



How Colonial Drainage Systems Reshaped Social Hierarchies in Lahore: Sanitation as Surveillance

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ABSTRACT

The sanitation infrastructure that was introduced in South Asia during the British colonial era was often viewed as an intervention in the sphere of public health to control epidemics and enhance urban hygiene. But, in addition to its professional and medical purposes, sanitation was also a tool with the help of which colonial governments could control the population of cities and restructure the social space. This paper discusses the role of colonial drainage and sewerage systems in Lahore as the tools of control and management between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The research uses the municipal documents, colonial administrative reports, urban planning documents, and historical maps to explore the ways in which the sanitation reforms reconfigured the space and strengthened the social hierarchies that existed in the colonial city. The discussion shows that the policies of sanitation were well connected to the colonial city control policies. The drainage systems, inspection systems, and sanitation laws provided colonial administrators with the ability to patrol the neighborhoods, provide hygiene standards, and categorize urban areas based on cleanliness. Such categories often overlapped with the socio-economic and professional boundaries, so the distribution of the sanitation facilities in Lahore was uneven. Elite local neighborhoods and residential zones in Europe were given a higher priority in terms of drainage systems and waste management systems, and the crowded native quarters and working areas were not uncommon in terms of being under increased surveillance and management control. In turn, the reforms in sanitation not only have a positive effect on the social health issues but also led to the spatial isolation and governmental control of the colonial urban populations. This analysis allows the development of a concept of sanitation as a variety of surveillance, which is why it contributes to a body of literature on colonial urban governance and environmental history. It emphasizes the role of infrastructural systems in the formation of the patterns of power, social differentiation, and urban control in colonial Punjab, which provides new perspectives on the political aspects of sanitation and public health policy in South Asian colonial cities.

Introduction

In the nineteenth century, urban sanitation was a major issue of the colonial rule in South Asia as British rulers had to deal with frequent epidemics of diseases, including cholera, plague, and dysentery. Sanitation policies were also implemented in the colonial cities, which not only aimed at improving public health but also reorganized the urban spaces with reference to administrative and hygienic ideas. A large urban center of the colonial Punjab, Lahore, underwent great infrastructural development, which included the installation of drainage systems, sewer networks, and municipal sanitation laws. Colonial authorities usually portrayed these developments as progressive reforms that were meant to modernize the city and enhance the safety of the people [1,2]. However, in recent urban and colonial history, the sanitation infrastructure has been proposed to be a significant element in the shaping of systems of government, surveillance, and social control in colonial cities.

The reforms of sanitation in colonial Lahore were organized using the municipal institutions and the technical infrastructure, which would allow the authorities control the waste management, water drainage, and residential hygiene [3,4]. These included mapping of urban areas, regular sanitary inspections, and classification of areas based on their supposed sanitary state. Although these efforts were presented as a way to address the challenges to social health, they also established the processes according to which the officials of the colonial authorities could observe the life of urban populations and intervene in their daily routine. Development of the drainage systems and implementation of sanitation rules enabled colonial governments to reorganize the urban spaces and shape the settlement, mobility, and labor patterns [5].

The introduction of colonial sanitation systems generally crossed over current social orders grounded on classes, occupation, and ethnicity. European residential neighborhoods and city districts were often given priority services in infrastructural developments, such as improved drainage systems and municipal services [6]. Conversely, overpopulated native quarters were commonly characterized as causes of an unsanitary environment and placed under more stringent sanitary control and inspection. These activities were establishing spatial segregations in the city and strengthening socio-economic inequalities. Sanitation policies, therefore, had a dual purpose as being not only technical interventions but also as tools of governance that indicated more general colonial priorities and power relationships.

This paper will discuss how sanitation infrastructure was used as a surveillance and social organization tool in colonial Lahore. The study examines the impact of infrastructural reforms on urban spatial planning and social stratifications by directing attention to the development of drainage systems and urban policies of municipal sanitation. The paper uses colonial administrative reports, municipal records, urban planning documents, and historical maps to understand the connection between the way sanitation processes were conducted and colonial rule. By this examination, the paper will prove that the sanitation infrastructure was not only a public health campaign but a political and administrative instrument as well that allowed the colonial powers to control the urban population and transform social relations.

