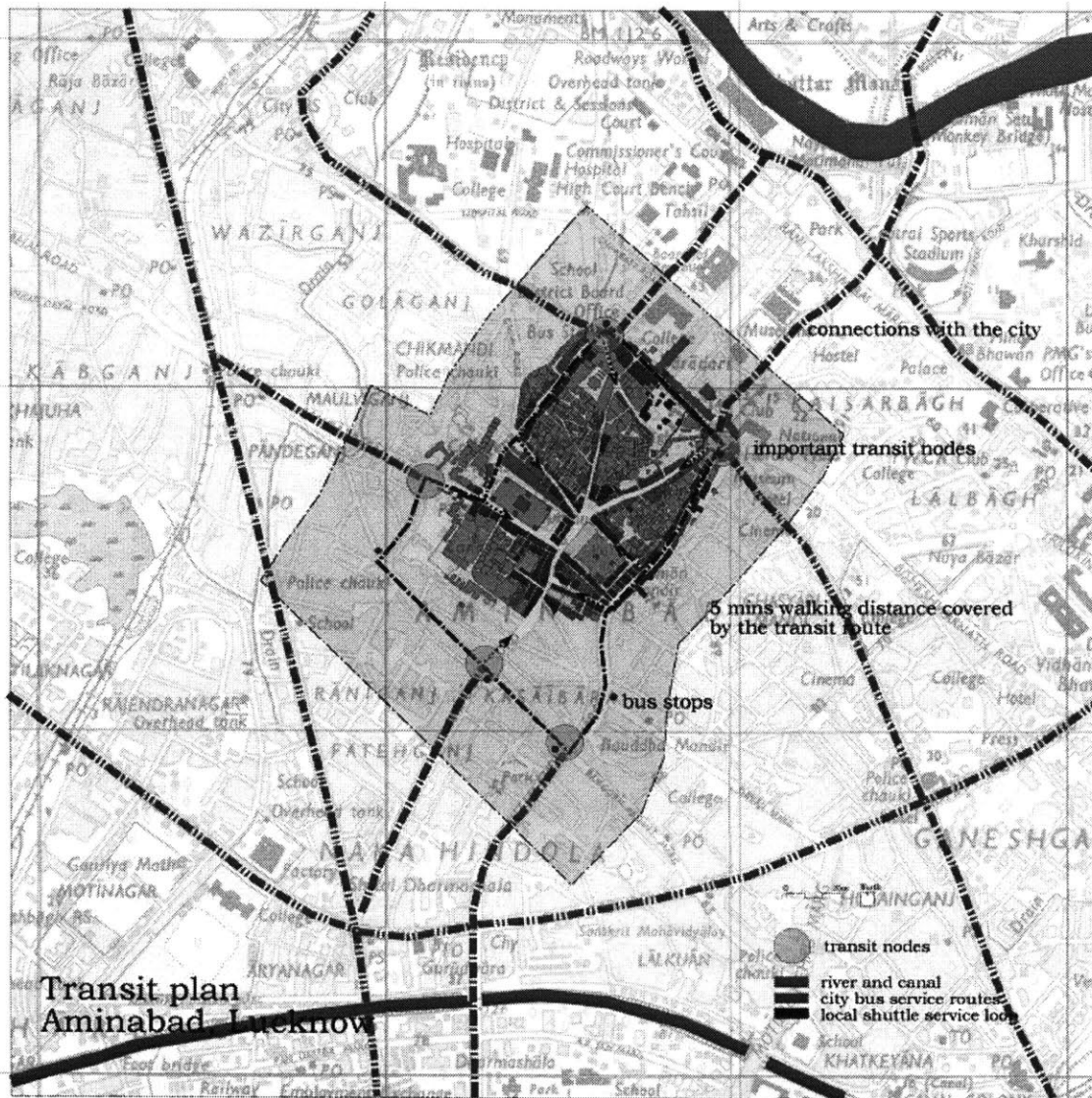


Figure 5.5: Transit-oriented plan as applied to Aminabad

been either the government or funding trade agencies. However examples can now be seen of private companies which would own and operate such a system. However since these systems provide public benefits, they are given some long-term subsidies to make the business profitable.

Projects done by Calthorpe Associates in the USA show a unique approach to transit oriented development. Calthorpe sees connection with the city by a mass transit system as a positive influence that can enable the people of the area to lead a better life. Connections with the city make it possible to revitalize an otherwise depressed area by creating a job market. He then sees the transit stop or node as a focus to locate businesses and residences at a convenient walking distance—effectively creating walking communities. QUITO, EQUADOR:

The revitalization of the old city of Quito, Ecuador was also aided by the introduction of the mass transit system that connected the entire city. The German mass-transit system introduced in this historic equatorial and hilly town is that of electric buses which follow an overhead tramline, but do not have any rails. It is a dual carriage system that is connected together by a pivot and navigates the narrow undulating streets of Quito with remarkable ease. Attractive well-detailed stops for these buses have been built with automatic turnstiles at many different locations in the city, gently regenerating activity and mitigating traffic congestion and pollution. Other polluting buses have been kept out of the city center and now only serve as inter-city transport. All the important plazas of the city have been reorganized with such stops forming an edge for them. It connects the Center City to the

growing suburbs and greatly reduces the pressure on the central city, connects people in various locations with their jobs, shopping and entertainment. It has to be realized though that this was a large expense for the city of Quito and foreign aid was needed to complete the project successfully.

