The Urban Grid: Control and Power

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"Those who have the power to command and produce space possess a vital instrumentality for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power. Any project to transform society must, therefore, grasp the complex nettle of the transformation of spatial practices". [1]

INTRODUCTION:

Every society produces monumental structures that commemorate and encapsulate its ideals. Pakistan, post independence, was no exception. As with any other country, there is no greater testament to the creation of Pakistan than the design of the capital city itself. For those that helped found this city claimed "the Master-plan is our constitution, the constitution for the city for the country[2]". This paper postulates that the act of design is not just an innocent act of creation but also one which is bereft of struggles of power in space. The aim is to decipher how the city master plan exerted control and through it power over the space, through tracing the historical roots of the various tools of control and their trajectories. The exertion of power is interpreted in terms of Michel Foucault's elucidation of various kinds of powers that are manifest in an urban scape. Power is always exercised within a "territory", aimed at a "population". Population is understood in terms of not only the number of citizens, rather its characteristics, its arrangement with the forces of power, natural resources, wealth and activities[3].

Foucault categorized three broad categories of power. "Sovereign power" is enforced through the obedience of absolute law, and disobedience results in severe punishment. "Disciplinary power" is a procedure in which the population is regulated through a complex system of surveillance and by regulating the organization of space and time of the population's day-to-day activities. "Governmentality", which he defined in terms of the rise of the idea of the state, is power crafted to develop systems and procedures to administer individuals and population at every strata not just the political or administrative[4].

With these didactic tools, the paper aims to understand the true intentions of the master plan as envisioned by its designer Doxiadis and by Ayub Khan, the man who envisioned the new capital as the mark of identity of the new nation and the people of this very nation. In the course of this endeavor, the paper also considers, what was understood to be, the success and failure of the master plan of the city and the portrayal of this success in terms of the modernist framing of this design and its post-modern transmutation. The theoretical claims of this paper hinge on the consequences of this for the conceptual framing of the non-western post-modern city.

THE INDIGENOUS URBANSCAPE AND COLONIAL CANTONMENTS

Pakistan, the territory, existed as part of the Indian sub-continent for about two hundred years under the colonial rule of the British. Since the inception of their rule in the sub-continent, the British imposed their sovereign juridical power over space, as reflected in their spatial layouts for the colonies. The urban reforms coincided with the locals' accession into the armed forces and other administrative departments of the colony. This combined with the spatial reforms provided a framework that helped encapsulate the locals into a web of "sovereignty". As the British tried to conform the locals to their civilized ways, they introduced areas for Indian hired soldiers, officials and military forces in cantonments. In contrast to the indigenous layout of the organic city of Rawalpindi, the cantonments were planned in a much more regimental manner.

The native layout of the city was characterized by streets wide and narrow that ran through the "Mohallas", the local neighborhoods. These streets were thriving social spaces where interaction amongst the people occurred during all times of the day. These veins of interaction sometimes flowed into bigger spaces of social gatherings such as market places or big public squares that provided collective space for wedding, holiday celebration and political meetings. "These spaces were not considered part of any individual neighborhood, and had only the broadest social affiliations, permitting circulation of any person or vehicle for any purpose at any time[5]".

The spaces that characterized the lifestyle of the people who dwelled within them were deemed confusing and unorderly by their colonizers. The multitude of streets were unnumbered and seemed infinite. The social status of the inhabitants was indiscernible from the physical characteristics of the houses, the various social groups were multifariously spread throughout their area, making "surveillance" and "control" almost impossible for the colonizers.

