

**Deconstructing DHA Lahore: analysing post-1980's Military-operated
housing through three spatial-ideological systems**

by

Shanze Shahbaz Kazi

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.
This is a true copy of the thesis, including any final revisions, as excepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made eletronicly available to the public.

Abstract

Lahore's urban fabric has become defined by sprawling, fragmented gated housing. At the forefront of such development is Defence Housing Authority (DHA), a residential development agency owned by affiliates of the Pakistani Military. In consequence, the Pakistani Military, as an institution, has designed and developed about 30% of Lahore's built-up area, a strategy that has contributed to their political and social power.

In this thesis I conceptualize and study three broad morphologies which are repeated throughout Lahore's post 1980's rapid residential development: **scheme boundary lines, street systems, and residential plots**. Drawing from the key reading: *The New Pakistani Middle-Class* by Ammara Maqsood, as well as theorization by Ayyaz Mallick, I conceptualize these three morphologies as the *material-ideological* systems that aid the military in establishing hegemonic control through defining the aspirations of an emergent middle-class. The methodology seeks to understand these systems at multiple scales; each of these three sections begins with the study of advertisements and marketing materials, moves into the analysis of the system at the urban scale, and finally looks at it at the level of architectural expression. I find that the design ideology of DHA's residential planning centres a modern Islamic community. It markets the lifestyle of a colonial-era-established middle-class and uses exclusionary planning tactics to maintain insularity.

Through marketing, construction by-laws, design standards, and the Military's political prestige, DHA perpetuates ideals established during the colonial-era and increases social and economic disparity within Lahore.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank my advisor, Jane Hutton, for providing endless motivation and always giving honest and supportive critique.

I also want to thank Val Rynnimeri for providing valuable guidance and direction in the earlier stages of this project.

Lastly, I want to thank my family and friends who always believed in me.

For Lt. Colonel Shaukat (*Daddy*)

Prologue

The subject of this thesis, Defence Housing Authority (DHA) Lahore, is a residential development agency owned by affiliates of the Pakistani Military. As an institution, the military has designed and developed about 30% of Lahore's built-up area under DHA. The political, social, and economic power of the military is a direct consequence of colonialism in India. Pakistan's Military, although officially established post-partition, is a colonial-era institution, whose structure and ideology retain aspects of the British Indian Army. Notably, the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 which has seen minimal legislative changes since its creation, has continued to allow the state and its affiliates the right to acquire and develop land freely.

This thesis draws from concepts from the book: *The New Pakistani Middle-Class* by Ammara Maqsood, as well as the theories of Ayyaz Mallick, who conceptualizes this rapid upper-middle class residential development as a *material-ideological* restructuring of urban space, which gives unjust importance to the aspirations of an emergent middle-class.¹ In the *New Pakistani Middle-Class*, Ammara Maqsood looked at how these aspirations were defined by an elitist socio-political framework, which equated class respectability and state association.² The effect of the state in both defining the idea of what it means to be Pakistani, as well as partaking in rapid residential urbanization, is design that is entrenched in the military's neocolonial ideologies.

The creation of Pakistan as a separate state was from the onset a battle between Muslim, Hindu and colonial ideologies. When one reads the history of its creation, it's not surprising to see that so many books with titles such as: *The Meaning*

1 Ayyaz Mallick, "Urban Space and (the Limits of) Middle Class Hegemony in Pakistan," *Null* 39, no. 7 (2018), 1113-1120. doi:10.1080/02723638.2018.1439555. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2018.1439555>.

2 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

of Pakistan (1944), *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan (1986)*, *The Idea of Pakistan (2004)* continue to be written. Through the historical analysis of religion and culture in the sub-continent, writers within and outside the nation sought to make sense of the carnage and chaos of India's Partition. In addition to colonial intervention, and largely as a symptom of it, religious and cultural identity has played the most important role in structuring territory and society in the subcontinent.

The desire to be free of British rule was first actively vocalized during the Indian Rebellion of 1857, which was fronted by Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs alike. The collective purpose of this movement was against the economic exploitation of Indians.³ This event was unique in that it was not driven solely by nationalist motivations, rather a desire for self-sovereignty. The result of this movement was the restructuring of Indian society: the East India Trading Company was abolished for the direct control under the British Raj. This event also led to changes in the ethnography of the British military. The British, employing a 'divide and conquer' strategy, racially discriminated between recruits in an attempt to avoid another uprising such as in 1857. Certain facial and physical features, and family backgrounds were deemed more 'martial' and 'courageous'. Further to this, different regiments of the army were recruited from different religions, so that they may "fire into either, without any scruple in case of need."⁴

3 Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511812750. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/concise-history-of-modern-india/1670D751A959BD15C2E9DD0D4808AF98>.

4 Amar Farooqui, "'Divide and Rule'? Race, Military Recruitment and Society in Late Nineteenth Century Colonial India," *Social Scientist* 43, no. 3 (2015), 49-59. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24372935>.

These ‘divide and conquer’ strategies had their desired effect. The 1905 partition of Bengal into East and West Bengal further solidified communal rivalries between the two religions.⁵ In 1906, the Dhaka-based All-India Muslim League was created with the fundamental purpose to protect the rights and interests of Muslims in Bengal and India at large. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, or ‘Quaid-e-Azam’ (transl. Great Leader) was, around this time, working with the Indian National Congress towards Indian-Muslim unity. He became the leader of the All-India Muslim League in 1913, and aided in the creation of Pakistan in 1947, earning the title of Quaid-e-Azam. Up until 1940, however, the Muslim League’s official demands were for the independent status for ‘*areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India.*’⁶ The three provinces with a large majority of Muslims were Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP (North-West Frontier Provinces, now called Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa), comprising a population of 10.8 million people – however, the inclusion of Punjab at 28.4 million people and only a 57% majority, and Bengal at 55.02 million people and a 54.7% majority, into Pakistan, greatly escalated everyone’s imaginations of the meaning of Muslim independence.⁷

“*The existence of nations is new, but the mentality and emotions that they arise from are rooted in the past.*”⁸ In *The Felt Community*, Rajat Kanta Ray describes the nation as being constructed through the manipulation of a shared sentiment and

5 John R. McLane, "The Decision to Partition Bengal in 1905," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 2, no. 3 (1965), 221-237. doi:10.1177/001946466400200302. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001946466400200302>.

6 Husain Haqqani, *Reimagining Pakistan: Transforming a Dysfunctional Nuclear State* (India: HarperCollins, 2018)33-34.

7 Husain Haqqani, *Reimagining Pakistan: Transforming a Dysfunctional Nuclear State*

8 Rajat Kanta Ray, *The Felt Community* (India: Oxford University Press, 2003)5.

history. Comprising a vast plurality of cultures and languages, Pakistan’s nationalist ventures began very early after its creation. The desire to create singularity in identity has been seen throughout Pakistan’s leaders, both civil and military. Islam was the most unifying trait amongst the new Pakistanis, and the largely Punjabi ruling class began to adopt varying Islamic ideology to their advantage in establishing dominance and hegemonic control.

There are many speculations as to why the military has been able to play such an autonomous role in Pakistani politics. The social consequences of the military’s power require a preliminary understanding of how the Pakistani military acquired strength directly after the partition of India. Many theorists such as Ayesha Jalal, speak of the importance of the colonial-era army in determining the Pakistani military’s future.⁹ In *Pakistan: A Modern History*, written in 1999, Ian Talbot stresses the importance of a historical approach towards understanding the issues underlying the democratic struggle in Pakistan – noting that many of its problems were established in the pre-independence security state, and the ambiguities of the Pakistan movement.¹⁰ The search for political legitimacy that has resulted in the military’s entrenchment in the political system is partially born out of these pre-established problems. The unprecedented size of the new nation and the centralization of government at the state level rather than at regional levels greatly undermined the new government’s political legitimacy.¹¹

The years after partition were politically and economically tumultuous, partially because the Muslim League was weakest in the areas that had become Pakistan. The party had

9 Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt Ltd, 1991).

10 Ian Talbot, *Pakistan A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998). , 289.

11 Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*295-328

been given complete control of the new nation, thereby destabilizing the prior existing regional level powers.¹² This led to a dependency on the two institutions of the colonial state: the civil bureaucracy and the army for political control, thereby eliminating the need for civilian support from the beginning.¹³ The struggle to uphold a consistently democratic governance system has haunted Pakistan from its inception. In 2010, the 18th amendment to the Constitution was passed, stripping the President, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Armed Forces, of the power to dissolve the parliament. This was a major step towards the consolidation of power. Prior to this however, Pakistan had been under military rule three times by Army Generals: Ayub Khan 1958-1971, Zia-ul-Haq 1977-1988, and Pervez Musharraf 1999-2008. These were the three out of six attempted military coup d'états that successfully lead to martial law. Although Pakistan has sustained a relatively more democratic system since Musharraf's resignation in 2008, the military continues to play a powerful role through indirect means. The military currently holds immense amount of social and economic power over civilians in the form of media, retail enterprises, and, in this case, housing schemes such as the Defence Housing Authority (DHA).

DHA housing colonies, which are developed and designed by the military, can be traced to an idealization of colonial-era military developments and lifestyles. In *A New Pakistani Middle-Class*, Ammara Maqsood explores how state-sponsored ideas of progress and modernity affect the lives of Lahore's middle-class. In a sub-section titled "*The "New" Modern of the Military*" she summarized her conversations with DHA officials as well as architects who have worked with the state to prove that the military's ideas of modernization are represented through the basic design language of DHA. For example, in an interview with a DHA official, she found that

12 Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*.

13 Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*

the design of DHA Mosques is influenced by Mosques seen in Islamic countries abroad, such as in Turkey.¹⁴ This, she argues, points to the military's desire to connect to a broader 'generic' Islam.

She also noted that DHA prefers straight lines, both in the design of streetscapes, and homes. She mentions in this same section an anecdote of an architect who designed a home which was circular in plan. The client had wanted lots of light and would be living there alone – so granted the size was not in accordance with the typical inter-generational family home. The project was not approved by DHA, and speculations by the architect suggested that the approval board may have written it off as having Zoroastrian, and temple architecture influences.¹⁵

These conversations that Ammara Maqsood has had with architects and planners working within DHA shine a light on the obvious relationship between power and identity in the urban fabric of Lahore. The paranoia of differing ideologies is materialized through the previously mentioned account. The Pakistani military constructs these spaces in an effort to materialize their own ideologies and visions of progress. The state of Pakistan has suffered the reconstruction of national identity multiple times throughout history: from the Raj's efforts of anglicization, Ayub Khan's progressive Islamic modernism, Zia-ul-Haq's fundamentalism, to the current military's subversive methods of social control. These re-imaginings of the state play a large role in the urban fabric of Lahore today. At first glance, DHA sells a simple image of bourgeois opulence, but entrenched in the urban fabric of its spaces is over a century of ideology, attempting to consolidate what it means to be Pakistani.

14 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*, 39-46.

15 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*

The goal of this research project is to understand the relationship between the Military's control of land and their contribution to the creation of a Pakistani identity, and how this is concretized in the city's urban infrastructure and housing form. The following research is broken down into five chapters.

The first chapter, titled *The Top-Down Creation of a Middle-Class Pakistani Identity* focusses on key readings, such as Ammara Maqsood's *The New Pakistani Middle-Class*, to understand the control that an elitist Military class has historically had on culture and identity in Lahore. The chapter continues with Ayyaz Mallick's theory, which ties the emergence of an upper middle-class identity to the rapid emergence of in affordable, upscale gated residential development. The end of the chapter introduces DHA Lahore as the product of colonial-era Military cantonments.

The second chapter titled, *A Singular Architecture*, looks at the post-Partition proliferation of similarly planned housing schemes in Lahore, aimed at solving an increasing housing crisis but falling short. The chapter ends with an understanding of DHA within the timeline and administrative structure of larger residential planning in Lahore and introduces three material-ideological systems common to these developments: Scheme Boundary Lines, Street Systems and Residential Plots.

The third chapter studies the physical manifestations and exclusionary social effects of DHA's property boundary lines in DHA. The fourth chapter studies the organization of streets within and around DHA in relationship to larger ideologies of progress and colonial precedence. The last chapter looks at the subdivision and marketing of residential plots within DHA development and studies the typology of the new bungalow.

By breaking the analysis into boundary lines, street systems, and residential plots, I intend to provide a detailed but thorough urban and architectural analysis of DHA Lahore.