Application to Aminabad: Application of a transit-based approach in Aminabad would include the introduction of a well-planned transit system in the city of Lucknow. It would have to be so designed that it would serve the area of Aminabad without causing major disruptions. Transit stops become major nodes for development and these should be located thoughtfully. In the attached plan of Aminabad, the system has been so worked out that the bus would not traverse through the main market area but the distances from the stops are such that any part of the market is within a five-minute walking distance.

Appropriateness to Aminabad: The introduction of a mass-transit system would be a perfect solution for Aminabad. Connecting Aminabad to other parts of the city by an affordable and convenient system of transit would allow it to serve as a viable residential option for people working in other parts of the city. It would also connect the present residents to job opportunities elsewhere in the city. It would reduce traffic congestion and pollution drastically and bring in a more sustainable way of life. However, it costs an enormous amount of money to plan and implement. It could not be achieved by local incremental investments and interventions and would need to be coordinated at the city level.

Conclusions

From analyzing the above cases, one aspect emerges most distinctly — none of these approaches can be singularly applied to the area of Aminabad. Aminabad would need a plan that combines the positive aspects of all these approaches but devises its own methodology for implementation. In the absence of a strong coordinated city administration system and extensive financing, this approach would have to be a grass-root operation that would have to generate its own funds. A plan that could integrate the interests and participation of diverse community groups would have more sustainable results.

This thesis recognizes the importance of these approaches in Lucknow and has tried to analyze them further by preparing plans of Aminabad using these approaches. These plans are accompanied by a list of interventions that would be generated using each approach and possible methods of financing and implementation. An integrated strategy would then combine the different plans into a cohesive one working out the financing and implementation process required to accomplish it.

Five different approaches

Community based plan	Conservation Plan	Tourism Plan	Merchants plan	Transit oriented plan
General Improvement Infrastructure & services Parks - access & beautification Removal of informal market Safety and security Removal of vehicular congestion Public transport system Housing improvement loans New Housing development Amenities - health, schools - - restricted commercial development	General Improvement Infrastructure & services Parks - access & beautification Removal of informal market Safety and security Removal of vehicular congestion Public transport system - no - no - no Strict development guidelines - no -	General Improvement Infrastructure & services Parks - access & beautification - Safety and security Removal of vehicular congestion Public transport system Housing improvement loans New Housing development - no Strict development guidelines New hotels, restaurants & B&Bs - no	General Improvement Infrastructure & services Parks - access & beautification Removal of informal market Safety and security Removal of vehicular congestion Public transport system - no - no - no - no - - no	General Improvement Infrastructure & services Parks - access & beautification Removal of informal market Safety and security Removal of vehicular congestion Public transport system Housing improvement loans New Housing development Amenities - health, schools Strict development guidelines connection with the city offices better housing better stores
Financial sponsors:				
Resident community City aid for housing improvement private developer	Conservation institutions Archaeological Survey of India	Ministry of Tourism merchants community loans against future prosperity private developer	Merchants community private developer	Transit Authority Merchants community Private developer for transit

Chart 1: This worksheet shows the different interventions proposed by the five approaches and how they may be possible conflicts/ difference in priorities.. Notice that the few initial ones about general improvement of the area are included in all the 5 lists..

	Conservation	Tourism	Residential	Merchants	Transit
Conservation	-				
Tourism	+8	-			
Residential	-4	-4	-		
Merchants	-8	+10	-2	-	
Transit	-4	+8	+10	+10	-

Chart 2: This chart shows the positive or negative correlation between the different approaches.

	Can do	Need help	Can't do
Right now - 3 months	general cleaning	traffic management	infrastructure upgradation
In a while - one year	small improvements	parking design	
Long term - 5 years	business strategy	community education	mass-transit

Chart 3: This chart shows how a simple exercise could help categorize interventions to then work out financing, players and time frames.

6

Proposal for Aminabad

¹The five approaches included the conservation plan, tourism plan, residents community plan, merchants community plan and a transit plan for the area.

This chapter draws upon each of the five approaches¹ identified in the last chapter, to propose an integrated strategy for the market area of Aminabad.

Integrated Strategy for Aminabad

The integrated plan for Aminabad incorporates the aspects of the five approaches and combines the interventions. This cumulative set of interventions would have to be prioritized to work out the phasing and funding for the project.

The conclusions from the last chapter indicate that many issues need to be addressed simultaneously in a living city. Thus an integrated plan would attempt to combine the positive aspects of the different approaches and mitigate the negative effects of taking any of those approaches in isolation. Although it is relatively easy to suggest several interventions that the district needs, to improve the general quality of life and experiences it offers, the next step would be to evaluate these interventions and propose them as short-term and long-term actions. The short-term interventions would address any urgent issues in the area and try to build initial confidence in the project. These interventions should address problems common to the maximum number of people. The interventions should be easy to execute, show quick results and set the stage for other interventions. Differently stated these interventions should be affordable, sustainable and visible. Long term goals and interventions would need to be planned simultaneously so that processing on those can be begun.