The cantonments that the British laid out in the colonized territory consisted of separate areas for the hired Indian soldiers and British officers. The cantonment was intentionally kept at a distance from the rest of the city. The Indian soldiers were to be quarantined from the rest of the local population. The typical layout was of regimental: linear, grid like streets and roads with well spaced bungalows, churches, with clubs and municipal facilities nestled in between and important military stations at the periphery so the entire precinct could be monitored. The distribution of the population within the cantonments was also done according to their status in the government. Circulation could be monitored easily. While typically every cantonment in the country was the same, the one in Rawalpindi was considered one of the largest. These spatial layouts were implicit of the spatial and the social differences between the colonizers and the colonized[6].
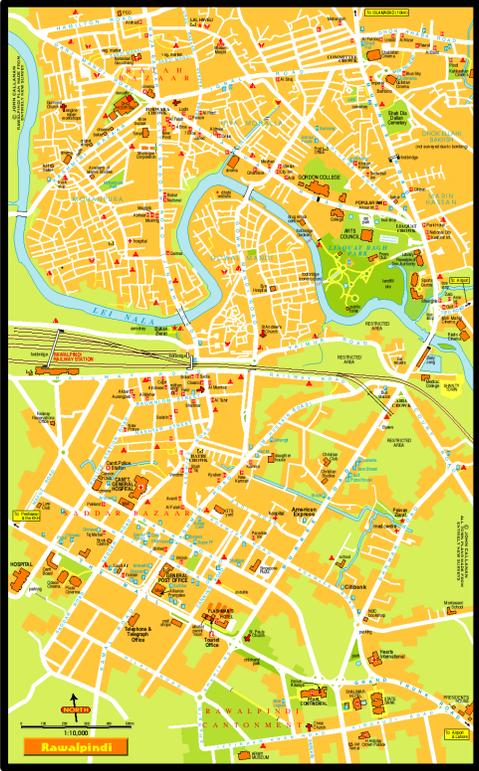
Figure 1 The old map of Rawal Pindi
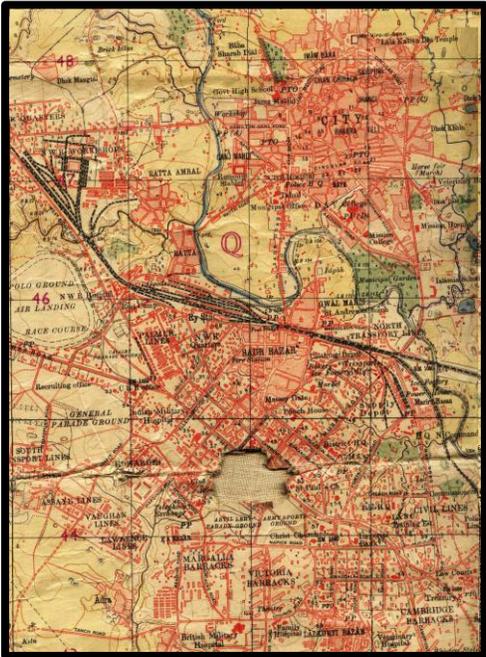
Figure 2 The Colonized Area in comparison to the indigenous areas of the city.

The British visibly and physically demarcated a line between the civilized and the indigenous communities by putting the railway line as a buffer between the two. For locals to gain access to the reformed spatial boundaries, they had to be employed by the Colonial authorities. The new spatial reforms brought about a new class of citizens with a new identity, a new purpose and new sensibility towards their space within the city. They were educated about how a township or a larger city should function in the refined European ways. More pertinently, a new governable entity on which their sovereignty would be exercised was given birth. This later would transform into a nuance of spatial memory with which they would discern their new capital.

THE NEW CAPITAL: CONTINUATION OF THE COLONIAL LEGACY

In 1947, when Pakistan came into being, several of its new citizens had to abandon their hearth and homes and flee towards a newly formed country, a place that they could call their own, devoid of all colonial stigmas. But, it was a country whose specific geographic parameters and bearings were still under dispute. It was this change in their "territory" that initiated a movement for "reterritolization", pertinent for the existence of the new state.

Pakistan needed a new capital, a new center for "governmentality". It needed to recreate an identity for the inhabitants that could be a source of pride for their citizens. Islamabad emerged as the best location for the capital, situated at close proximity to two of the four provinces. Lying on the Grand Trunk road, the site offered advantages as a center for the region's economic development and facilitated circulation to the rest of the country. In addition, it offered cheap rural land, which decreased development cost and enabled the new city to be built from scratch, allowing greater order and reform. Islamabad was officially declared the final site for the creation of the new capital in 1960. The President at the time was the former Chief Martial Law Administrator Mohammad Ayub Khan.[7] While the country was in dire need of a new capital and a new identity, the new President had an agenda of his own. The proximity of the new site to Rawalpindi was pertinent to the new bureaucratic military government. Ayub could keep an eye on the army, which had its headquarters in Rawalpindi[8].