This study adds to the general literature on urban history, colonial studies, and environmental governance by conceptualizing sanitation as a mode of creating surveillance. It emphasizes how infrastructural systems have the capacity to generate new modalities of social ordering, administrative regulation, and especially in the colonial contexts in which policies of public health were intimately bound to governance strategies. The knowledge of these historical dynamics will

be useful in understanding how infrastructure, power, and social inequality intersect in urban settings in colonial times.

The rest of this paper is structured in the following way. Section 2 presents the literature review on the current knowledge of colonial urban sanitation, policies of the state and local governments concerning the problem of public health and surveillance in colonial cities with reference to South Asian situations. Section 3 provides the research methodology and explains how the historical sources were utilized in this study, such as the municipal records, the colonial administrative reports, and the archival documents. Section 4 gives a historical review of the sanitation infrastructure and drainage system in colonial Lahore and discusses how the system led to the space regulation and social segregation. In Section 5, the author addresses sanitation as a surveillance mechanism in the context of the wider colonial governance. Lastly, Section 6 summarizes the research and explains the importance of the sanitation infrastructure in determining the power structures and social inequalities of urban life in colonial Punjab.

Literature Review

The concept of urban sanitation has been well-known as an important element of colonial rule in nineteenth-century South Asia. Historians have demonstrated that the introduction of sanitation systems, such as drainage systems, sewer networks, and waste disposal systems, had strong ties to colonial anxieties over social health, epidemic control, and urban governance [7]. However, more recent historical studies have stressed that sanitation reform was not only an intervention of a technical and medical sort, but a part of a much extended political and social process which constituted urban politics and urban structure.

The initial research on sanitation in the colonial era centered mostly on the connection between outbreaks of disease and the development of sanitary reforms [8]. The readings illustrate the necessity of the colonial governments to develop municipal institutions and implement sanitation policies in the fast-expanding urban areas due to outbreaks of different diseases like cholera, plague, and typhoid. The establishment of local councils and sanitary commissions enabled the colonial governments to manage the city conditions, to impose sanitary norms, and to carry out infrastructural features that could help to decrease the number of people infected with diseases.

Later studies have broadened this viewpoint by studying the issue of sanitation in the context of colonial authority and city domination [9]. Historians have noted that sanitary policies tended to suggest ideas of colonial views of the indigenous urban space as unhealthy, chaotic, and requiring administration. By implementing sanitation laws, inspection regime and urban planning efforts, the colonial rulers aimed to restructure the cities based on the principles of order, cleanliness, and surveillance. Such interventions often led to the categorization of neighborhoods into sanitary and unsanitary areas, thereby strengthening social and spatial inequalities.

Research conducted in colonial city governance also indicates that infrastructures like drainage and sewerage systems were a surveillance mechanism [10]. Spaces and spatial mapping, sanitation checks, and municipal reporting systems enabled the colonial rulers to check residential spaces and control the daily activities in terms of waste disposal and hygiene. Through these processes, authorities formed administrative control of urban populations and, at the same time, influenced the modes of spatial segregation in cities [11]. Several researchers have analyzed colonial sanitation policies, city authorities, and the development of infrastructure [12]. Nevertheless, not a lot of studies have been carried out specifically to examine the association between drainage systems and social surveillance in colonial Lahore. Table 1 provides a comparative summary of major research on the subject.