Interventions for this area need to be multi-dimensional and include the interests of several stakeholders. In view of the slow legal process and poor law enforcement efficacy and the poorly managed municipal corporation and government agencies, strong political influences, high levels of corruption, and an ineffective consumer redressal process, the implementation process needs to be well-designed. No exercise of discretion on the part of the government servant, no dependence on the government for any key implementation aspects (like finances or legal issues), a large amount of public information and transparency would be some of the primary things to be considered. A model that includes citizen participation and allows the different stakeholders to participate in the decision-making process and the selection of tradeoffs would be appropriate for this situation. The main advantage of community participation is that it is a transparent process that would be very helpful in conflict resolution. This is, however, achieved at a cost of time and money and sometimes it may be very difficult to reach a consensus. Information and education of the community towards a better understanding of the issues at hand and their ability to tackle them will be an important first step. The community would also have a sustained interest in the area, and it would be in their interests to keep the project going forever.

Such a community group would then identify the different problems in the area and make a complete list of the areas where action is needed. The actual intervention would depend on the method of implementation. The evaluation criteria that need to be considered in the selection of individual interven-

tions would include:

1. City level impact

The intervention would be evaluated in how it reinforces or alters the role of the district. The importance or strength of the area and the role it plays in the city are important considerations. Although this role as an important retail center, a tourist attraction, the educational section or the residential area (defined by its prime landuse) could be redefined², it is this current role which drives the economics of the area. For example, if this district was a major tourist area in the city that attracted several thousand domestic or foreign tourists every year and generated a large amount of economic activity, it would be important to develop tourism. If this area was an important office area, then that would be its strength and facilities for the people working in the area would be developed. The macro-impacts on equity and ecology also need to be factored into this argument. In the case of Aminabad, its role in Lucknow is that of an important retail center and new programs in this area should reinforce this economic factor.

2. Micro-level impacts

An impact analysis of any intervention would reveal both positive and negative impacts on different people in the area. In order for the project to have the goodwill and support of the community, interventions with negative side-effects on a part of the community would have to be brought in slowly and in a way that their negative impact can be minimized. Such interventions could turn controversial and endanger the entire project. A social cost-benefit analysis would thus have to be done to ensure that the benefits are indeed greater.

²It is in this capacity that this area is currently linked with the city and this should be strengthened. If the role of the area is being redefined or its uses changed then the current uses have to be located in another area. Such changes tend to be very disruptive to the city structure and need to be phased.

In Aminabad, although the store-owners, residents and shoppers would appreciate the streets being cleared and the informal sector of the market relocated in different areas, such an intervention would cause the informal vendors to revolt. A solution which would work for both parties would be if the space was time-shared and the vendors could use the space in the main shopping hours and at other times it was cleared for use by the residents.

3. Financial leverage of different groups

Financial leverage refers to the advantage that the financially stronger group would have in a community project. Since a project like this attempts to garner maximum community support both as goodwill and financial support — it would be important to appease the financially powerful group. On the other hand, as social equity is a goal of the project, it would take us a step forward if the intervention could also benefit the economically weaker section of the society. Traditionally interventions that have support from the richer members of the community would gain priority but for a socially equitable solution, other people should be equally represented. In Aminabad, improvement of the parks by charging a usage fee would be supported by those who could afford it but this would exclude a part of the society from using a public amenity. Instead a solution like using the park for a weekly market on some days, and as a rentable space for community functions at other times, could generate an amount that could be used for the maintenance of the parks in the area.

4. Revenue generators

Some interventions are net revenue genera-

tors versus others where the common benefits created do not directly generate any income to the area. This could be in the form of increased taxes to the city or the creation of economic activity or both. Revenue generating interventions would be given priority since they could in turn fund other activities. An example of non-revenue-generating intervention in Aminabad would be improvement of the streets and planting of trees. Although this would improve the area tremendously and boost the shopping in the area, there are no fees that can be charged for standing under a tree. On the other hand, converting an old house into an attractive restaurant or paying guest accommodations could create jobs for some people, improve the economic activity in the area and increase the taxes collected.

5. Ease of implementation

Interventions that are easier to implement should take priority over those that need a long legal or financial process to facilitate them. It would be easier to get consensus and approvals for interventions that are localized versus those that effect a larger area/populace. Actions with shorter timeframes can be easier to start and complete versus those that need longer. Some interventions that may be capable of doing in small incremental steps versus others which may need large steps to make them happen. Such issues³ can help decide which interventions take priority over others. A good example of such an intervention would be a general clean-up of Aminabad. This is something that could be funded by the community, is localized and can be carried out in small incremental steps.

³Localized activity vs. city level intervention: It would be easier to get consensus and approvals for interventions that are localized versus those that effect a larger area/populace.

Short term vs. long term: Shorter timeframes can be easier to start and complete versus those that need longer.

Resources needed: Less expensive interventions are easier to do than those that need large amount of instant capital. Resources here would also refer to resources like existing organizations that could take on the task.

Approval/permission needed: Interventions that are easier to do may necessarily take priority over those that need a long legal or financial process to facilitate them.

Number of players involved: When a large number of players have to be involved to reach a decision on an intervention this would necessarily slow down the implementation process.

Inherent conflicts: Some interventions are inherently controversial and would increase the time needed to resolve them and make them happen.