Fig 0.1 Two views from a terrace in DHA Phase 1

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By Author

1

The Top-Down Creation of a Middle-Class “Pakistani” Identity

- 1.1 The Elite and the New Pakistani Middle Class
- 1.2 Development, Ideology and the Military Institution
- 1.3 Military Cantonment to Private Housing Society



Fig. 1.1 Image of a DHA billboard

1.1 The Elite and the New Pakistani Middle Class

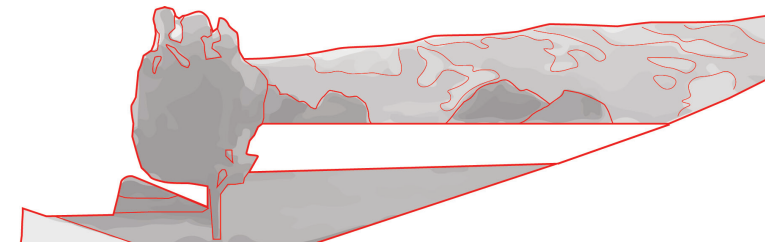
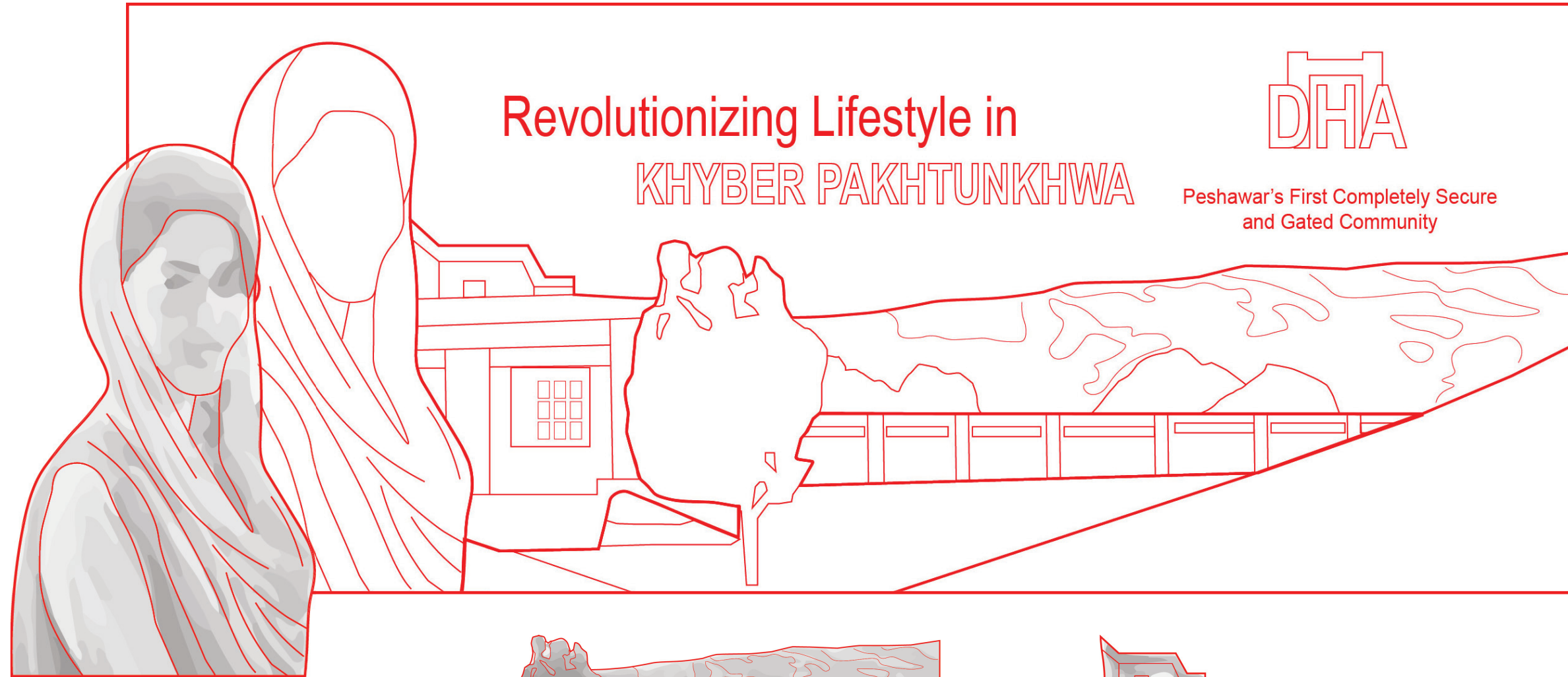
This billboard pictured in Fig. 1.2 was used as a header for a news article written in January 2016, titled *Property dispute: DHA accused of land grabbing in Peshawar*. In the news article, the caption of the photo states the billboard was located on the M-1 Islamabad-Peshawar motorway.¹ Looming above a seemingly empty landscape, the words and imagery successfully convey the promise of a utopic future. The legible words read: Revolutionizing Lifestyle in KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA, with a Defense Housing Authority branding logo on the side. Underneath it says: “Peshawar’s First Completely Secure and Gated Community.”

This is one of the many advertisements for residential housing that I came across while researching recent residential development. What I found particularly interesting about this one was the visual separability of different elements that are common in the post 1960’s gated residential development of Pakistan. The veiled woman, the American-suburb style home, the picturesque green lawn, blue sky, and the cantonment style perimeter wall are all graphically assembled in a way that nothing is additional or unnecessary in the portrayal of an ideal ‘Pakistani’ lifestyle. The article, published by Pakistan-based daily newspaper *The Express Tribune*, which contained the image of the billboard, tells a story of unethical occupation of agricultural land by the developer: Defense Housing Authority (DHA), an organization owned entirely by the Pakistani Military.² DHA has gained ownership of large tracts of agricultural land³ such as this one, and is developing housing colonies in at least 7

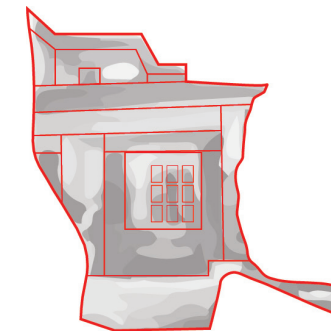
1 Baseer Qalandar, "Property Dispute: DHA Accused of Land Grabbing in Peshawar," *The Express Tribune* January 15, 2016. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1027965/property-dispute-dha-accused-of-land-grabbing-in-peshawar>.

2 Ayesha Siddiqa, *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (Pluto Press, 2015).

3 Siddiqa, *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* 203



The front lawn



The American suburban home



Security at the fore-front

Revolutionizing Lifestyle in KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

English language headings in a city where Pashtu is the most commonly spoken language

Fig.1.2 This DHA Peshawar Advertisement demonstrates key aspects of DHA's design ideologies



Peshawar's First Completely Secure and Gated Community

Introduction of the gated community as novel, progressive

major cities across Pakistan. These include: Peshawar, Karachi, Islamabad, Bahawalpur, Multan, Gujranwala, and Lahore. In 2007 the military controlled 12% of the total state land, about 11.58 million acres.⁴ In Lahore alone, the area built up by DHA colonies is close to 30,000 acres. Operating one of the most successful real-estate companies in Pakistan lends the Pakistani military social and economic power, thereby strengthening their political legitimacy.⁵

The ideology through which the DHA typology was established is one of idealism and utopia for a specific elitist class, whose powerful visions penetrate the rest of the country and negate the critical regionalism required for successful development in Pakistan. As the Pakistani Military moves towards hegemonic control, the representation of a standard DHA typology as an 'ideal', to otherwise diverse regions and cities in Pakistan, furthers their ideological control. Within the colonially influenced and military-designed typology of DHA, there is the inescapable imposition of an elitist-military institutional identity on those who inhabit it. By using DHA Lahore as a case study, this thesis seeks to further understand the spatial implications of the idealization of an elitist identity within the real context of Lahore's post-colonial social and economic stratification.

This section seeks to understand the development of elitism and national identity in Pakistan. The rapid post 1980's urbanisation of Lahore has a strong causal relationship to the ideological narratives that are framed around an 'ideal' middle-class. This singularization of the middle-class Pakistani identity is a systematic process that operates through a primarily top-down imposition by a closely related state and upper economic class. Guiding ideas of modernity and progression in Pakistan have historically been singularized and centred around a fringe upper-middle class, 'elitist' population with ties to the

4 Siddiq, Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy205

5 Siddiq, Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy

state. Elitism in Pakistan, and specifically Lahore, is a term that expresses the phenomenon of social and economic inequity brought about by the country's historic military-bureaucratic dependency.

Ammara Maqsood's *The New Pakistani Middle Class* is key in theorizing the top-down transferal of culture in Pakistan, and its relationship to an emergent middle-class. Ammara Maqsood identifies two major groups that constitute today's Pakistani middle class: "*an established class that has traditionally dominated urban life, and a new visibly religious and upwardly mobile middle class which emerged in the last two decades.*"⁶

The first group is distinct due to its economic stability derived from ties to pre-existing colonial governing structures. It also contains families who, with state support during Ayub Khan's rule were able to establish themselves economically. This is the class that is often referred to as the 'elite' class within Pakistan. The latter, more recently emergent middle class, continuing with Ammara Maqsood's analysis, are mostly second-generation migrants from more rural areas of Punjab, and occupy mid-level positions in the private sector or operate small businesses. Maqsood notes that cultural and religious transferal between these classes exists. Although the history of their economic states is different, the cultural influences within these categories of 'middle-class' are not fixed: "*Rather, they are produced and maintained by displaying attachment to, and familiarity with, the broader history of progressivism in the city, as well as in colonial South Asia more broadly.*"⁷

There are therefore two broad cultural categories within which the two main middle-class identities seek refuge: a progressivism centred around the modernity of the 1950's and 60's, and the development of a new progressive approach to Islam, one which is based in individual and community religious study but relates itself to the broader Ummah, or international

6 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017)2-5.

7 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*7

Islamic community. Generally, Ammara Maqsood's research proclaims that the first category corresponds to the previously described 'old' upper middle-class, and the latter to the 'new' emergent middle-class. There are multiple social characteristics that Maqsood uses to describe the elitist nature of the 'old' middle class. Her analysis describes the movement of the source of social respectability from pre-colonial constructs, to being derived from association with the colonial state. The social elitism of the 'old' middle class according to Ammara Maqsood is primarily derived from the following characteristics: affinity to the colonial state, affinity to the progressive values espoused by Ayub Khan and the "lost culture of the 1950's and 1960's", as well as genealogical ties to old Lahori families.⁸ Despite the cultural affinity between different levels of class within Pakistan, the emergent middle-class that Ammara Maqsood describes can be seen as a social counter-movement: a new 'type' of Pakistani whose affinity towards a global idea of Islam has the agency to operate autonomously from a state whose ideologies are tied to an often convoluted, power-driven usage of Islam for political gain.

In *The New Pakistani Middle Class* Ammara Maqsood conducts interviews to see how this agency is manifested in social space through independent Quran schools, women-led *dars* gatherings, as well as economically in the internationally influenced Islamic marketplace of religious commodities. She explains this in a chapter titled *Islam and Consumption*. Even if this portrait of an emergent middle-class is still only descriptive of a specific 'type' of Pakistani, it demonstrates that the boundaries of class and elite culture are being challenged within Pakistan, and specifically Lahore, where Maqsood's field research is based.

Elisabetta Iob further explores the roots of elitism through an exploration of the processes of post-partition refugee resettlement in Punjab, Pakistan. A lack of institutional structure as well as a lack of housing resulted in resettlement

8 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*

based on *personal qualities*⁹, and social connections. Refugees had to make their way through the bribery, and patronage of bureaucratic officials. Iob states: *In its formative process of re-formulation within an independent state, the Pakistani bureaucracy was itself shaped around personal and informal systems of resource allocation.*¹⁰ Both the state and the citizens helped build the patronage-based network that the modern Pakistani bureaucracy is often defined by. The informal distribution of resources based on social influence strengthened in crisis, Pakistan's 'elite' class, whilst the majority of refugees remained homeless. In general, the restructuring of political organizations from pre-colonial to post-colonial Pakistan retained the established military-bureaucratic structure, but strengthened the role of informality, patronage and corruption within it. Partition contributed to the creation of a unique Pakistani 'elitist' culture, by distributing resources to individuals whose personal qualities such as their ethnic, religious and economic background aligned enough with the bureaucratic officials who were in charge. This was an initial step in the relationship between formation of identity and power in Punjab.