Table 1: Comparative Analysis of Previous Studies on Colonial Sanitation and Urban Governance

Study	Study Area / Context	Research Focus	Methodology	Key Findings	Research Gap
Arnold (1993)	British India	Colonial medicine and sanitation policies	Historical analysis	Sanitation reforms were linked with colonial governance and public health control.	Limited discussion on how sanitation influenced urban spatial hierarchies.
Gandy (2004)	Colonial cities	Urban infrastructure and power relations	Urban political ecology	Infrastructure systems often reinforce political authority and social segregation.	Does not specifically examine drainage systems as surveillance tools.
Prashad (2001)	Colonial urban India	Governance and colonial urban management	Archival analysis	Colonial authorities used urban planning to regulate native populations.	Sanitation infrastructure mechanisms remain underexplored.
Legg (2007)	Delhi (British India)	Colonial urban governmentality	Governmentality approach	Colonial urban planning shaped surveillance and administrative control.	Focuses more on governance than on drainage and sanitation infrastructure.
Nightingale (2012)	South Asian cities	Urban inequality and infrastructure	Qualitative urban analysis	Infrastructure distribution contributed to socio-spatial inequalities.	Lacks a historical analysis of colonial drainage systems.
McFarlane (2015)	Global South cities	Sanitation and urban governance	Urban infrastructure studies	Sanitation systems influence the social and spatial organization of cities.	Limited focus on colonial historical context and surveillance.

As Table 1 indicates, past research mainly investigates colonial sanitation in terms of public health, city-state governance, or infrastructure. Nevertheless, not many studies examine sanitation systems

as a tool of surveillance and socio-spatial control [13]. Furthermore, the history of Lahore has not been studied enough in this respect. To fill this gap, this paper will discuss the role of colonial drainage infrastructure in the reorganization of social orders and spatial governance in Lahore.

Although the existing literature on the topic of colonial sanitation and urban governance is characterized by the increasing quantity of scholarly resources, there has been a rather low focus on establishing the particular connection between drainage systems and social stratification in colonial Punjab. Lahore, being one of the biggest administrative centers of the area, underwent grand sanitation changes of the late nineteenth century, such as drainage system built and the emergence of municipal sanitation standards. However, how these infrastructural projects affected the patterns of social differentiation and spatial control has not been studied in detail.

In this paper, I aim to fill this gap in the literature by considering the functioning of colonial drainage systems in Lahore as a device of social control and social organization. Through the evaluation of historical documents and municipal sites, the study places the sanitation infrastructure in the context of the larger colonial rule, the city development, and the social stratification. Thus, the study will be added to the growing body of knowledge concerning the history of colonial urban development because it will focus on the political and social aspects of sanitation reforms in colonial Punjab.

Research Methodology

In this paper, we will use a qualitative historical analysis research design to explore the role of sanitation infrastructure in Lahore during colonialism as a form of public health intervention and a tool to engage in urban surveillance. The study centers on the late nineteenth century, when colonial powers came into play with great sanitation reforms, such as drainage systems, municipal sanitation policies, and inspection policies, in order to make the urban areas clean and prevent epidemic diseases.

The study is founded on the archival and documentary documents produced mostly in the colonial era. These comprise the reports of the municipal committee, reports of the sanitary commissioner, colonial administrative reports, urban planning reports, and government correspondence on the sanitation policies in Punjab. Past maps and city plans are also studied to learn the spatial spread of the drainage systems and sanitation systems in the city. These sources offer important information on the policies, administrative practices, and plans of the city's development by the colonial officials.

The analysis of the study is based on historical analysis and qualitative analysis of the contents in order to explain these materials [14, 15]. The documents are reviewed to find patterns in the sanitation regulations, infrastructural development, and regulatory practices that formed the urban management in Lahore. A special focus is on the way sanitation campaigns were carried out in various neighborhoods, and the way these interventions went in line with the existing social, economic, and spatial boundaries in the city, shown in Figure 1.