6. Congruence and reinforcement of the different interventions

This aspect relates to how interventions may play against each other. Some interventions may need to be in sequence, others may be more efficient together and still some may be in conflict. This would be an important aspect to consider in deciding about the interventions.

7. Conflict resolution

Conflicts between different factions of the community and between different ideologies often impede the smooth functioning of a project. These would have to be anticipated and steps taken to work around them or reduce them.

Some of the conflicts that will need to be addressed in Aminabad are:

Advantages of mixed use vs. concentration of commercial or residential: Increasing commercial uses would increase the tax-base⁴, the level of economic activity in the area and the number of jobs it offers. An improved local economy could finance the improvement of the area. Residential uses are a good complementary use of the area as the residents would use the area, the parks and the parking at all times. The advantages of mixed use would be a twenty-four hours usage of space and the use of upper floors and properties away from the main streets not conducive to retail use. Proximity between housing and jobs decreases the commuting effort, and proximity of retail reduces the number of trips and makes the place more cohesive. There are greater opportunities for the creation of more lively spaces serving dual needs.

The conflicts perceived in this situation are

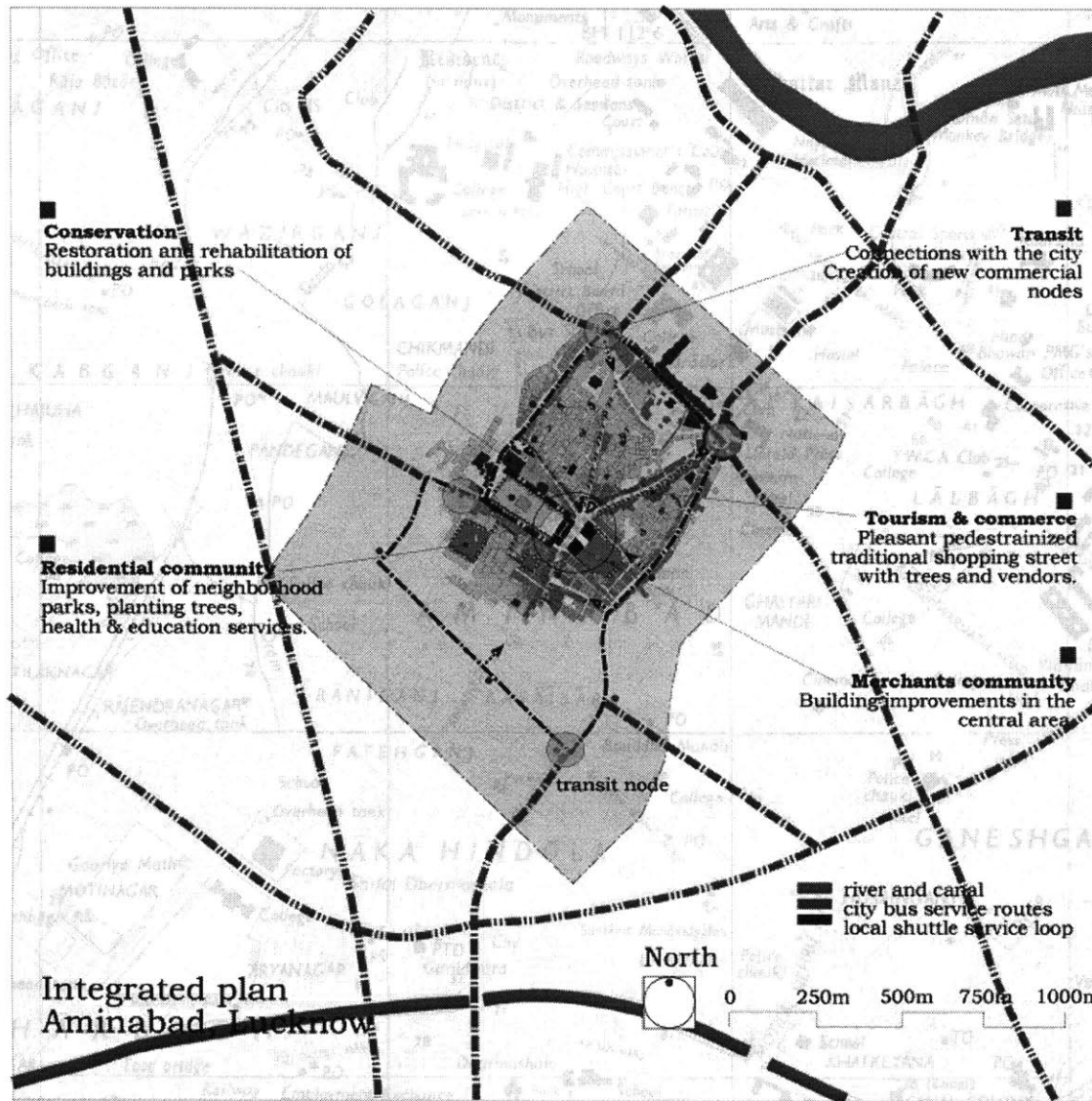


Figure 6.6: Integrated plan for Aminabad

that city spaces are traditionally vibrant and stimulating whereas residential areas are expected to be quieter and calmer spaces. The expectations in these two areas are very different. However, a large segment of population especially younger couples, single people or older people might enjoy the stimulation and the proximity that the city offers. It is felt in some areas that the city may not be a good place to bring up children^s since there is traffic and congestion, issues of safety and security, and possibly a lack of parks, schools and recreation spaces for children. These will be some of the issues that will be addressed in making the area conducive to the needs of the residential and the commercial community alike.