In 1972, Hamza Alavi published a piece in the *New Left Review* titled *The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh*, detailing relatively early on in the realm of related literature, the military-bureaucratic oligarchy that often grips the post-colonial state. He identifies three *propertied exploiting classes* which form what he calls the *mantle of legitimacy*: the *indigenous bourgeoisie*, the *metropolitan neo-colonialist bourgeoisie*, and the *landed*, or feudal classes, and argues that the structure of a bureaucratic-military oligarchy allows their interests and demands to intersect.¹¹ He quotes Miliband from

9 Elisabetta Iob, *Refugees and the Politics of the Everyday State in Pakistan* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

10 Elisabetta Iob, *Refugees and the Politics of the Everyday State in Pakistan*

11 Hamza Alavi, "The State in Post-Colonial Societies Pakistan and Bangladesh," *New Left Review* 0, no. 74 (1972), 59. <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/scholar->

Marx and the State to say: *the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie*. The British had re-established Indian society in the form of a militaristic-bureaucratic establishment. After partition, the same state structures had the most initial strength, resulting in many pitfalls towards struggle for true democracy. Indigenous members of the colonial-era military and bureaucracy were mostly puppets for the sustenance of British rule, and as Alavi mentions, were tasked with, or purposely supported the suppression of Indian nationalist movements.¹² Referred to as *Macaulay's Children* in *The New Pakistani Middle Class*, a new class of Indians was trained for the purposes of mediation between the British and Indian society. They worked closely with the British Raj in bureaucratic, governmental, and professional fields.¹³ The following is a quote from British politician Thomas Macaulay (1800-1859), who was at the forefront of the new British educational system in India:

"I feel . . . that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern- a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to ... convey knowledge to the great mass of the population."

After partition, these individuals were given high ranking military and bureaucratic positions. Pakistanis with ties to these important members of the colonial state, are what Ammara Maqsood deems the old, established middle class. This class can be compared to what Alavi refers to as the *metropolitan neo-colonialist* bourgeoisie because they propagated colonial state ideology before and after the creation of the Pakistani

ly-journals/state-post-colonial-societies-pakistan-bangladesh/docview/1301902376/se-2?accountid=14906.

12 Alavi, "The State in Post-Colonial Societies Pakistan and Bangladesh," , 59

13 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*,4

state. The *nationalist/indigenous bourgeoisie* is comprised of colonial-era Muslim professionals and what he refers to as the *salariat* (salaried) individuals of Northern India.¹⁴ Alavi writes that although this class was at the forefront of nationalist, liberatory movements in colonized India, their political alignment with the feudal and neo-colonialist bourgeoisie is an occurrence unique to the post-colonial state.

He states that the realignment of the nationalist class occurs because: *"the task of winning national independence is completed, and the structure of the nation state and the institutional and legal framework necessary for capitalist development, products of the bourgeois revolution, already exist, for they were established by the metropolitan bourgeoisie."*¹⁵ For this reason, the indigenous bourgeoisie does not have any reason to contest the views of the feudal class.

Alavi's argument is based in classical Marxist theory, but he situates it within Pakistan's unique post-colonial society, which was governed by direct colonial rule versus indirect exploitation. He argues that the post-colonial situation negates the perception that society is an instrument of a single ruling class, and instead that the relationship between the state and the social classes is more complicated. Within this structure, democratically elected politicians inhabit an *ambivalent*, and simultaneously competitive and complementary relationship to the military and bureaucratic leadership.¹⁶ These three propertied classes work together to propagate capitalist forms of pro-

14 Hamza Alavi, "Pakistan and Islam: Ethnicity and Ideology," in *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*, eds. Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1988), 64-111. doi:10.1007/978-1-349-19029-4_4. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-19029-4_4.

15 Alavi, "The State in Post-Colonial Societies Pakistan and Bangladesh," , 59

16 Alavi, "The State in Post-Colonial Societies Pakistan and Bangladesh," , 59

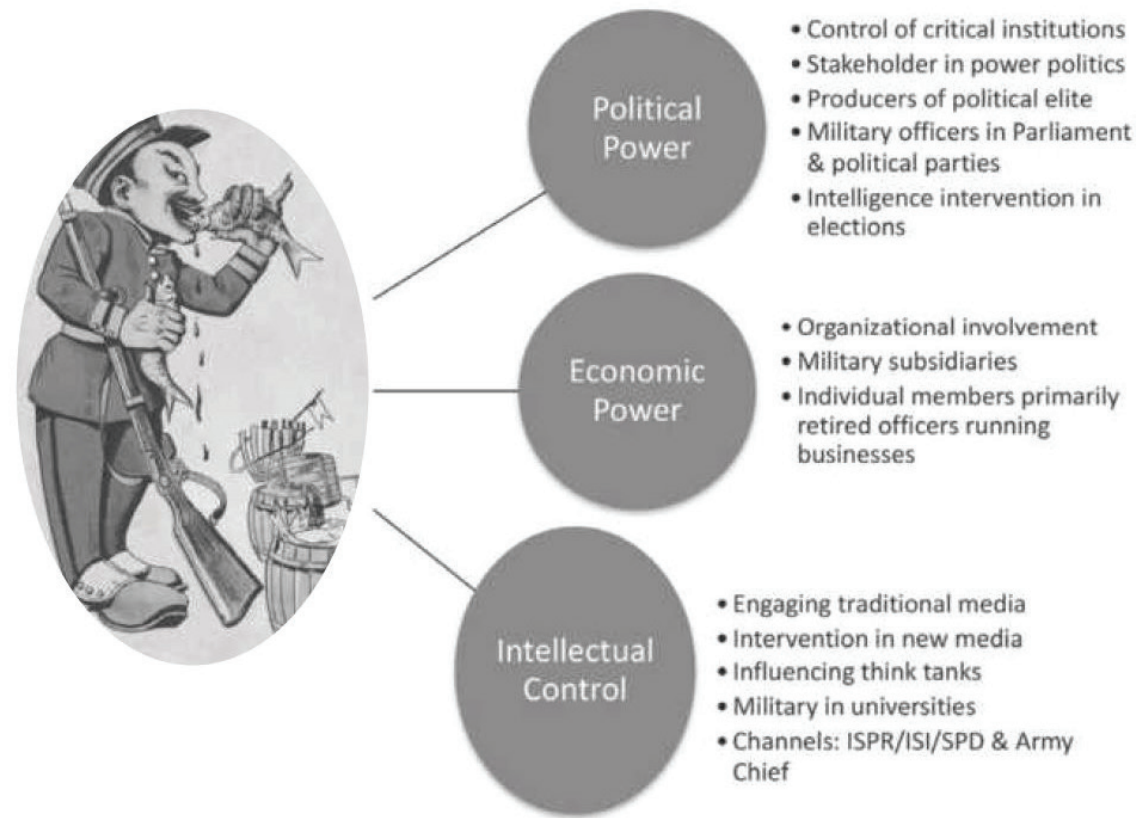


Fig.1.3 'From Military Control to Hegemony'

(Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear)

duction and secure the institution of private property.¹⁷ These propertied classes also form Pakistan's 'elite'. The dependence of the success of the state on these different upper-class groups, results in the strengthening of a social **elitist culture**. The larger ideas of progression and modernity that Ammara Maqsood describes are indeed reactionary social movements to ideas prescribed at some point in time by the apparatuses of the colonial and post-colonial state. These different understandings of elitism in Pakistan begin to reveal the processes of identity and power operating on land that I am interested in exploring in this thesis.

1.2 Development, Ideology & the Military Institution

In addition to the Pakistani Military's cultural influence as an elite class, its strength as an institution and its integration into different private business sectors has allowed it to influence the identity of contemporary residential development, as well as greatly benefit from it.

Political theorists, March and Olsen, define the institution as a "relatively enduring collection of rules and organized practices, embedded in structures of meaning and resources that are relatively invariant in the face of turnover and individuals and relatively resilient to the idiosyncratic preferences and expectations of individuals and changing external circumstances."¹⁸ Having a pre-established structure through their colonial era strength as an institution, the Pakistani military's *legitimacy* is sufficient enough to cause social and political effect. In *The State of Martial Rule*, Ayesha Jalal explains that the military's political legitimacy was in part, built off of "using Islam at the level of ideology and culture."¹⁹

17 Alavi, "The State in Post-Colonial Societies Pakistan and Bangladesh," , 59

18 W. Richard Scott, *Institutions and Organizations* , Fourth ed.Sage, 2014), 55-74.

19 Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of*

SHEIKUPURA

SHAHDARA

AMRITSAR

TO FAISALABAD

TO SIALKOT

TO PHOOL NAGAR

14

TO RAIWIND

TO KASUR



Fig.1.4 Summary of recent residential growth in Lahore

The military's identity is a combination of the class, religious and ethnographic identities of the Pakistani Military as an institution, as well as the ideologies that its totalitarian rule has historically imposed on society. It is an understanding of the identity of the Pakistani military as a socially powerful institution rather than a sum of the personal identities of a few rogue authoritarian generals.

These ideologies are perpetuated to those outside of the institution through the use of state power. Through hegemonic control and the use of DHA as a design-based ideological tool, the military enforces a singular institutional identity, which, in turn, strengthens them. Understanding the military's identity through an institutional framework is most important at this time because although the military's influence on national identity has been great, especially in the Zia-ul-Haq era, their methods of control have moved from direct to primarily indirect means. Through censorship and intellectual control, the military guides their own narrative, giving them immense social power to establish trust and dominance amongst the middle class.

In the last chapter of *Military Inc.*, Ayesha Siddiqi explores the military's intellectual control through their engagement and intervention in media, think tanks, and educational institutions.²⁰ A diagram titled "From military control to hegemony" from her book is shown in Fig. 1.4. The military's social power is also historically exemplified in the public acceptance of their coups. Enough of the public opinion has been that the government is too corrupt and incompetent to successfully rule, and the military being the more established entity should have more power.²¹ This public acceptance and approval translates to

Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt Ltd, 1991).

²⁰ Siddiqi, *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*, 319-334

²¹ Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2012).

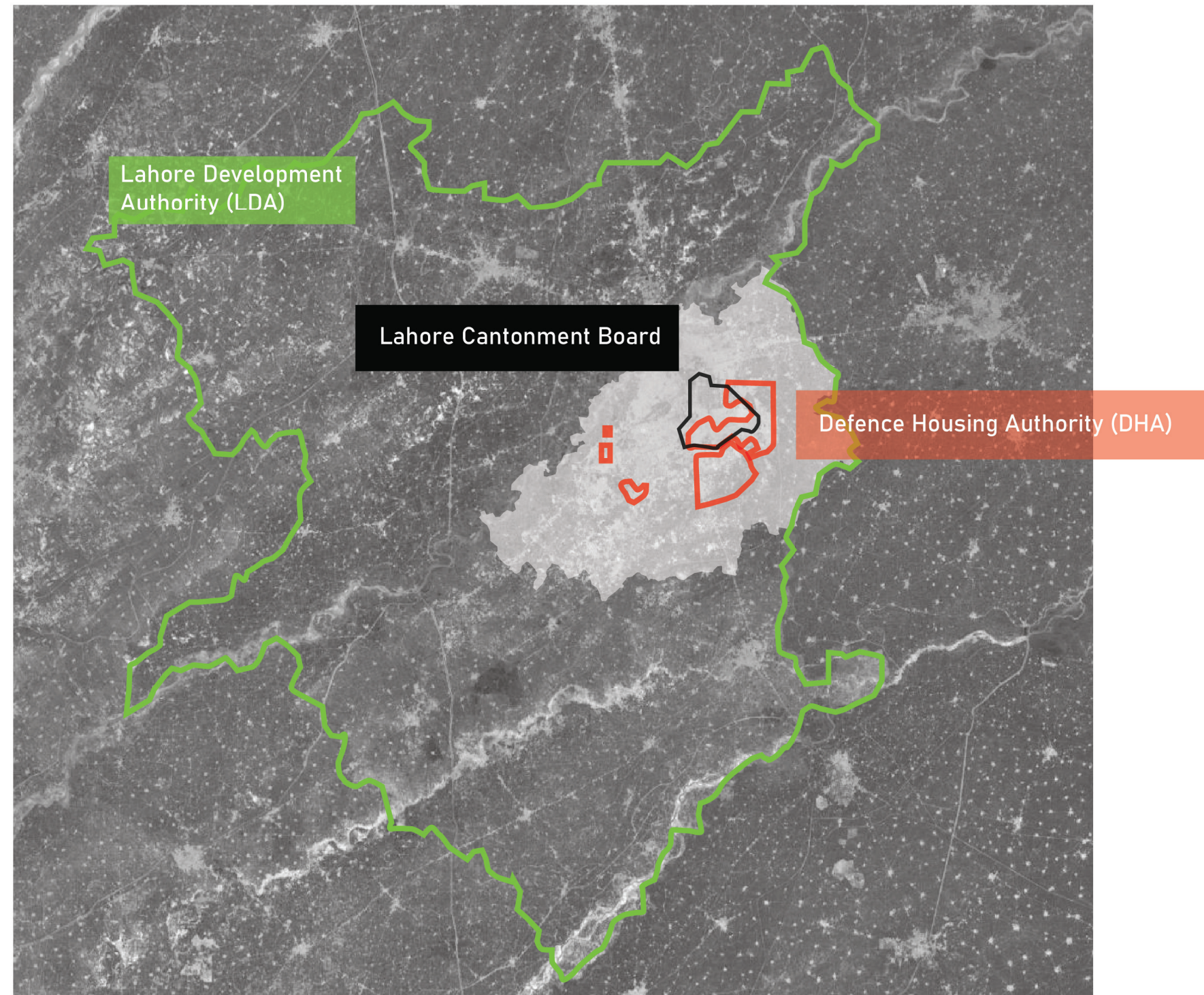


Fig.1.5 Diagram of Lahore's authoritative development agencies and their boundaries