The official report stated that the nearby existing city would offer Islamabad considerable aid in facilities and initial housing needs. Rawalpindi was immediately made the interim capital. It was to be parasitically used for its air transportation, the existing railroad and highway connections amongst several of its other assets. Rawalpindi, based on the principles of the preceding colonizers, already had the seeds of governmentality sown in its urbanscape [9]. Islamabad and Rawalpindi were separated by the vast expanse of a green belt. Each of the cities was to grow at its own definite parallel routes, never to converge paths. The organic city of Rawal Pindi was never to contaminate the ordered city of Ayub's dreams, fresh on its way to conform to the idea of governmentality. It was only to interact with those outside its precinct once they had conformed to its territorial rules. But mostly it had to quarantine itself so it may initially setup an internal order, before infecting the rest of the country.
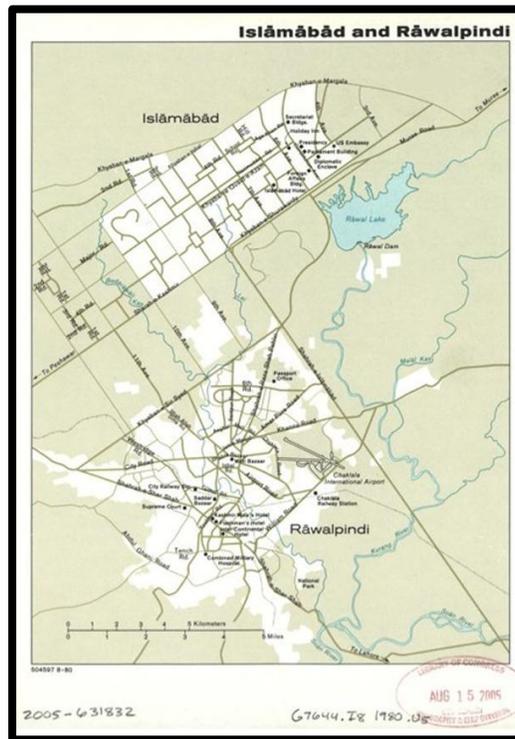
Figure 3 Islamabad and Rawal Pindi

Here it is pertinent to point out that the idea of a modernist capital itself depicts a continuation of the colonial legacy, the grid of the masterplan used as a 'heterotopia'[10] to mirror a vision of a utopian capital. Islamabad was the utopia that the country needed to break away from the preceding colonial stigma, yet became its underpinning conceptual framework.

As Michel Foucault would put it, the very act of creating a new capital is the quintessential manifestation of "sovereign" power. The hidden agenda of Ayub's grand scheme of the control of the bureaucracy through spatial configuration further elucidated his role as a military dictator. His intention was to isolate the capital and its bureaucratic and regular population, so it may be contained and controlled. He wanted to quarantine the populace and distance "civil servant' far from the centers of urbanity so they may be contained and disciplined[11]". Ayub claimed that he wanted to curb the interaction amongst intellectuals, business leaders, politicians and bureaucrats in order to avoid "corruption. The bureaucrats had to relocate against their volition, they needed to be disciplined, obligated into compliance.

Here we must consider the intentions of the master planner as well. While Ayub envisioned in the capital the isolation of the bureaucracy as a means to control the country, Doxiadis saw it as a means to control the modern city of the 1960s. For Doxiadis, Islamabad was a conceptual experiment in Ekistics, his science of human settlements[12]. "The influence of the diverse in origin and cosmopolitan population of Karachi on government administration would be eliminated, if the Capital were to be a capital only without non-official civilian population located in it and pulling it in different directions....the capital

should be in a place where the business community does not come in contact with administration on a social level[13]".

THE PLANNING OF THE CAPITAL

After a thorough analysis of the existing culture and prevalent values of the populace, a report titled "The impressions from the site - the necessary data" was published by Doxiadis, who believed in designing the new city based on the habits and cultural values of the inhabitants.The design for the "New Capital" required a new philosophy. The answer to that Doxiadis found in the 'ekistical unit', which furbished him with a new architectural vocabulary to articulate the new city. "Ekistics caters to designing their habitat initiating with the human unit. The fifteen scalar elements that the hierarchal order comprises of are the Anthropos, room dwelling, dwelling group, all the way to the scale of the city, metropolis and megalopolis and so on. Doxiadis advocates that each space; its shape size and volume has to be dealt with at the corresponding scale level separately first, and then make sure that it connects the ladder, from top to bottom in a nested hierarchy of functions, with all its corresponding elements[14]".