Pedestrians vs. cars: In almost all old cities, there is an inherent conflict as to whether the area should be retrofitted to allow traversing by automobiles or pedestrianized. Both cases are equally valid, and midway solutions are often sought, where some streets may be made fit for cars, others allow uni-directional traffic and still some could be pedestrianized. Time-sharing between the two is also possible in areas that have a lot of pedestrian activity at some hours of the day. Bicycles and two wheelers are often not addressed and may call into question whether they should be governed by rules for cars or rules for people!

Physical plan

The integrated plan for Aminabad, brings together the five different approaches and combines all the interventions. However, it is important to note that some interventions show a healthy symbiosis whereas others exhibit conflict. Tourism and commerce both promote the idea of the main street improve-

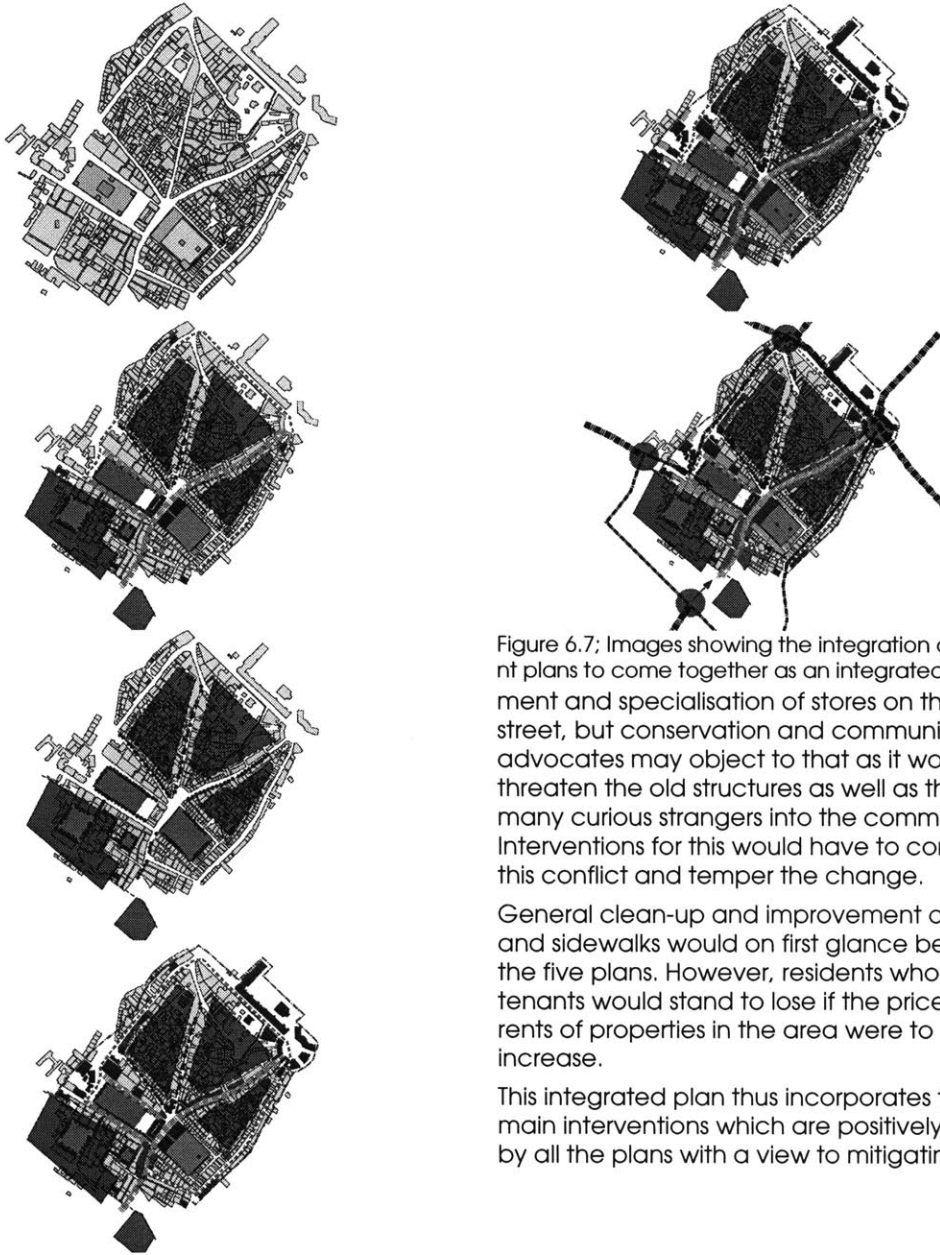


Figure 6.7; Images showing the integration of different plans to come together as an integrated plan. Improvement and specialisation of stores on that street, but conservation and community advocates may object to that as it would threaten the old structures as well as the bring many curious strangers into the community. Interventions for this would have to consider this conflict and temper the change.

General clean-up and improvement of streets and sidewalks would on first glance benefit all the five plans. However, residents who are tenants would stand to lose if the prices and rents of properties in the area were to increase.