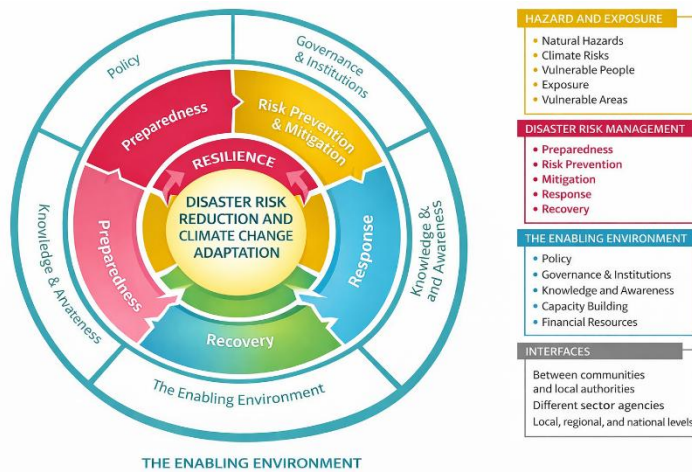


Figure 1: *Conceptual framework illustrating the relationship between colonial sanitation infrastructure, surveillance mechanisms, and the formation of urban social hierarchies in Lahore.*

The study uses the urban governance and surveillance lens to understand the wider question of sanitation reforms. The viewpoint makes the study examine the role of drainage systems, sanitation checks, and city laws that empowered colonial rulers to control urban masses and govern the daily activities of waste disposal and sanitation. Exploring the infrastructural and administrative aspects of the sanitation reforms, the research identifies how the sanitation systems helped to constitute the spatial structure of the colonial cities and the strengthening of the social structures [15, 17]. With this methodological approach, the study gives a historically based analysis of sanitation infrastructures in colonial Lahore and gives insights into the connection between the public health policy, city governance, and social control in the colonial era.

Research Design

In this research, a qualitative historical research design is adopted because it aims at studying the role of colonial sanitation and drainage systems as not only primary health interventions but also surveillance and socio-spatial control in Lahore. The study combines the analysis of archival documents, the historical space analysis, and critical urban theory to explore the connection between the governance of sanitation and the formation of social hierarchy. Primary sources involve the records of the colonial municipality, sanitation reports, urban planning, and historical maps, while secondary sources involve the literature on the topic of colonial governance, sanitation infrastructure, and urban political ecology. The study obtains a reconstruction of the institutional and spatial processes in which the drainage systems were involved in monitoring populations, controlling urban space, and strengthening social divisions between colonial and indigenous communities by systematic analysis of these materials.

The study design is an amalgamation of both historical institutional analysis and urban spatial analysis, which allowed the research to find trends of infrastructural building, city governance policies, and socio-political consequences in colonial Lahore [18, 19].



Figure 2: Research Framework for Analyzing Colonial Sanitation Infrastructure and Social Hierarchy Formation

Data Sources

The analysis is based on the primary historical sources as well as secondary academic materials.

Table 2: Data Sources and Their Analytical Purpose

Data Type	Source	Purpose
Colonial sanitary reports	British colonial archives	Understanding sanitation policies
Municipal committee records	Lahore Municipal Committee archives	Examining infrastructure planning
Historical urban maps	Colonial mapping surveys	Spatial analysis of drainage systems
Government correspondence	Administrative archives	Identifying governance strategies
Academic literature	Books and journal articles	Theoretical and historical context

Table 2 shows the main data sources utilized in the research to investigate the pattern of sanitation systems and governance in colonial Lahore. The study is based on the use of archival documents, municipal records, historical maps, and scholarly literature to discuss and present the holistic picture of the colonial sanitation policies. The explanation of how decisions were made by the administration and the methods used by the government to address the issue of public health is

clarified with the help of colonial sanitary reports and government correspondence. The documents in municipal committees and historical maps give information about the development of infrastructure and the spatial planning of drainage systems [20]. These sources combined prove useful in the historically based study of sanitation as a policy of urban control and surveillance.

Analytical Approach

Analysis of the historical records, municipal reports, and administrative documents is conducted through an analysis of the archival documents to understand the colonial sanitation policies. Historic spatial analysis refers to colonial maps and the distribution of the infrastructure to investigate the role of drainage systems in the spatial form of the city. The thematic analysis is used to determine the recurring themes in the archival materials, especially those that dealt with surveillance practices and social regulation. Collectively, all these approaches make it possible to interpret the sanitation infrastructure as a holistic understanding of a city as both a colonial government intervention and a form of government.