Enacted by the Government of Punjab

Operating under the Ministry of Defence

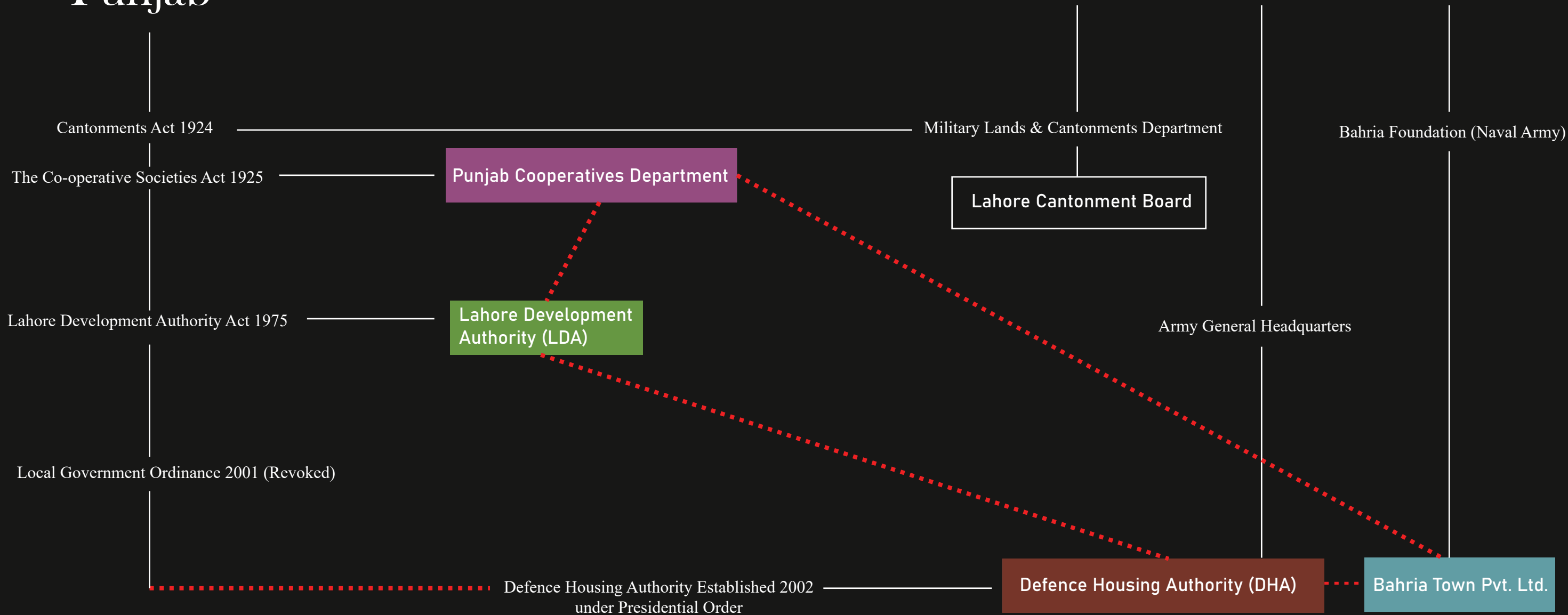


Fig.1.6 Governing Development Agencies and their respective legislative beginnings

their strength in the real-estate industry, where DHA housing is frequently advertised and accepted as a safe investment choice due to an established trust in the military and its enterprises.

The years between 1978 and 1988 saw the largest shifts towards social and cultural Islamification take place. This period began with a military coup held by Muhammad Zia-ul Haq, who then became President. Changes that Pakistani society saw included intense censorship, educational reform, and the broadcasting of Islamic media. However, the effect of Islam on the state's ideology is not limited to one leader, nor is it limited to the Military exclusively. Even today, under the seemingly democratic government of Prime Minister Imran Khan, issues of radicalization persist. Although Zia's rule saw legislative changes towards Islamic law, the military's Islamic nationalist movement was first seen during Ayub Khan's Presidency (1958-1969) through urban and architectural development that occurred in conjunction with US private aid agencies such as the Ford Foundation. The foundation, with the guidance of Ayub Khan, enlisted European and American architects, significantly, Constantinos Doxiadis, who worked on residential schemes and also planned Islamabad and Rawalpindi metropolises from scratch.²² The Ford Foundation's goal was to provide development checkpoints through the construction of ideal schools, institutions, villages, and agricultural systems.²³ The employment of international Modernist architects and planners led to a redefining of architectural styles and languages. Ammara Maqsood co-opts the term "generic Islam"²⁴ to describe the ideology imbued in this new movement. A generic version of Islam would focus only on the

22 Farhan Karim, "Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958–1968," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 5 (2016), 135-161. doi:10.1386/ijia.5.1.135_1.

23 Karim, "Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958–1968," , 135-161

24 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*

basic tenants of the religion, and ideally be the same internationally, despite cultural differences. This would theoretically provide the new nation with a unifying architectural identity.²⁵

The relationship between Islam and Pakistani society is more deeply woven than can be attributed to the military. However, there are certain social and cultural ideologies that have been formed by the Pakistani Military, that although are informed by a larger concept of a "Pakistani" identity, are marketed, and sold by the military for profit. This thesis seeks to understand these ideologies and the consequent 'singularization of a Pakistani identity' through the lens of urban development.

A key theory that informs this work is gathered in an essay by Professor Ayyaz Mallick titled "Urban space and (the limits of) middle class hegemony in Pakistan."²⁶ In this essay he refers to the rapid development of upper middle class housing, and the consequent clearing of *katchi-abadis* and villages as a "*part of an emerging material-ideological project which mediates aspirations of the emergent middle class through (exclusionary) claims over urbanity, nation and citizenship.*"²⁷ Similarly, and based off of studies by Ammara Maqsood, he proposes that the new middle-class is moving away from state-centered ideologies and is forming new cultural and sociological aspirations. He further proposes that due to moves towards neoliberalism since the 1980's, these aspirations have materialized in the rise of "*gated communities, high-profile infrastructure projects*", and shopping malls.²⁸ Within these

25 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*

26 Ayyaz Mallick, "Urban Space and (the Limits of) Middle Class Hegemony in Pakistan," *Null* 39, no. 7 (2018), 1113-1120. doi:10.1080/02723638.2018.1439555. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2018.1439555>.

27 Mallick, "Urban Space and (the Limits of) Middle Class Hegemony in Pakistan," , 1113-1120

28 Mallick, "Urban Space and (the Limits of) Middle Class Hegemony in Pakistan," , 1113-1120

material manifestations, there are inherent desires of “*spatial purification*”, organization, and exclusion which negatively affect those communities outside of the middle-class. He also conjectures that this infrastructure may play a role in the state’s anti-terrorism efforts.

A report written in 2014 showed that between 2001-2011, Pakistan’s middle-class doubled to 15 million households.²⁹ A strong middle-class is often linked to the strengthening of the economy and of democracy, but what does the term mean in the context of Lahore and DHA housing colonies?

The emergent middle class described in this statistic are not families with pre-established means of income or historical ties to government or bureaucratic positions. Most of them, as described by Ammara Maqsood, are second generation migrants from more rural areas of Punjab, working in mid-level positions in the private sector or operating small businesses.³⁰ The Defence Housing Authority boasts of an ideal lifestyle for this upwardly mobile class to strive towards.

According to a DHA official, owning a home in DHA Lahore is the epitome of modern, comfortable, living, and a standard that shows that one has *succeeded* in life.³¹ From an economic point of view, DHA provides opportunities for housing and investment to multiple income level buyers. Their schemes include acreage farmhouses to smaller 250 sq. m. plots, as well as opportunities for rental, however within its context of extreme disparity, Lahore’s real-estate market remains far from equitable. A study undertaken by The Urban Unit mapped average monthly rent and property tax data in 2017 to conclude that low-income developments in Lahore are severely lacking. Although new development was meant to be for the purposes of a post-Partition housing crisis, the low-income population

29 Jawaid Ghani, "The Emerging Middle Class in Pakistan: How it Consumes, Earns, and Saves," KSBL Working Paper (2014).

30 Ammara Maqsood, The New Pakistani Middle Class

31 Ammara Maqsood, The New Pakistani Middle Class

is forced to live in between these new developments in informal settlements. The article also states that affordable plot sizes in new developments are likely bought out by higher income classes due more ease of affordability.³²

An article by Helen Cermeño, titled “*Living and Planning on the Edge: Unravelling Conflict and Claim-Making in Peri-Urban Lahore, Pakistan*”, explains the land appropriation dynamic that exists between different development agencies in Lahore in the peri-urban fringes of the city. Her paper focusses on three case studies: Bahria Town, DHA, and the Lahore Development Authority’s (LDA) Ravi Riverfront Project due to controversy and negative impacts they have on the existing context.³³ These three development authorities, alongside Punjab Co-operatives, make up the majority of new upper middle class residential development in Lahore. LDA is the prime governing body for development in Lahore, operating under the Government of Pakistan. Bahria Town operates in constant tension with LDA, as it needs approval from them for development. Although all private development, aside from DHA, needs planning approval from LDA, this is not always received, resulting in illegal developments.

The origins of Bahria Town are also related to the Pakistani Military, as its founder, Malik Riaz, started the development agency with the aid of Bahria Foundation, a subset of the Pakistan Navy. This is demonstrated in “*The Structure of Milbus*” chart by Ayesha Siddiqi. Bahria Foundation, Shaheen Foundation, and Fauji Foundation are welfare foundations that were set up to provide for military officials, but partake heav-

32 Bharat Dahiya and Ashok Das, New Urban Agenda in Asia-Pacific: Governance for Sustainable and Inclusive Cities, 2020)117-162.

33 H. Cermeño, "Living and Planning on the Edge: Unravelling Conflict and Claim-Making in Peri-Urban Lahore, Pakistan," Urban Planning 6, no. 2 (2021). doi:10.17645/up.v6i2.3858. <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/urbanplanning/article/view/3858/3858>.

ily in business ventures.³⁴ Lastly, the Punjab Co-operatives Department accounts for a large share of residential development as well. The DHA also began as a co-operative society. The dates of when Lahore Cantonment Cooperative Housing Society (LCCH) was constructed, and when it became known as Defence Housing Authority vary from different resources.

34 Siddiq, Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy

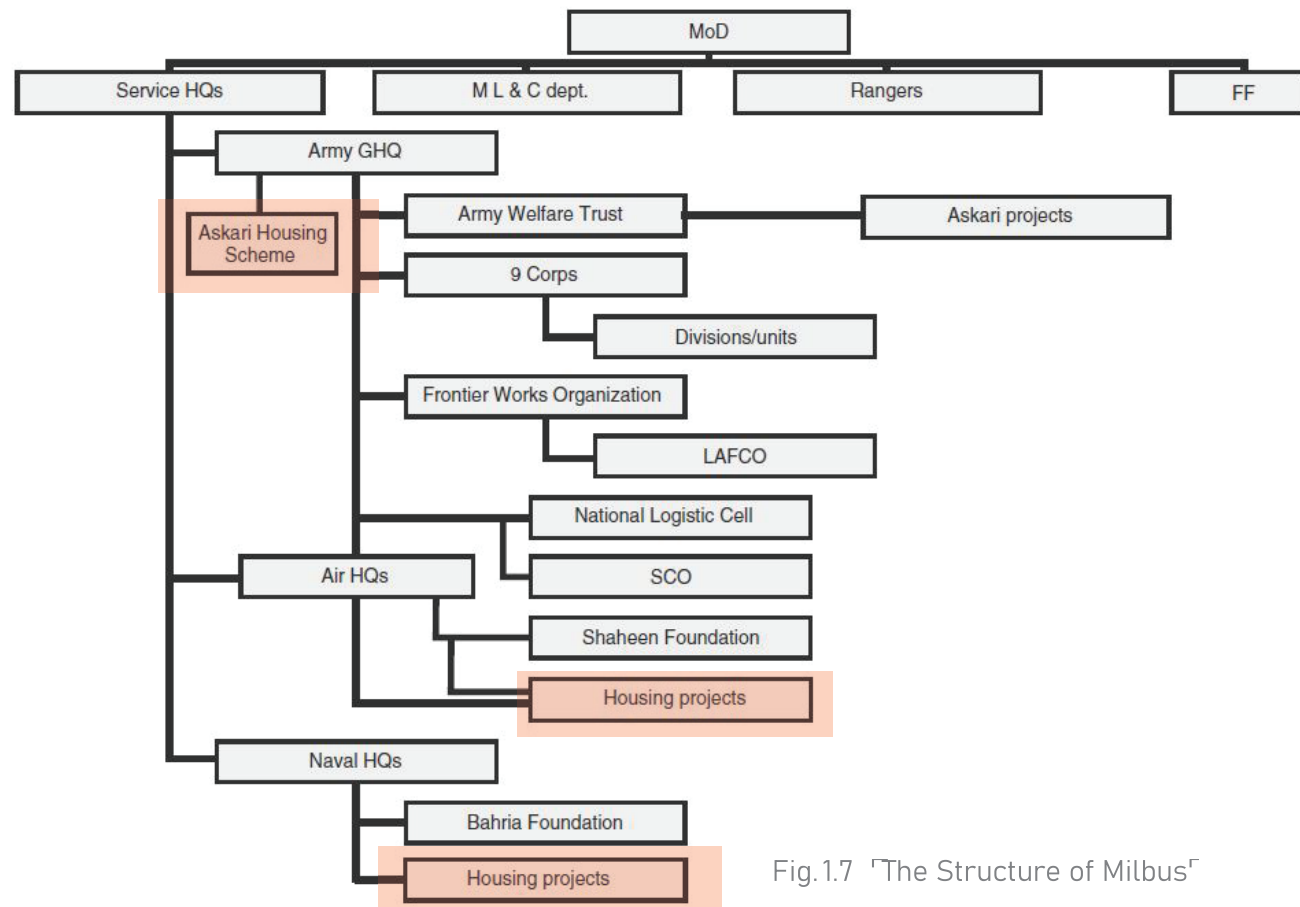


Fig.1.7 'The Structure of Milbus'