This integrated plan thus incorporates the main interventions which are positively viewed by all the plans with a view to mitigating neg-

ative impacts.

The main aspects which gain importance are:

- ◆ Introducing a local mode of transit to connect the area to other parts of the city and reduce traffic congestion.
- ◆ Emphasizing the main street as a primary area of concern and working on improvements along that street. (This would lead to improvements in other areas in its next phases.)
- ◆ Improvement of parks, and using them for various activities like weekly markets and social events.
- ◆ General cleanup of the area including clearing of garbage, fixing of streets and sidewalks and planting trees in the area.
- ◆ Building of new parks and parking areas within the urban fabric for the residents.
- ◆ Building new parking structures by contracting with a private developer.
- ◆ Improvement of infrastructure using a private-public partnership.
- ◆ And improvement of the building stock by incentives for repairs and fixing as well as guidelines for new development.

The strength of a good plan would lie not only in the selection of relevant interventions to set the ball rolling but also how they are phased, financed and implemented.

This should ensure the continuity of the project and the creation of a sustainable environment. a series of small successes in an incremental plan, one thing leading to another, one activity generating funds for the next, and the interest of all the stakeholders would ensure such an aim.

In the context of Cuba, Mario Coyula and Luis Lapidus said: "...the preservation of Latin American historic centers should not depend on the financial support of gentrifying yuppies or tourists, but it can not be solely a state responsibility, accepted with resignation because of moral and cultural obligation. The resolution may well rest on the economic empowerment of the local population, which would allow it to actively participate in finding gradual and feasible solution to meet its needs, and lead to a natural and sustainable coincidence between cultural, social, environmental and utilitarian values."⁶

⁴It should be remembered that tax collection in India is not very efficient and until that happens the increase in income is not really reflected in the taxes collected.

⁵This is more of a concern in developed countries rather than developing countries where the deci-

Implementation strategies

The interventions would next have to be matched with implementation strategies. Each implementation mode fits some interventions and each intervention calls for one or more implementation approaches.

The two restrictions that have been assumed in this process are:

- The city will not be able to extend any financial capital to the project.
- Financial donations from international organizations or corporate giants are very unlikely.

For a sustainable improvement, this project shall try to keep the scale modest and attempt to make the process self-propelling. In view of the assumed restrictions, the question of financing is obviously the most primary. All interventions will have to be thus accompanied by a plan to implement them.

Some of the ways to deal with the financial crunch would be:

1. Revenue generating interventions — tax tourists/shoppers, tariffs/user charges
2. Public-private partnerships — attract private capital by offering subsidies (tax abatement, soft loans) or other incentives (Tradable Development Rights, cross subsidies, increased Floor Area Ratio, regularizing of land ownership etc.)
3. Community funded projects — offer incentives to the community/ Business improvement districts.
4. Private Funding - There is also the possibility of attracting a big investor like a hotel to contribute to local improvement — employment,

training, schools and housing.

5. Tourist / shopper funding - In some revitalization projects as in Havana or Nepal, the cost of improvement and creation of amenities was charged to the actual user — often the tourist. This could be in the form of increased taxes on goods purchased (indirect) or direct taxing at the airport. In Aminabad, this would mean taxing the shoppers but that would make the market unattractive.

Managing and facilitating these interventions and implementation aspects would require different players. The players include the community, city agencies, private developers and non-governmental organizations. Their roles are briefly discussed towards the end of the Action Plan.

The Proposed Action Plan

On further analysis, it becomes evident that the issue that is most crucial is a financially sustainable city or the means to achieve self-financing. Looking at the different assets in the area — one is struck by the lack of something really big and important. And there lies the whole challenge — if Aminabad was located next to the Taj Mahal (a national tourist attraction and a modern wonder), the Stock Exchange (an important financial institution), Chowpatty (a beach in Bombay and a domestic tourist attraction) or in Nainital (a lake -town and again an attraction) then the priorities and the solution would have been obvious — to create a supporting area which provides services and benefits from the main function.

This thesis identifies Aminabad's chief eco-

sion of where to live is based more on reasons of economy and convenience rather than amenities for children.
"Marcuse, Peter, "Historic Preservation, Cultural Tourism and Planning" in *Trialog 58*, Stuttgart, March 1998.

conomic attraction and strength as strong commerce and an average community and recognizes the fact that there is no strong historic or tourist attraction. It has a potential historic fabric but that is common to many other cities and definitely not a veritable resource.

- All the exemplary cases of historic revitalization analyzed in the last chapter including CRUTA (Conservation and Research for Urban Traditional Architecture) scale their expenses to income earned from tourism — where the improvement of the area aids tourism and vice versa.
- Some cases of commercial revitalization like Business Improvement Districts or Main Streets base themselves on levies on commercial revenue and use that to improve the area as that makes good business sense. (Residential areas are usually not included).
- Transit oriented development is a mixed approach where transit is the force and the lifeline which makes the area viable. This approach is usually marked by a large government initiative and financial outlay to make it happen.

Looking at this broad categorization, the second case is most appropriate for Aminabad. Methods of going about the actual implementation would vary from being just a merchants plan to include other issues like conservation, tourism, sustainability⁷, community and transit but these would have to relate to the main plan. The implementation process could still vary from being a top-down or a community plan, in levels of public and private partnership, from being a single big project to an incremental plan or all of the above.