The fifteen scalar elements assisted in defining the city's overall dimensions and the dimensions of the basic grid square, the modulus, which by continuous repetition forms the master plan for the city. These anthropic moduli are accumulated from larger blocks or sectors. These Sectors are comprised of a five-level hierarchy, dividing the populace into five distinct groups, as shown in the Table below[15].

Class Community	Population
V	30,000-40,000
IV	10,000
IIV	2500
III	100
II	1-4

Table 1: Population Distribution

These dwelling groups are self-sufficient and self-contained in terms of their day-to-day needs. In the heart of every sector is a civic center or a "markaz" consisting of business, medical, recreational, and civic activities. In every Class V Community, there is space for a post office, a fire and police station, a large mosque, food and clothing markets. For the Class III Community, there is the provision for a primary school, a small mosque and a small market, and for every Class II Community accommodates a kindergarten and a children's playground. A similar hierarchal order can be discerned in the allocation of spaces for facilities as health, recreation and sports. Every markaz was to be self-sustained, to unite various social categories and economic functions. It set up a framework within which the populace was to self-discipline itself, to become "governmentalitized".
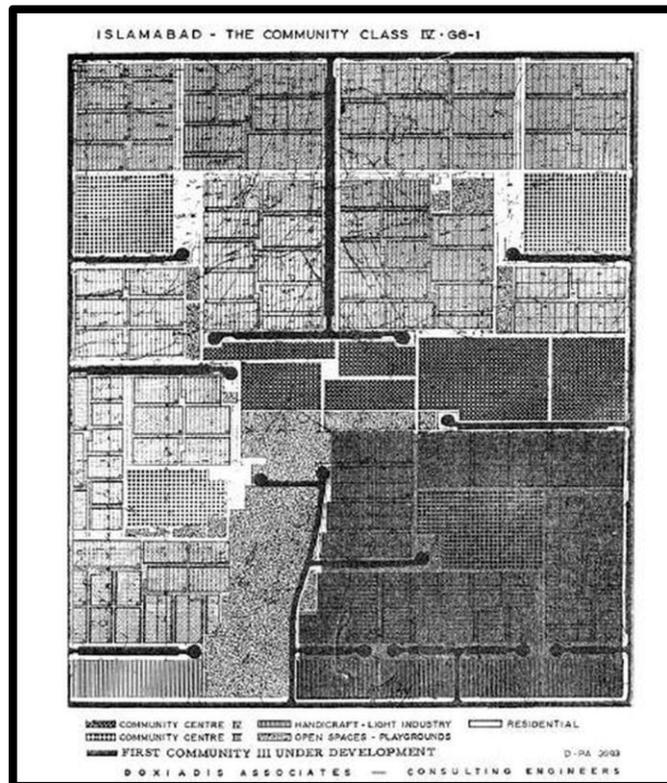
Figure 4 Community Class IV, sub sector G-6-1

This module is iterated around the city, maintaining the unity of scale, but differing in its minute configuration depending on the topography of the site. It forms an organization of various land use zones into communities of the same order. However, the designer intended that each level of the community be laid out so that its boundary is seen from its center and the whole of its area be encapsulated in a warp of "surveillance".

The organization of the social order was based on the spatial and functional array. The residents that were to inhabit the sectors were conceptualized as the "population", the subject of "security", administered not controlled, organized by the national bureaucratic hierarchy, as opposed to being based on family values, religion, ethnic groups or regional affiliations, all of which are of paramount importance in Pakistani society. "Civil servants who have more or less the same income and belong to the same class of civil service should be allocated to similar units. Houses given to peons should all be of the same nature, of the same design, and the same accommodation capacity. Otherwise, bad feelings would be created among civil servants belonging to one and the same class." [16]
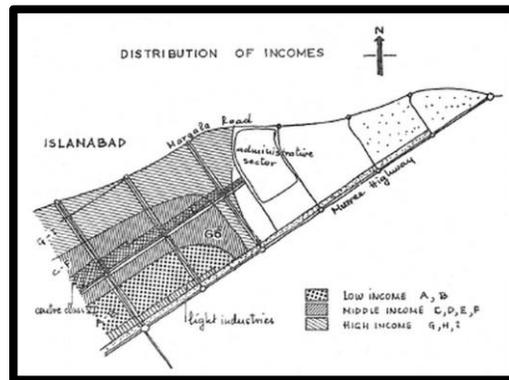
Figure 5 Doxiadis drawing showing the spatial layout of the house types based on income