Table 3: Research Methods and Their Application in the Study

Method	Description	Application in Study
Archival Document Analysis	Examination of historical texts and records	Identifying sanitation policies and governance practices
Historical Spatial Analysis	Analysis of colonial maps and infrastructure distribution	Understanding spatial segregation
Thematic Analysis	Coding recurring themes in documents	Identifying patterns of surveillance and social control

The following table will describe the most important research methodologies that will be used to examine the sanitation systems and governance practices in colonial Lahore.

Analytical Framework

This analytical paradigm explores how sanitation infrastructure, colonial rule, and the social setup of the urban environment in Lahore were connected in the late nineteenth century. It addresses the way colonial officials were enacting sanitation measures, drainage, and town rules as elements in overall public health and urban control efforts. The framework discusses how these infrastructural interventions allowed to monitor and control of the urban population with sanitation inspection and spatial categorization of districts. Special emphasis is placed on the role of the sanitation system in the regulation of urban space and support of social inequalities in the colonial city. With the combination of historical records and spatial analysis, the structure can be used to explain why sanitation is not only a technical advancement but also a form of administrative regulation. This strategy will enable the research to address the interface of infrastructure, governance, and social power. Therefore, the analytical framework offers a systematic prism to comprehend the role of sanitation systems in creating surveillance and spatial inequality patterns in colonial Lahore.

Table 4: Analytical Dimensions of the Study

Dimension	Indicators	Analytical Focus
Infrastructure Systems	Drainage networks, sewage systems	Infrastructure development
Governance Mechanisms	Policies, regulations, institutional arrangements	Colonial administrative control
Social Outcomes	Spatial segregation, unequal services	Formation of social hierarchies

Table 4 shows the major dimensions of analysis that were applied to analyse sanitation and governance in colonial Lahore. The dimension of infrastructure systems dwells on drainage networks and sewage systems to learn about the development of the urban sanitation infrastructure. The dimension of governance mechanisms examines colonial policies, rules, and institutional structures that informed sanitation management and city management. The social outcomes dimension studies the impact that these interventions had on the spatial segregation and inequality in access to services. Combined, these dimensions can be used to understand how the sanitation infrastructure influenced the governance of cities and strengthened social hierarchies in the colonial city.

Research Process

The study method in conducting the research involves a systematic analysis of history in order to study the connections between the sanitation infrastructure and the colonial rule in Lahore. The research process starts with the identification and gathering of useful historical materials, such as the colonial sanitary reports, municipal committee files, administrative mail, and historical maps. These are then examined and put together to find out information on sanitation policies, drainage systems, and how urban management is practiced. The qualitative analysis will follow in the second step to explain the trends in infrastructural development, governance models, and spatial structure in the colonial city. The historical spatial exploration is also used to study how drainage networks and sanitation facilities are distributed in various urban centers. Lastly, the results of these analyses are combined to realize how the sanitation infrastructure played the role of a surveillance mechanism and helped to establish social orders in colonial Lahore.

Table 5: Stages of the Research Process

Stage	Activities
Stage 1	Collection of archival documents and historical records
Stage 2	Compilation of historical maps and urban planning materials
Stage 3	Thematic coding and qualitative document analysis
Stage 4	Spatial interpretation of sanitation infrastructure distribution
Stage 5	Integration of findings into the conceptual framework

Table 5 identifies the chronological steps that will be used when carrying out the research. This will start by collecting the archival documents and historical records to give us the primary information on the colonial sanitation policies. The second stage involves the compilation of historical maps and urban planning material to get to know the spatial layout of sanitation infrastructure. The third step will be thematic coding and qualitative analysis of the documents in order to determine the patterns associated with governance and surveillance. This is coupled with the spatial interpretation of infrastructure distribution to analyze the impact of the sanitation

systems on various cities. Lastly, the results of every phase are synthesized into the conceptual framework to provide the correlation between sanitation facilities, colonialism, and social structures.