The primary assumption is that the city has no money and there are no national or interna-

tional financing agencies that can sponsor this. This means that the project has to be self-financing from scratch. The action plan for this project would thus be:

The project is initiated by forming a non-governmental and non-profit organization that approaches the Aminabad Vyapar Mandal (the local business community) and important people in the residential community and invites them to form a coalition for the general improvement of the area. Together they work out a scheme for collection of finances from both the residential community (including owners and tenants) and the merchants community (including formal and informal traders) for the common purpose of improving the area. In time, this committee, with consultants from the city and the architecture/planning community, would become the steering committee to guide the future of Aminabad. Almost all decisions would be taken with maximum public participation and consensus.

Their action plan would include:

General clean-up:

This would include actions like proper cleaning of streets, garbage collection and recycle, provision of trash-cans. This is an action that can be achieved by community cooperation and participation by a collection of funds and following an incremental process. Since this is an intervention that would find a common acceptance in all sections of the community, it would be a good way to initiate the community process. In its second phase, it would move into aspects like improvement of shop fronts, planting of trees and fixing of sidewalks.

Redefine the use of public space: The next item on the agenda would be to reach a

consensus on use of public spaces for private use like the colonnaded space in front of the stores, street edges and public gardens. This would be a time when education and information on rights of the individual versus rights of the city would come into question and it would be important to include the viewpoint of the city on this. This would also be an issue of general concern though controversial.

As an example, the project suggests the construction of a permanent structure for the semi-permanent shops in the front of the Aminabad Park. The rows of stores would be given permission to build a two and a half-storied structure accommodating at least 20% of the stores on the ground floor. In return, the store-owners would not be allowed to expand their stores on to the street in front or the park at the rear as well as be restricted by a set of design guidelines for the front facade. This would be a way in which the city gets consolidation of stores, better quality of the space and restrained retail. Informal traders would be allowed to set up stalls between 11am and 6pm in the day, so that they enjoy the shopping hours but the residents can enjoy the area at other hours. The implementation of this would need the consensus of the community as well as support of the city to help enforce the community rules.

Ease the parking situation and traffic congestion:

Although a common problem, this has been the toughest for the city to handle. It would take a great amount of policing, fining and fine collection efficacy to impose traffic rules on the streets of Aminabad. The large number of pedestrians, bicyclists, two wheelers, push-carts and pedicabs routinely defy most rules.

The community group would consider the possibility of pedestrianization of the main streets of the area or the whole area for a limited time of 11am to 6pm. All motorized traffic and delivery of goods would be restricted on the main streets by this rule, however push-carts, pedicabs and bicyclists would be permitted. This would mean restructuring delivery, opening and closing hours of the stores to be outside this time. A special shuttle service to provide people with transport on the area could be considered. This would be privately run.

Parking solutions would consist of parking pockets for residents and shop-owners within the area and the construction of 2-3 parking structures (which maybe linked by the shuttle service). Funding for such projects would either have to come from the people, a private agency that would take on the project or a private corporate sponsor. These parking structures would be built privately in an "own and operate" contract.

Facilitate transit and connections with the rest of the city:

Long-term solutions would lie in the area being a part of a city-wide transit system which would loop around the area and provide transport to the people who live, work and shop here. This would be a large-scale project and need greater planning and funding than can be done at the local level. So it would be a top-down intervention by the city or other planning agencies that would be coordinated with the local situation - the possible locations of bus stops (least disruptive, serves the residents, shoppers and people working in this area best), frequency of service and routes.

⁷One of the objectives of institutional sustainability here: "To strengthen local capacity to plan, coordinate and manage urban development and growth with emphasis on multi-sectoral coordination and

community based participation." — Dr. R. D. Deshpande (refer Bibliography).

Enhance conservation and tourism potential:

Issues to be debated by the community would be the importance of the heritage value of the area, the need to preserve the character and methods and ways to encourage preservation. It would then address the economic problems in doing so and the potential of tourism and the adaptive use of existing structures to restaurants, small hotels or paying guest establishments. Education and information about these aspects and their value as cultural and economic resources would need to be communicated to the residents, before this approach can be taken very far. Implementation of this would need conservation and tourism activists to talk to the community about ways to make tourism a positive force in the community. Actual planning would take both the community and planners to jointly plan for the area. Interventions like street improvements and maintenance of facades could be done by individual owners or a group of owners. However, since the incentive for this is very unclear in this context, it would need incentives other than area improvement - financial incentives like tax rebates or soft loans, or legal incentives like help in conflict resolution between multiple owners - for owners to undertake improvements.

Improve the building stock:

This includes repair and rehab and new construction; possible design guidelines and the need for community approval of new buildings. The issues of surreptitious construction, owner-tenant feuds, family feuds as causes of poor building stock could lead to the creation of a special legal cell which would address property conflicts in the area. Incentives for improvement have to be clearly visible. An

increase in the rental value or the property value for resale are some primary ideas. More creative ways of increasing the value of their properties by putting it to economic uses after fixing could be worked out. Property owners would need architectural advice from their NGO to help work out economic repair work and new uses in old properties. Design guidelines for all new construction in the area would have to be specially prepared in view of the special character of the area.