This chart shows military business ventures operating under the Ministry of Defence. Red outlines by author highlight residential projects. (Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear)

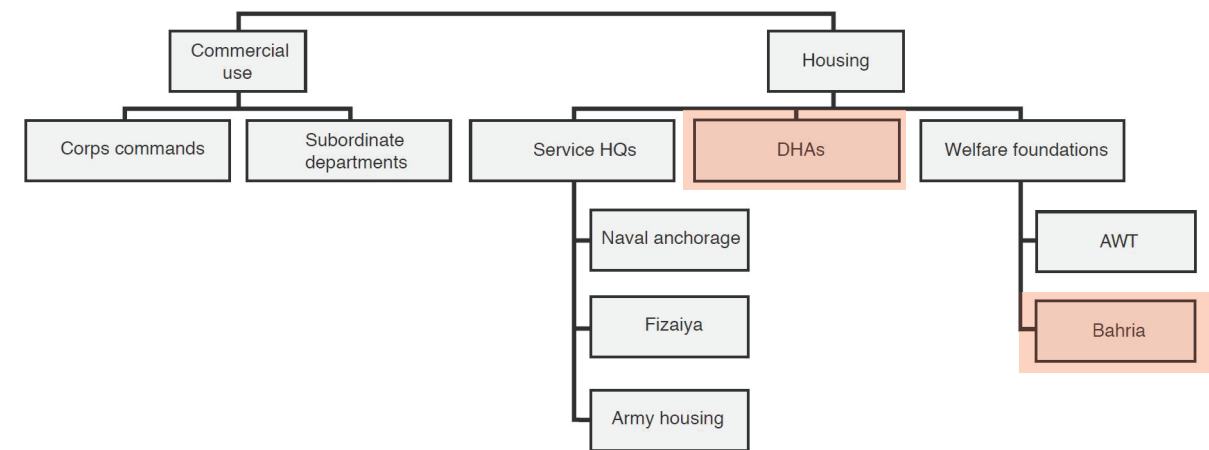


Fig.1.8 'Military Urban Real-Estate Structure'

This chart shows exclusively military real-estate business ventures operating under the Ministry of Defence. (Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear)

In Siddiq's book, *Military Inc.*, she states that DHA Lahore was created in 2002 through a Presidential Order by Pervez Musharraf. This, according to her, was the first housing scheme to be taken over by the army and made into its own authority. Based on archival maps, the LCCHS was built between 1968 and 1986, under the amended 1925 Co-operative Housing Society Act.

1.3 Military Cantonment to a Private Housing Society

"For the military, the image of paradise is the cantonment, with its clean, swept, neatly signposted streets dotted with gleaming antique artillery pieces, and shaded by trees with the lower trunks uniformly painted white." [Excerpt from *Pakistan: A Hard Country* by Anatol Lieven]

Colonial-era cantonments had a great influence on DHA Lahore's location and general form. Mian Mir Cantonment, established in 1850, was sited largely at whim near the shrine of Mian Mir, a Sufi saint. After the establishment of the British Raj, cantonments were constructed in key cities throughout India for a total of at least 54 cantonments in what is modern day India.³⁵ In Pakistan today, the development of DHA's upper middle-class housing venture can be seen to develop in and around cities that had previous cantonment infrastructure. During and after partition, cantonments acted as anchors for displaced communities. In some cities such as Rawalpindi, army-run camps located within cantonments hosted large numbers of migrants.³⁶ Mian Mir, now known as Lahore Cantonment, was one of the

35 Sarah J. Halvorson and James L. Wescoat Jr., *Guarding the Sons of Empire: Military–State–Society Relations in Water, Sanitation and Health Programs of Mid-19th-Century India*, Vol. 12, 2020). doi:10.3390/w12020429.

36 Elisabetta Iob, *Refugees and the Politics of the Everyday State in Pakistan*

early British military cantonments of its type built in the sub-continent. It has been referred to by Australian architect Grenfell Rudduck as a "garden city built half a century before this concept of planning became popular in England".³⁷ Both developments arose out of a desire of seclusion from the overcrowding and sanitary issues that existed in the city.³⁸

In *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, Lieven interviews a senior Inter-service Intelligence (ISI) agent, who is quoted to have said: "Under the British, the military was kept in cantonments very separate from society. That was a good model, because in Pakistan there is a permanent threat of politicization and corruption of the military. Further saying: We have a great fear of the politicians interfering in military promotions and appointments. This could split the army, and if you split the army you split the country." ³⁹

Lahore Cantonment, formerly known as Mian Mir cantonment, was situated a fair distance away from the rest of the city. Now that further development has occurred around it, separations are created through walls, barricades and checkpoints. This desire for disconnect and separation from the city leads to encroachments on agricultural land and rural settlements. During the construction of Mian Mir, this was exemplified through the intense monitoring and surveying of adjacent villages. Today, the desire for enclaves leads to the usurping of prime agricultural land and the demolition and socio-economic destruction of traditional farming towns in Punjab.

37 Anbrine Shah, "The Co-Operative Model Town Society" University of Liverpool, 2014), .

38 William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 27-59.

39 Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*

◆ British-era Cantonments (est. 1842-1939)

⬡ DHA Development

■ Areas High in Water Scarcity
 Data Source: *Agricultural Systems at Risk: human pressure on land and water, AquaStat*

■ Irrigated Agricultural Area
 Data Source: *Major agricultural systems (Global), AquaStat*

DHA Peshawar
 1,900 acres
 DHA Islamabad
 5,200 acres

DHA Gujranwala
 200 acres

**DHA Lahore
 30,000 acres**

DHA Multan
 2,800 acres

DHA Bahawalpur
 4,000 acres

DHA Karachi
 20,700 acres

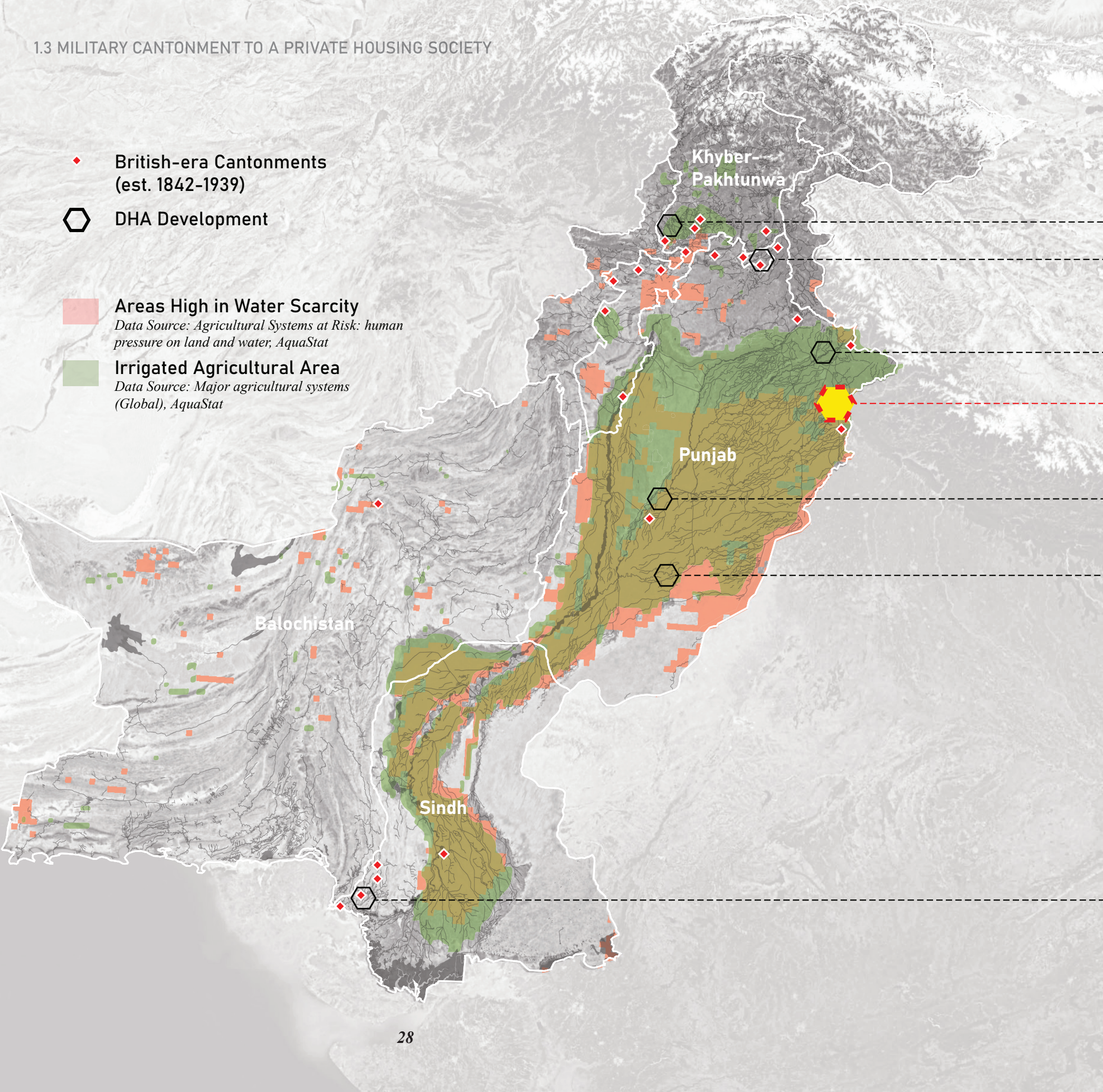


Fig.1.9 Cantonments and Agricultural Land in Pakistan

An overlay of irrigated agricultural lands, cantonments, and DHAs shows a pattern of colonial and post-colonial military settlement. The effects of a rapidly expanding colonized lifestyle, however, puts more pressure on water supply.

The acquisition of agricultural land, and the demolition of village infrastructure destabilizes existing agrarian communities and creates a tabula rasa effect on the site.