Results and Discussion

Colonial Sanitation Government in Lahore.

Sanitation infrastructure in Lahore under colonial rule was not only intended to enhance the health status of the people, but it also served as a tool of controlling the inhabitants of the city, and also a means of control over the colonies. The British colonial government came with organized sanitation policies, drainage systems, and municipal laws designed to manage the urban setting and curtail the outbreak of diseases. Nevertheless, those interventions strengthened administrative repression and territorial control over native people [21,22].

The Lahore Municipal Committee was formed with great importance in the process of implementing the policies of sanitation and the construction of infrastructure. Colonial sanitary reports and municipal records indicate that drainage construction and sewerage systems were only built-in regions where the European residents and administrative elites lived. Conversely, native communities tended to have poor sanitation facilities, drainage systems, and waste disposal systems. This disproportionate distribution of sanitation facilities made it more likely to create urban spatial inequalities in the city [23,24].

In addition, the colonial rule of sanitation ushered in regular inspection systems, police of the sanitary, and rules and regulations which enabled the government to check the urban communities. Sanitary inspectors made regular visits to the neighborhoods and observed how waste was disposed of. Such surveillance systems were useful instruments of administrative monitoring, and it is through this system that the colonial rulers were able to monitor population density, regulate the settlement pattern, and exercise urban control [25].

Table 6: Distribution of Sanitation Infrastructure in Colonial Lahore

Urban Area Type	Infrastructure Availability	Administrative Priority	Social Implication
European Residential Areas	Advanced sewer networks, drainage channels, and regular waste removal	High	Improved living conditions and environmental sanitation
Cantonment Zones	Planned drainage systems and sanitation monitoring	High	Protected administrative and military settlements
Indigenous Urban Neighborhoods	Limited drainage networks and irregular waste management	Moderate	Higher exposure to unsanitary conditions
Peripheral Settlements	Minimal sanitation infrastructure	Low	Reinforced spatial and social marginalization

Table 6 shows that there is an unequal allocation of sanitation facilities where the colonial rule focused on European and administrative regions and ignored indigenous settlements.

Urban Spatial Segregation and Drainage Infrastructure.

The drainage networks and sewerage systems also contributed a lot to the spatial structure of Lahore during the colonial era. The colonial priorities related to the development of infrastructure

most of the time gave priority to the administrative districts, military cantonments, and European residential areas. These areas were equipped with modern drainage networks, better road networks, and organized waste disposal systems. Conversely, inner-city urban districts and rural areas used to be mostly left out of massive sanitation projects. The historical urban planning and city records reveal that drainage channels and sewer networks were planned strategically in such a way that they would shield the colonial administrative areas against flooding and unhygienic environments and direct waste and drains to the outskirts, which were occupied by people with low income.

This imbalanced urban infrastructural development contributed to socio-spatial segregation in which access to sanitation was strongly connected with class, race, and colonial administrative stratification. European quarters were experiencing better sanitary conditions, but native settlements were constantly challenged by sanitation problems. The sanitation infrastructure was therefore very important in defining urban inequalities and social hierarchies in colonial Lahore.



Figure 3: Relationship between colonial sanitation infrastructure development and the formation of socio-spatial hierarchies in Lahore

Figure 3 depicts the analytical connection between the colonial rule, the process of developing the sanitation infrastructure, and the production of social hierarchies in Lahore. The framework illustrates that the administrative policies of the colonial administration and the municipal policies acted as the basis of the sanitation planning and development of the drainage infrastructure. The policies were used in the development and delivery of sewer networks, drainage systems, and waste management systems in various regions of the city.