The mixing of these varying populations was based on the idea of a gradual integration of the lower income group to mature to the level of the higher income group so that they would eventually form a cohesive strata of society. Also to ensure the lower income may serve the needs of higher income class, this strategy resulted in a society that was based predominantly on government scale and ranking as a representation of the general order of social status, a further reinforcement of the governmental form of control.

CIRCULATION

The hierarchy within the sectors is replicated within the circulation for the spaces of the city. The highways were designed as being 1200 feet wide with roads being 600 feet. The roads that permeate the residential sectors are the third category of roads 100-300 feet wide. The last vein of circulation that travels within the residential space caters to vehicular and pedestrian movement. The segregation of the two is evident in the Class V Community where a road system differentiates between the human and vehicular movement. Pedestrian circulation within the human community also follows a hierarchal order from smaller pedestrian streets to larger ones of a Class II Community to the center of a Class III Community and so forth. The spaces and their functions change scale according to the changing hierarchy of the commuting roads, forming a cohesive strata at every tier.

The human scale and that of the machine are kept clearly distinct, and the elements of road design strictly observe the requirements of segregation. The highways around the metropolitan are designed according to vehicular activity that the capital intended to make a trend. This multi strata circulation that Doxiadis planned for the capital was meant to manage the flow of people, capitals, goods and ideas at various levels within the hierarchy of the sector to the scale of the city. Circulation in context of the urban planning is the quintessential practice of 'governmentality[17]'. Doxiadis enforced this to setup a certain order within the community, to enforce zoning regulations, segregate residential and administrative zones, increase control over the labor force, to curtail commercial activities in residential areas, to curb encroachments of roads and green spaces, but mostly to setup a framework for circulation through which actions of the citizens could be disciplined. "The machine becomes a major commodity in serving human needs by providing

transportation within as well as to and from the city. The unit of magnitude, man, was replaced in our cities by the new unit, the machine, which covers, a proportionately much larger space, drives at much higher speed[18]".

The new type of planning brought about a new social order. It was the citizens sense of ownership of the space that was to coerce them into the realm of governmentality. Their living spaces now represented not the individualistic character but the integrated human community. It brought about a modified representation of the "the middle class" and morphed it into a "society" and within it the populace was turned into governable entities[19].

THE MASTERPLAN AND ITS EVOLUTION

The grid grew out of the sectors, providing a cohesive net for the city. The Jinnah Avenue cleaved down the center of the city, connecting the Presidency located in a commanding position on top of a hill, visually and symbolically to the city. It formed the core of the city, the pulsating vein of circulation. Next to the Presidency are other state buildings such as the Supreme Court, the Parliament, the National Assembly and other state buildings, all subservient to the Presidency. "The President is on the hill and the parliament is under his feet[20] ".Adjacent to the avenue is the Blue Area, or the main civic economic center of the city. The civic center is developed in a strip running south west, which is the main direction of the town's growth. The residential and the light industrial zone follow the same trend.

Figure 1 Jinnah Avenue connected to the Presidency

"The entire conception assures free movement of traffic and facilitates speedy orientation as people, when moving towards or from the administrative sector, will be travelling at right angles to the hills. The administrative sector is developed in an elongated synthesis. In this way communication between various

administrative services can be carried out in a rational manner, whereas at the same time possibilities of the future development of the city towards a predetermined expansion area are maintained[21]".

As the grid mutated its static cells of sectors dynamically, the city began to grow as an organism. Its flexibility of growth turned the city into a "Dynapolis". "On the basis of this we can now build our entire grid; a grid which, although consisting of static cells based on the human scale, can develop dynamically and unhindered into the future, into space and time[22]". The Grid serves multiple purposes. It acts as the heterotopia that morphs the capital into a governable utopian precinct. It provides a framework which defines the mode of habitation, the means for the state to exercise its power. Its elasticity has the ability to set a parameter in hierarchal strata from an individual unit, progressing to the scale of a dynapolis, going all the way up to the level of a megalopolis for the citizens to discipline themselves and conform to an idealistic idea of population, providing the state a panoptic view of the affairs of the city.