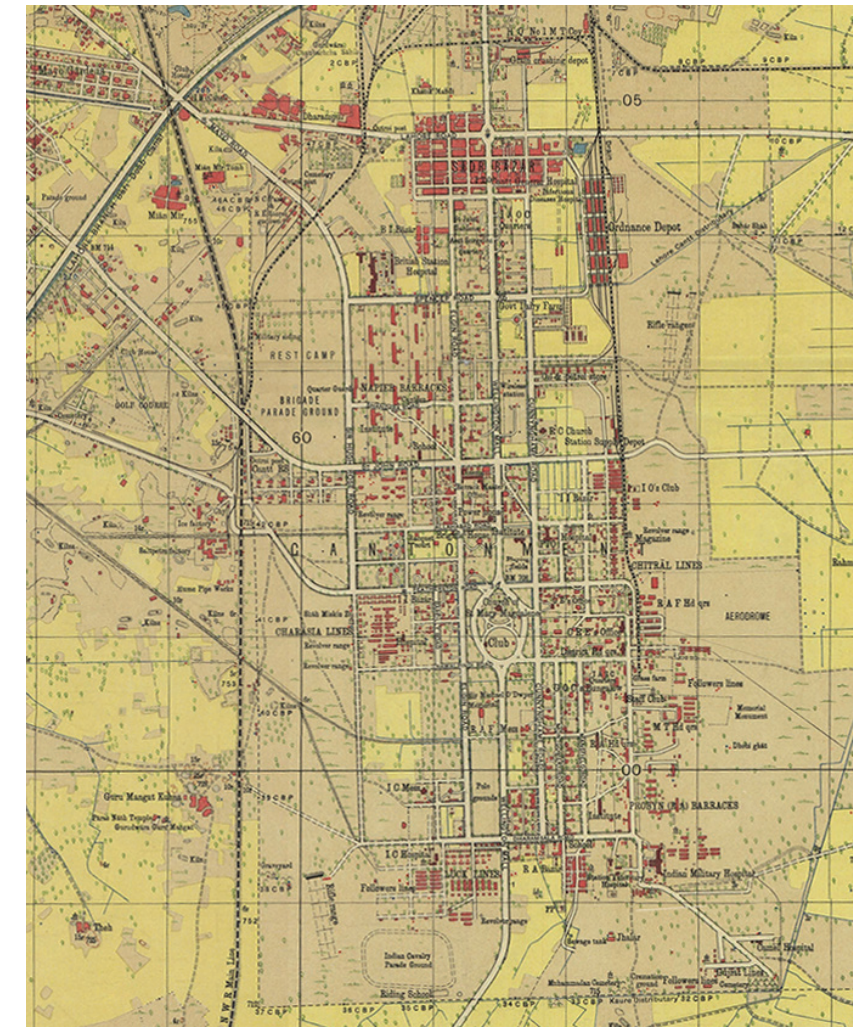
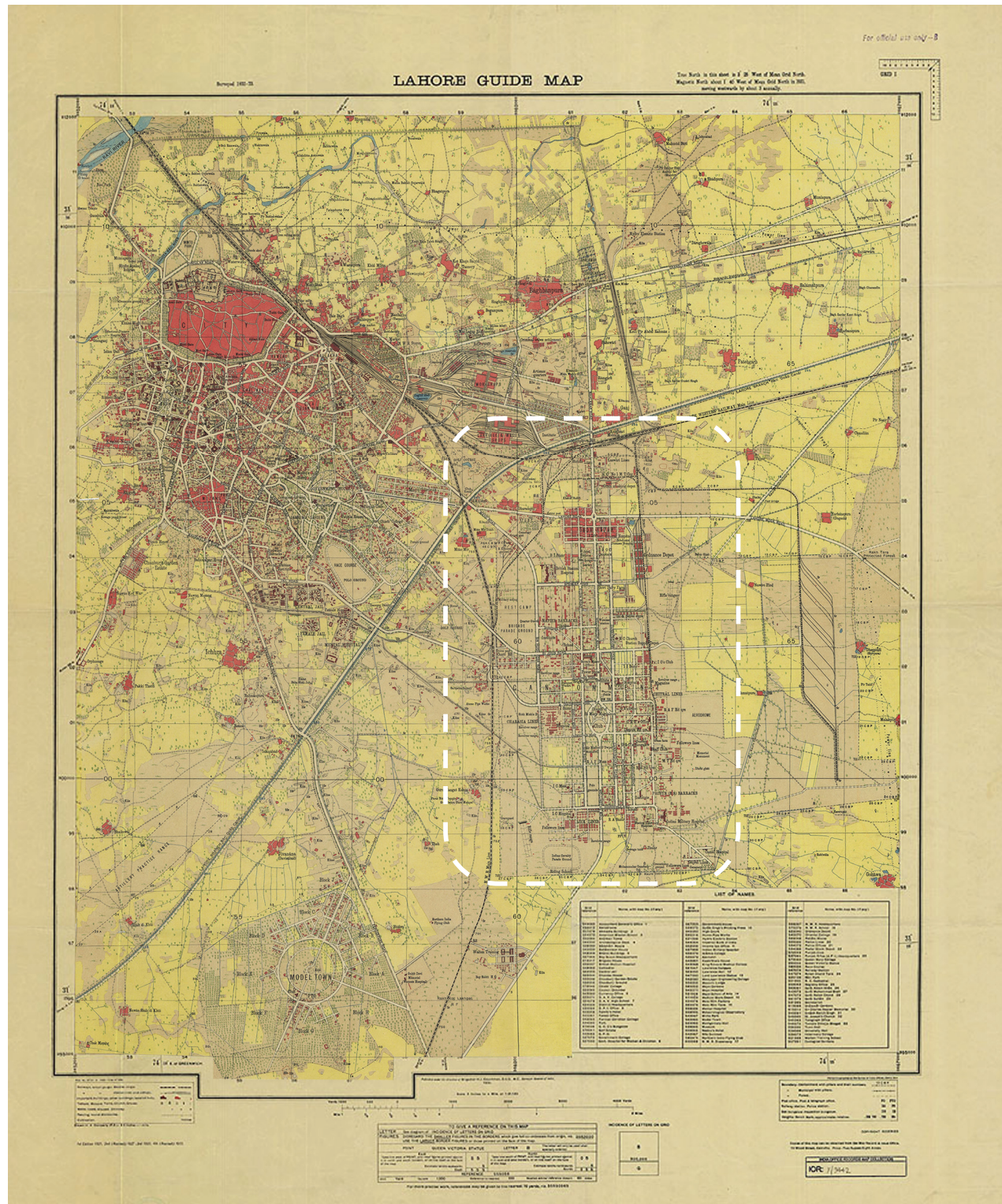






Fig.1.10 Mian Mir Cantonment circa 1935
Source: British Library

-  DHA Lahore Extent (2021)
-  Colonial-era Development Extent
-  Extent of Lahore Cantonment Today
-  Key Development Areas
-  High Income Areas

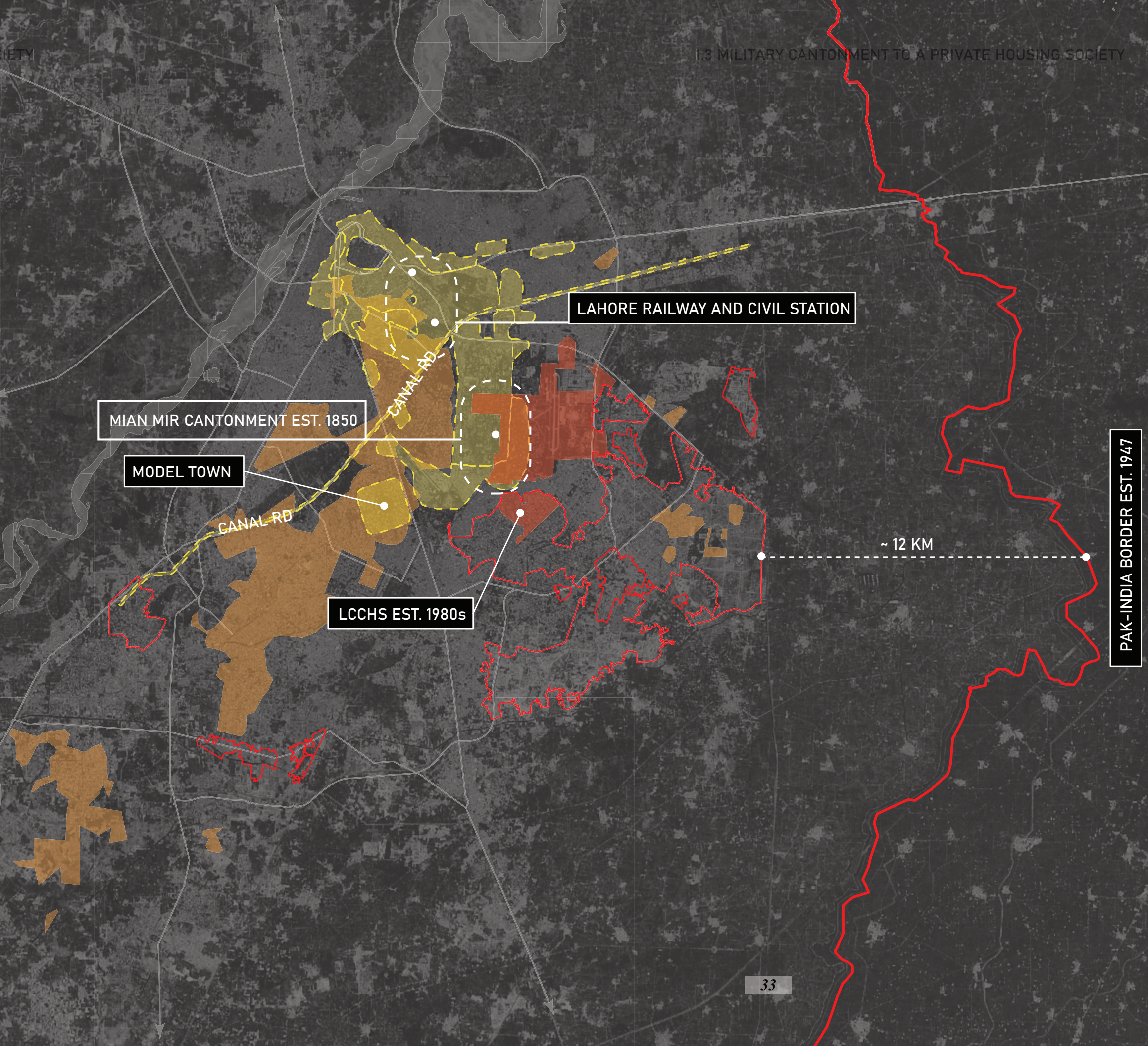
Note: Only areas with available property tax data are shown. For this reason areas in cantonment and DHA are excluded despite them being high income zones.

Fig.1.11 Colonial Development and High Income Areas

The following map overlays high income zones based on Property Tax values in 2017 (Income Data Source: Urban Immovable Property Tax project by the Punjab Excise and Taxation Department and The Urban Unit) onto the extents of colonial-era development, and DHA. Minimal data is available for military owned areas, however they are high-income areas as well.

The direction in which the majority of high-income areas expand is related to the siting of the key colonial areas of Lahore Civil and Railway Station and Model Town, which was at the time considered peri-Urban. Development moved South-West towards and past Model Town once the core had been developed.

DHA's pattern of growth moves eastward, through the linkage formed early on to Lahore Cantonment.



2

A Singular Architecture

2.1 Restructuring the City: Post 1960's Housing Schemes

2.2 Research Precedents and Methodology:

Scheme Boundary Lines, Street Systems, and
Residential Plots



Fig. 2.1 circa 1980. A photo taken in Anarkali, Lahore, advertising a new housing scheme called Garden Town. The banner describes prices of different plots (5,7, and 10 marla) available within the new scheme.

2.1 Restructuring the City: Post 1960's Housing

Schemes

At the time of partition, Lahore was under dispute until the last moment due to its key role as a political and economic hub. Ultimately, the west portion of Punjab had a Muslim majority, and Lahore was ceded to the new nation of Pakistan. India received Amritsar, and Pakistan received Lahore.¹ Now lying in Pakistan, just west of the India-Pakistan border, and only 50 kilometers from its sister city of Amritsar, the city still shows remnants of post-partition trauma in the form of haphazard residential planning. Relocation efforts for migrants arriving in Pakistani Punjab, found that 105,367 out of 106,010 documented houses that had been evacuated were deemed unfit for repairs.² Due to its proximity to the border, Lahore gained large amounts of refugees: an estimated one million arrived in April 1948 alone.³ The increase in population, and the destruction of the urban fabric required rapid development for the displaced individuals. The number of migrants coming into the city were far larger than those which had left it. In Lahore, one of the documented refugee camps was in the Walton-Ferozepur Road area. The horror of what these sites had to hold are described in the images of F.E. Chaudhry, and other personal recollections - in particular detail in the book *Refugees and the Politics of the Everyday State: Resettlement in Punjab 1947-1962*, written by Elisabetta Iob. Starvation, violence, and homelessness was rampant. Aside from mud huts and other temporary structures,

1 Map "Prevailing Religions of the British Indian Empire, 1909: Muslims" From the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford University Press, 1909.