The distribution of sanitation infrastructure was not even, however. The colonialists made European residential quarters, cantonments, and administrative districts their priorities, and there, modern drainage systems and sanitation facilities were introduced regularly. On the contrary, indigenous neighborhoods and the peripheral settlement had little infrastructural support. This skewed spatial distribution of the sanitation services helped to form the urban segregation and strengthen the already established colonial structures of power. Consequently, the sanitation

infrastructure acted as a tool of social stratification and spatial control in addition to being a form of public health intervention in colonial Lahore.

Sanitation Infrastructure as a Surveillance Mechanism.

In addition to the role of sanitation in the urban setting that was of a public health nature, the sanitation infrastructure also allowed colonial governments to establish surveillance systems on the metropolitan landscape. The introduction of drainage systems, sanitary supervision, and municipal surveillance systems provided organized avenues through which the colonialists would monitor and control the people in the urban areas. Sanitary laws obligated domestic and residential areas to follow waste disposal laws, drainage and sanitation laws, and housing hygiene laws. Sanitation conditions, population density, and settlements were recorded by municipal inspectors regularly. Such bureaucratic ways created complex records that enabled colonial powers to keep track of the urban people and interfere with the administration of the local jurisdiction. These practices fit into theoretical insights into urban governmentality, in which infrastructural systems provide both technical and governance and control functions. In Lahore, the sanitation government provided an easy way to control urban spaces to strengthen the colonial rule, and at the same time, to influence the trends of social stratification.

Urban Governance and Social Hierarchy Implications.

The results indicate that colonial sanitation systems were used in two ways in the urban development of Lahore. On the one hand, sanitation reforms sought to deal with the issue of public health and enhance the environmental conditions of a city. Conversely, such systems of infrastructure made it possible to deploy spatial control mechanisms that strengthened administrative control and social order by colonial authorities.

The reorganization of space in cities was aided by drainage networks, municipal sanitation policies, inspections, and so on; they favored colonial administrative areas and disadvantaged the native population. It can be seen through these historical processes that the development of infrastructures can serve as a political and governing mechanism and determine inequality trends within urban areas. The historical analysis of the connection between sanitation governance and urban spatial inequality can be beneficial when it comes to discussing the contemporary issues of infrastructure planning and urban sustainability. The historical planning practices still have long-term effects on sanitation inequalities in many postcolonial cities, where historical planning practices are the reasons and causes of the inequities.

Conclusion

This paper investigated the role of colonial sanitation government and drainage systems in Lahore, not just as a means of intervention based on general health but also as a means of control and socio-spatial organization. Through examination of colonial municipal documents, sanitary reports, and historic urban planning activities, the paper shows that sanitation systems were entrenched in the larger administrative policies of the colonial governing process. The construction of sewer systems, drainage systems, and sanitation policies allowed the colonial rulers to restructure the city space and, at the same time, institutionalize control over the population of the city. The results indicate that sanitation facilities were not evenly distributed in Lahore, with European residential and cantonment locations being given priority for investment in modern drainage and waste management systems. On the contrary, indigenous communities had lower infrastructure development and poor sanitation. Such unequal distribution of sanitation amenities helped to develop the concept of spatial segregation as well as supported the social hierarchy that existed in

the colonial urban setting. As a result, sanitation governance became a significant tool that the colonial rulers could use to control the city space and control the social order. In addition, the paper also highlights the importance of the way sanitary checks, city laws, and city planning developed controlled systems of checking the population in the city. These were practices that were consistent with the overall colonial governance techniques, which aimed at regulating mobility, patterns of settlement, and urbanization. Sanitation infrastructure was a political instrument of preserving colonial power in this sense and a technical system of environmental management. Knowledge of the historical interplay between sanitation infrastructure and government gives important knowledge on the current urban issues in the postcolonial cities. A lot of current unequal distributions of sanitation and urban plumbing infrastructure can be related to historical planning methods that were implemented during the period of colonization. Future studies can further examine the comparative examples of South Asian cities in order to have a greater insight into the long-run effects of colonial sanitation policies on urban growth and social disparity.

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