AYUB'S INTENTION

For Ayub, the Masterplan became a tool to isolate and compartmentalize the populace, based on their stature in the government, either to be rewarded or punished based on their association with the government. Now that a grid organized the city, everyone could theoretically be traced to specifiable coordinatesand be monitored. Ayub aimed to divide and rule in a habitat where the social status of an individual was reduced to the place of residence that the state had allocated to him or her. These settlements were venues for exercising disciplinary power, and the circulation system that was proposed to steer them in the web of governmentality was morphed to facilitate or prevent movement when the government pleased.

The utopia of the modern capital was built out of the relics of its pre-colonial spatial order. The political program of the bureaucratic military government and the spatial organization of the new metropolitan complex parallelled the British colonial government's political objectives and the spatial orders through which it attempted to realize them. The division of the population was highly reminiscent of British Colonial practice of allotting houses corresponding to the resident's salary level and position in the government bureaucracy. It was not a new system of governance that the inhabitants had to mould themselves into, rather one that was deeply embedded in the collective conscience of the nation and its imaginary.

In the colonial period public space (that in the indigenous culture existed as a set of malleable coordinateswith an unfathomable perimeter) was replaced by a regimental markaz - a place of assembly within every sector. The spaces that were once defined by the events conducted within them now emerged as parts defined by their coordinates on a strict grid, with a fixed axis and dimensions. Their success as part of the master plan depended on their use as it conformed to the intended use. The inherent paradox in the design of the capital was in the intention of the designer and the innuendo of Ayub's ideology at the time. On paper and then later on ground, the city was borne with distinct schizophrenic intents. Doxiadis's

ekistics might have evolved into a scheme of spatial 'governmentality' but it was the actions of Ayub that morphed it into a 'sovereignty'.

No segment of the population was excluded from categorization. All citizens were sifted into layers of class, incomes, social statuses, making it easy to discern who to rule and how to rule them. Their every movement was strategized - when and where they dwelled and how they communicated and circulated within the city. The spatial precinct of the capital was the amphitheater for this charade. In an ironic Modern statement, and as an assertion of a break from colonial power, Islamabad became a manifest representation of that which it claimed to annul.

ENDNOTES

[1] Tim Cresswell, Geographic Thought: A Critical Introduction (New York: Wiley-Blackwell)

[2] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 57.

[3] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 70-72.

[4] Ibid, 108.

[5] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 46.

[6] Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie, *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 338-339.

[7] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 38.

[8] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 40.

[9] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 39-40.

[10] Heterotopias are referred to as 'other spaces' the grid is perceived as a heterotopia as its the articulation of the roads and the buildings that gives it meaning, it does not exist on its own.

[11] Markus Daechsel, "Sovereignty, Governmentality and Development in Ayub's Pakistan: the Case of Korangi Township," Modern Asian Studies (2011), 149.

[12] Government of Pakistan, unpublished secret "Report on the Location of the Federal Capital," CDA: 31. Doxiadis made all necessary arrangements to ensure that the capital does not only accumulate bureaucrats, even though most of the population already accounted for were the Bureaucrats.

[13] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 44.

[14] C. A. Doxiadis, "Architecture in Evolution." Annual Discourse at the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, (1960): 13-18.

[15] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 50-51.

[16] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 54.

[17] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 64.

[18] C. A. Doxiadis,: "Dynapolis: The City of the Future," Lecture at the OSLO ARKEITEKTFORENING, (1960), 77.

[19] A theory made before 'governmentality', Foucault, Society Must Be Defended, 37-50.

[20] Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 50.

[21] "Islamabad the Capital of Pakistan", Constantinos A. Doxiadis, Architect and Urban Planner, accessed January14, 2014, http://www.doxiadis.org/files/pdf/Islamabad_project_publ.pdf.

[22] C. A. Doxiadis, "Islamabad. The Creation of a New Capital" , The Town Planning Review, v.36, no.1 (1960), 12.

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