2 Elisabetta Iob, *Refugees and the Politics of the Everyday State in Pakistan* (New York: Routledge, 2018). 52

3 Ian Talbot, "A Tale of Two Cities: The Aftermath of Partition for Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957," *Modern Asian Studies* 41, no. 1 (November 2006): pp. 151-185, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0026749x05002337>, p.152

refugees inhabited homes that had been left vacant.⁴ Although elite neighborhoods were initially less effected by Muslim-Hindu rivalry, even the upper-middle class residential area of Model Town was eventually re-inhabited by migrants.⁵

In the early years of Pakistan, the government began to redistribute the little evacuee properties that were available to the refugees; the value of the allocated assets were based loosely on the value of assets one had left behind.⁶ The Lahore Improvement Trust, which was initially established in 1936, directed the city's growth to a considerable degree after partition.⁷ The LIT became the Lahore Development Authority (LDA) in 1975, and is the main government authorized development agency in Lahore today. The effect of the LIT's development is also consistent in propagating the development of piece-meal residential colonies and not envisioning a holistic direction for the city.⁸ This period saw a steady increase in the development of housing colonies which sought to meet an increasing housing demand but catered largely to a higher income population. Hala Bashir Malik's thesis looks at the Lahore Improvement Trust as a late colonial institution and highlights its shortcomings in providing housing for the increasing lower-middle class population.⁹

4 Elisabetta Iob, *Refugees and the Politics of the Everyday State in Pakistan* 50

5 Anbrine Shah, "The Co-Operative Model Town Society" University of Liverpool, 2014), .

6 Elisabetta Iob, *Refugees and the Politics of the Everyday State in Pakistan*

7 Hala Malik, "Enabling and Inhibiting Urban Development: A Case Study of Lahore Improvement Trust as a Late Colonial Institution," (November, 2014).

8 Malik, "Enabling and Inhibiting Urban Development: A Case Study of Lahore Improvement Trust as a Late Colonial Institution,"

9 Malik, "Enabling and Inhibiting Urban Development: A Case Study of Lahore Improvement Trust as a Late Colonial Institution,"

A key development that came out of the LIT is Gulberg Colony, formerly known as the New Civil Station Scheme, an affluent garden-city type suburb mixing residential and commercial zones. Its proximity to pre-established affluent areas of the city further developed the South and Eastern edges of the city while neglecting the need for low-income housing. The image in figure 2.1, roughly dated to the late 80's, shows a street in Anarkali, a historical area of Lahore. The sign reads "Garden Town Housing Scheme, Al-Jareer Estate Developments". It also mentions available plot sizes, listing 5, 7 and 10 marla plots. Garden Town is an example of a LDA housing scheme developed in the 1960's under military leader President Ayub Khan.

This chapter moves chronologically through housing schemes developed by LDA, Punjab Co-operatives, DHA, as well as Bahria Town to demonstrate their similarities in planning. The timeline on the following page shows the housing schemes that I have chosen, ranging from middle to upper middle-class Income Levels as per a study conducted by the Urban Unit, which ranks developments on a scale of A-G (D is deemed middle-class income).¹⁰ The categories for military operated areas, such as Cantonment, as well as DHA are unavailable in the study, however one can assume they fall largely in upper income level zones.

The pages following this timeline show early development plans which have been sourced from LDA's online archive. The purpose of this chapter is to form an understanding of a post-partition pattern of development and to bring attention to the commonalities that exist in the design and representation of residential development at a variety of scales, income groups, and time periods. Although the in-depth study of "material-ideological"¹¹ systems centres DHA, the methodology

10 Bharat Dahiya and Ashok Das, *New Urban Agenda in Asia-Pacific: Governance for Sustainable and Inclusive Cities*, 2020)138-139.

11 Ayyaz Mallick, "Urban Space and (the Limits of) Middle

reflects a broader pattern of fragmented development in Lahore. Both in the urban planning phase, as well as the marketing plans, the schemes are visually characterized three systems: the first is a clear boundary, with little to no surrounding context provided, the second is a system of newly developed streets, internally distinct from its surrounding, often agricultural, context, and the third is an abundance of single-family residential plots arranged in similarly sized blocks. Although these are large, urban scale design systems, consistent to all the major development authorities, DHA is the only one that operates at the breadth of complete control in design, construction and management. As previously mentioned, LDA operates at the city-wide master-planning level and facilitates construction approval, often working with private consultants/developers. Due to the military's historic involvement with urban development and their political- ideological influence, I am interested in seeing how these large-scale systems contribute to the military's hegemonic control.

“Both the federal and the provincial government, and the local Improvement Trust, envisioned Lahore as a spatial symbolic cosmology. Its (re-)design was rooted in their firm, mainstream, belief that planning, architecture and buildings visually and tangibly signified institutions and their ability to assert power over communities.” [Excerpt from Refugees and the Politics of the Everyday State: Resettlement

Class Hegemony in Pakistan," *Null* 39, no. 7 (2018), 1113-1120. doi:10.1080/02723638.2018.1439555. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2018.1439555>.



Fig. 2.2 Map drawn in 1965, titled "Metropolitan Corporation Lahore" focussing on new housing development schemes

THE DAILY JANG LAHORE SEPTEMBER 2, 2005

2005 7 2 (15) لاہور

2005 7 2 (2) لاہور

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For Further Information: Chohan Estate: 042-111-124-124, Unity Estates: 042-111-14-1947

Fig. 2.3 A news paper clipping from The Daily Jang (September 2005 Issue) advertising Lake City, a garden city proposed in the early 2000's in Lahore

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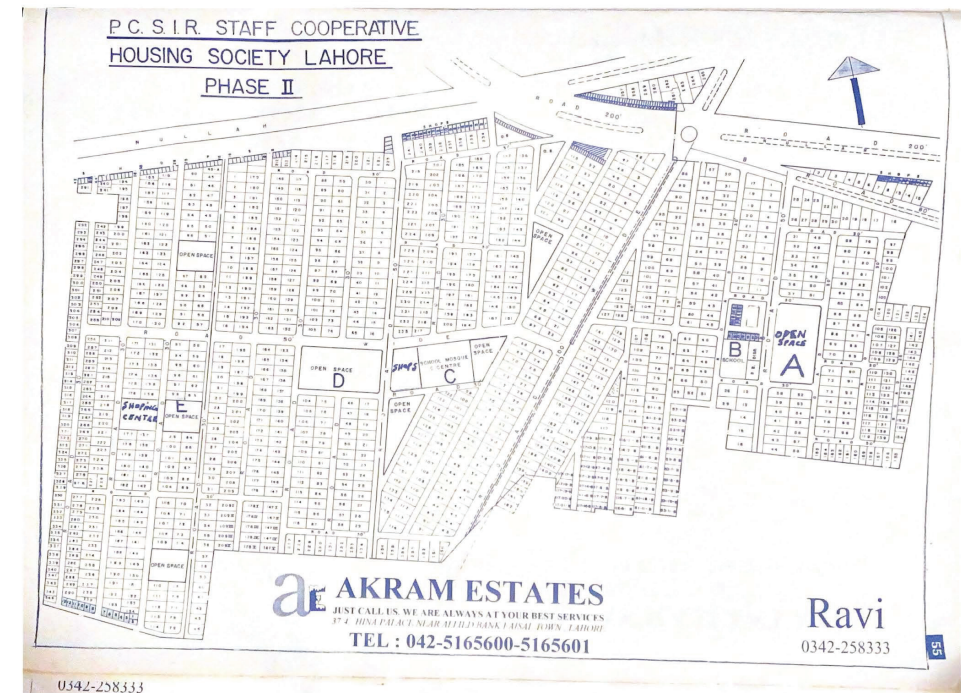
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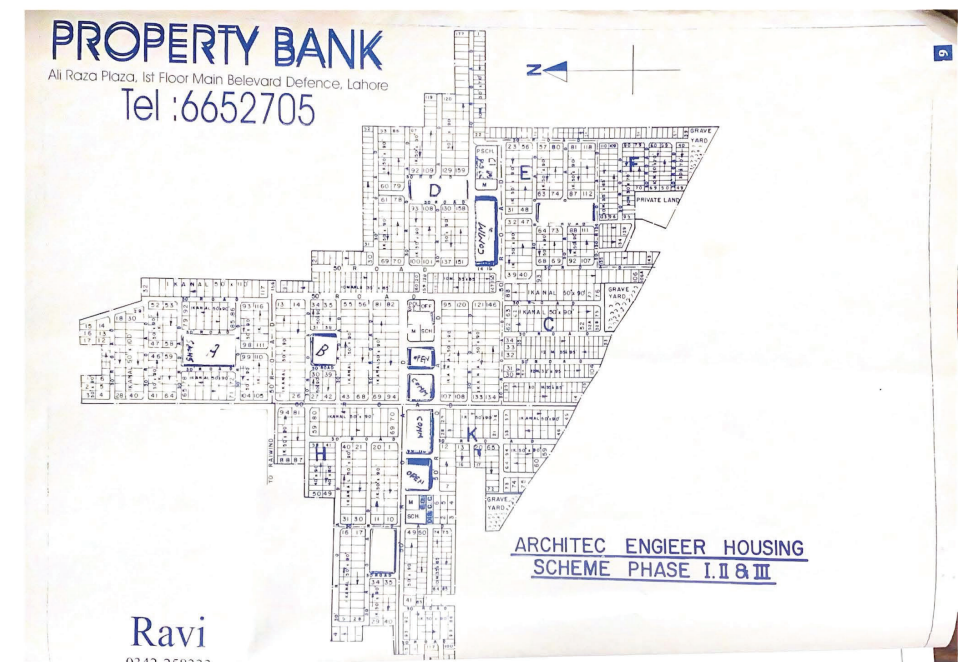
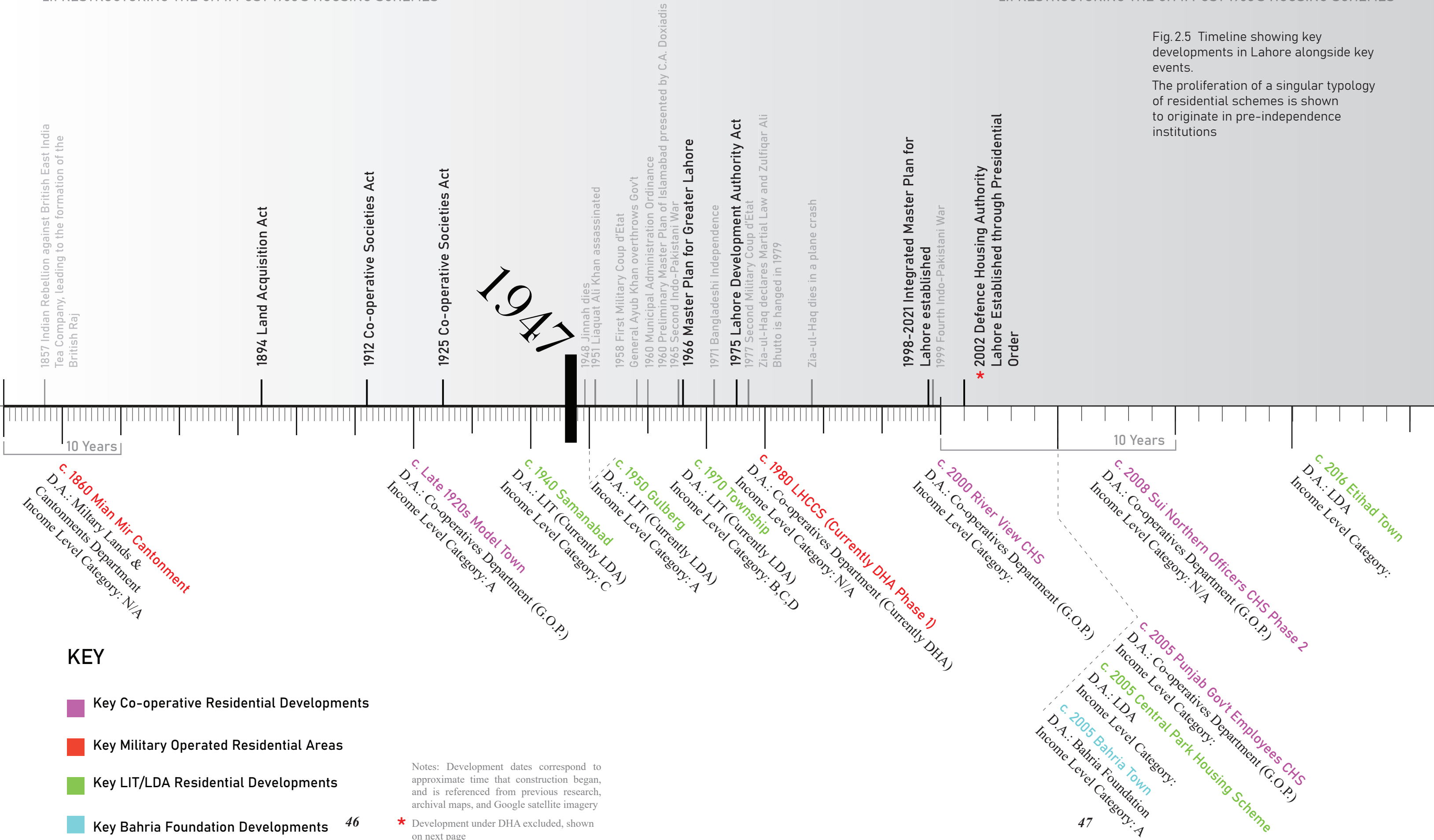


Fig.2.4 Title page, index page, and selections of pages scanned from "Ravi Guide Maps of Lahore".