Address other needs of the community:

Other needs of the community include schools, health clinics, recreational and cultural spaces like a community center or a local theater. In the later phases of improvement of the area, these would come to the fore, and ways would be devised to build schools or other community buildings. These would again be a system where the city, the private developer and the community could go into partnership. A number of these services would also generate income that would pay for their continuation, maintenance and growth. Different organizations would come forward at different times to work on these projects. The community group provides the continuity of a cohesive vision that would tie all these projects together.

Improve religious buildings:

(Temples, mosques, churches, gurudwaras⁸ etc.) This could be a way to integrate the community if different religions/communities are represented in the area. Alternatively the community could hold joint events marking the festivals of different communities. In Aminabad, there are several different communities that are represented. For instance, there is a community of old Bengali families

who celebrate Durga Puja — a group prayer accompanied by festivity. Such an occasion would be ideal for the citizen action group to integrate with this smaller community and have joint festivity in the market area, open up the park and create integration between the smaller groups of residents.

Improve the basic infrastructure:

Although this is primarily the domain of the city, private enterprises can be included in a "develop and operate" partnership with the city. The community will have to bear the eventual cost of the up-gradation but this could be in slow stages. Collection of bills would also improve with private management. There is a large possibility of equity problems that should be considered in a case-by-case manner. Concessions made to a weaker section of the society would have to be picked up by the rest of the community.

Role of the city: Other than the general improvement of Aminabad almost all other concerns require the making of choices and the intervention of a larger regulating body like the city. The city authorities are seen as facilitators of the project and would be required to give help at the legal, financial and political level. On the financial front, the city may not be able to sponsor any interventions financially but it can make some concessions for a limited period of time in which it could forego some revenues from the area. The legal aspects would include enabling legislation to establish government tools like incentives/disincentives, regulations, ownership and operation, change in property rights and distribution of information to the persons involved⁹. Regulations and design guidelines (which could include incentive zoning and

inclusionary zoning) would have to be legally enforced by the local government — for this the area may have to be regulated as a separate empowerment zone/district. Most importantly, at a political level, the project needs to be supported by the city to overcome any impediments and deal with political resistance. The commitment of the city would be very important to see the full realization of a scheme like this.

Role of other organizations: Looking at the long list of interventions, there would be several organizations required even at the community level.

- A general meeting would include the whole community with necessary official representation from all different community and business groups in the area; the city municipal corporation; the advisory architect/planning non-governmental organization; and other relevant connected officials (like a transport person in the case of transit, or the hotel developer in the case of a hotel). Representation from the minorities and the weaker sections of the society would be mandatory. There is all possibility that such a meeting would be dominated by the more powerful factions of this group and smaller meetings with sub-groups would have to be precede this large meeting.
- The improvement plan like the cleaning-up should be run by either a subgroup of the community or an NGO that the community group works with.
- The private infrastructure company would be a different organization which would contract with the city and coordinate and collaborate with the community group.

⁹The place of worship for the people who belong to the Sikh religion.

Implementation issues:

Some of the implementation issues that arise even in the conceptualization of such a plan would be:

- Lack of social organizations: Organizations like the traders association and the residents cultural societies have to be connected by a new community organization that would become the steering committee. Traditionally, the weaker sections of the society are not well-represented in such organizations. Special steps would have to be taken to include them and let their voices be heard.

- Legal framework + enabling legislation: Some of the interventions suggested above need to be supported by legislation.

Legislation which has to be done at the state or even the local level could take a long time to happen, especially if there are groups of people who are opposed to it. It would be important to start the project within the existing legal framework and then look for variances and loopholes in the law to allow the community project to proceed while legislation occurs.

- Financial autonomy to the community group: If the local committee could have some amount of financial autonomy, they would be able to recycle revenues from the first year to increase their activities in the next year.

- Education + information: Community participation projects cannot function if the people are not educated and informed about the choices they need to make and the powers they enjoy under the constitution to shape their future. This would be an inseparable aspect of any community participation model.

- Continuity: The continuity of such an action

group is important for a sustained interest in the area and to stop it from deterioration. Two main ways of doing this would be a series of successful interventions or a visible threat to the area. For the first, interventions should be phased and modest, where each step would be incrementally achieved successfully before moving to the next step. The threat to the area lies in the forces of deterioration. It would be important to point out to the community the importance of their work and the dire consequences of neglect. A city or a neighborhood needs to be nurtured carefully and constantly to grow and remain healthy.

Conclusions:

Such a project tries to deal with some of the common problems that afflict the older areas in most Indian cities, however, it also addresses some of the specific issues in the Aminabad area. In this third world scenario, where law enforcement is not very strong and corruption is high, the municipalities do not have the money for upgradation of services and there are no social or community organizations dealing with urban problems. In the face of these issues, the answers seem to lie in responding to the strengths of Aminabad - diversity and a good economy. The solution seems to lie in the creation of a **commercially led self-sustaining** area. And empower the community to make its own decisions and shape its future.

⁹Schuster, J. M with de Monchaux, J. and A. Riley II, Charles, ed. Preserving the built heritage: Tools for implementation, Salzburg Seminar, New England Press, Hanover and London, 1996.

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