This book was published by Ravi Advertising Pakistan (Date unavailable) for the purposes of advertising new residential schemes and is filled with plans for prospective buyers. In the first few pages there is an Islamic prayer introducing the housing schemes, followed by an Index of listing the developments.

Fig. 2.5 Timeline showing key developments in Lahore alongside key events. The proliferation of a singular typology of residential schemes is shown to originate in pre-independence institutions



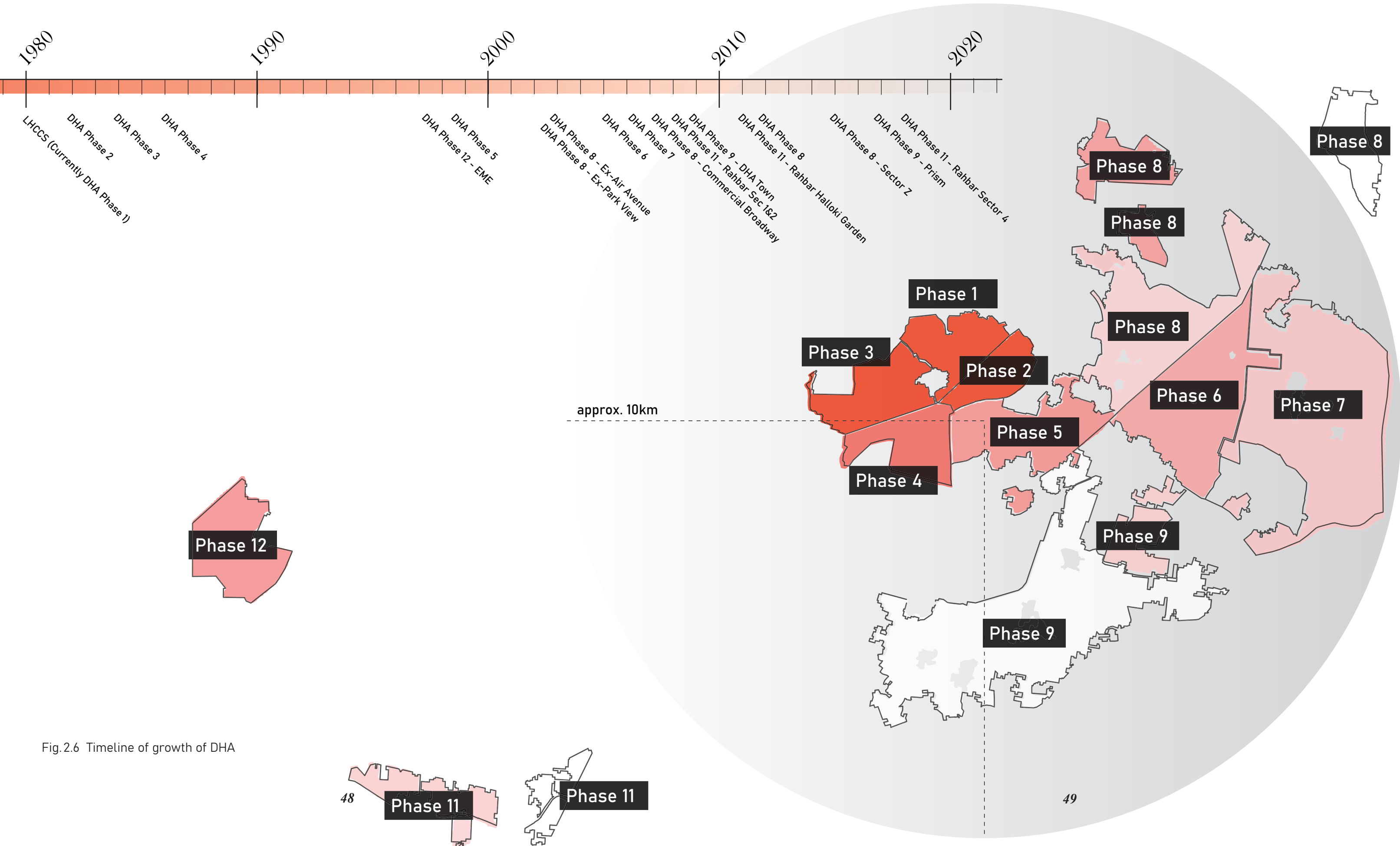


Fig.2.6 Timeline of growth of DHA



2.1 RESTRUCTURING THE CITY: POST 1960'S HOUSING SCHEMES

- Outline of Walled City
- ① Cantonment ⑤ Township ⑨ Central Park Housing Scheme
- ② Model Town ⑥ LHCCS/DHA Phase 1 ⑩ Bahria Town
- ③ Samanabad ⑦ River View CHS ⑪ Sui Northern Officers CHS
- ④ Gulberg ⑧ Punjab Gov't Employees CHS ⑫ Etihad Town

1875

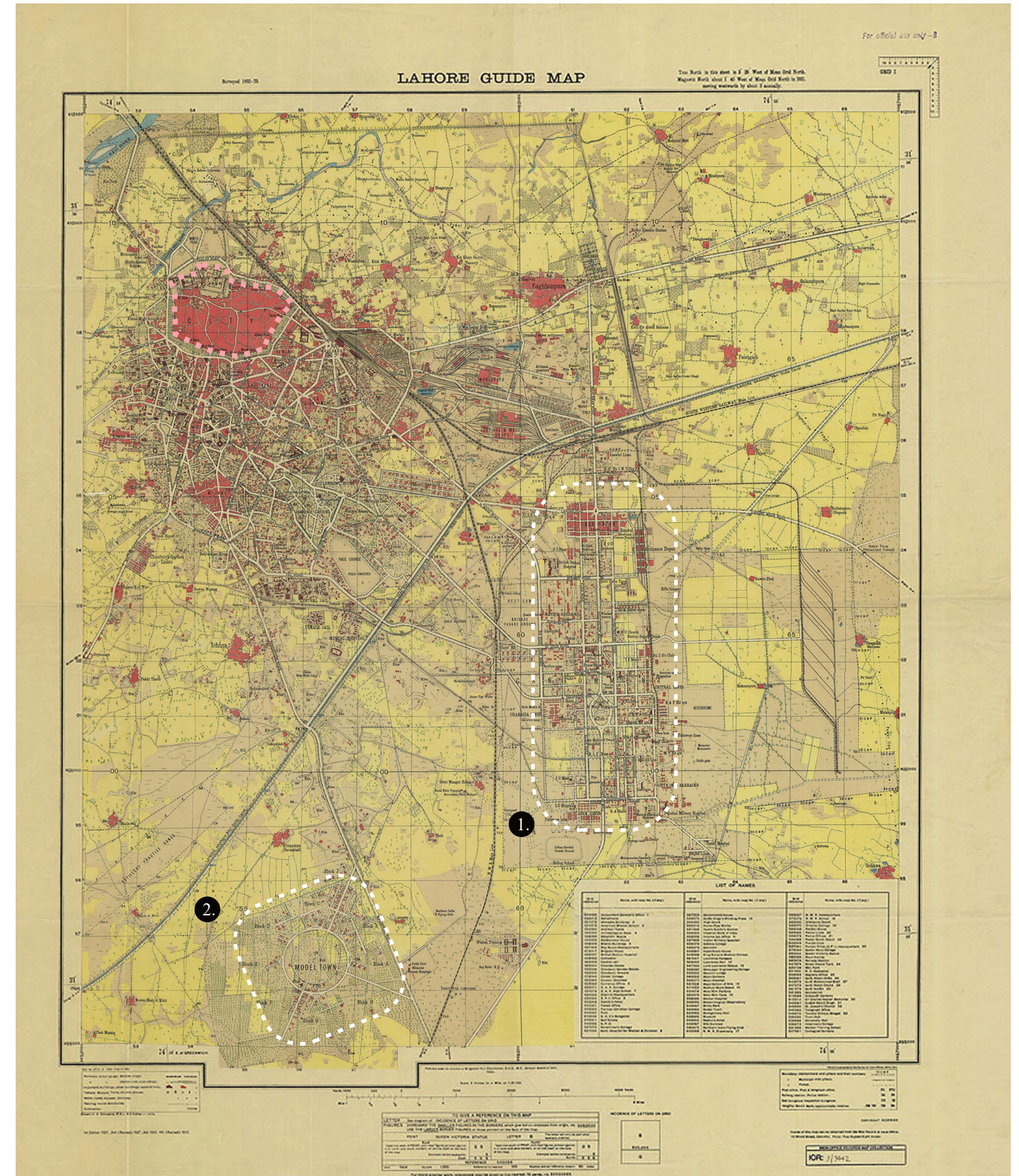
Fig. 2.7 Archival map of Lahore 1875 Annotating Key Residential Developments



2.1 RESTRUCTURING THE CITY: POST 1960'S HOUSING SCHEMES

Fig. 2.8 Archival guide map of Lahore 1933 Annotating Key Residential Developments

1933



1965



Fig. 2.9 Map of Lahore 1965 Annotating Key Residential Developments

1987

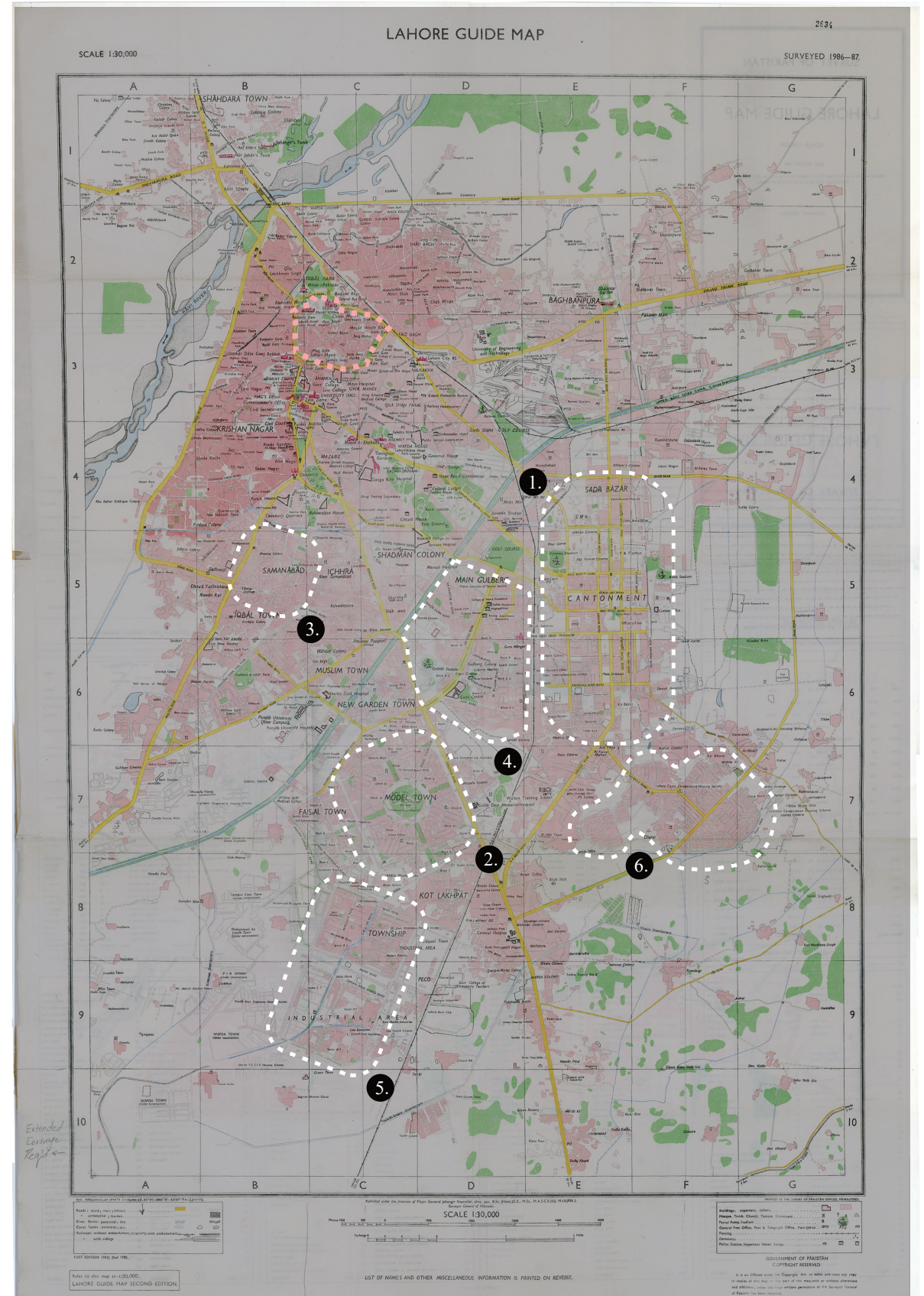
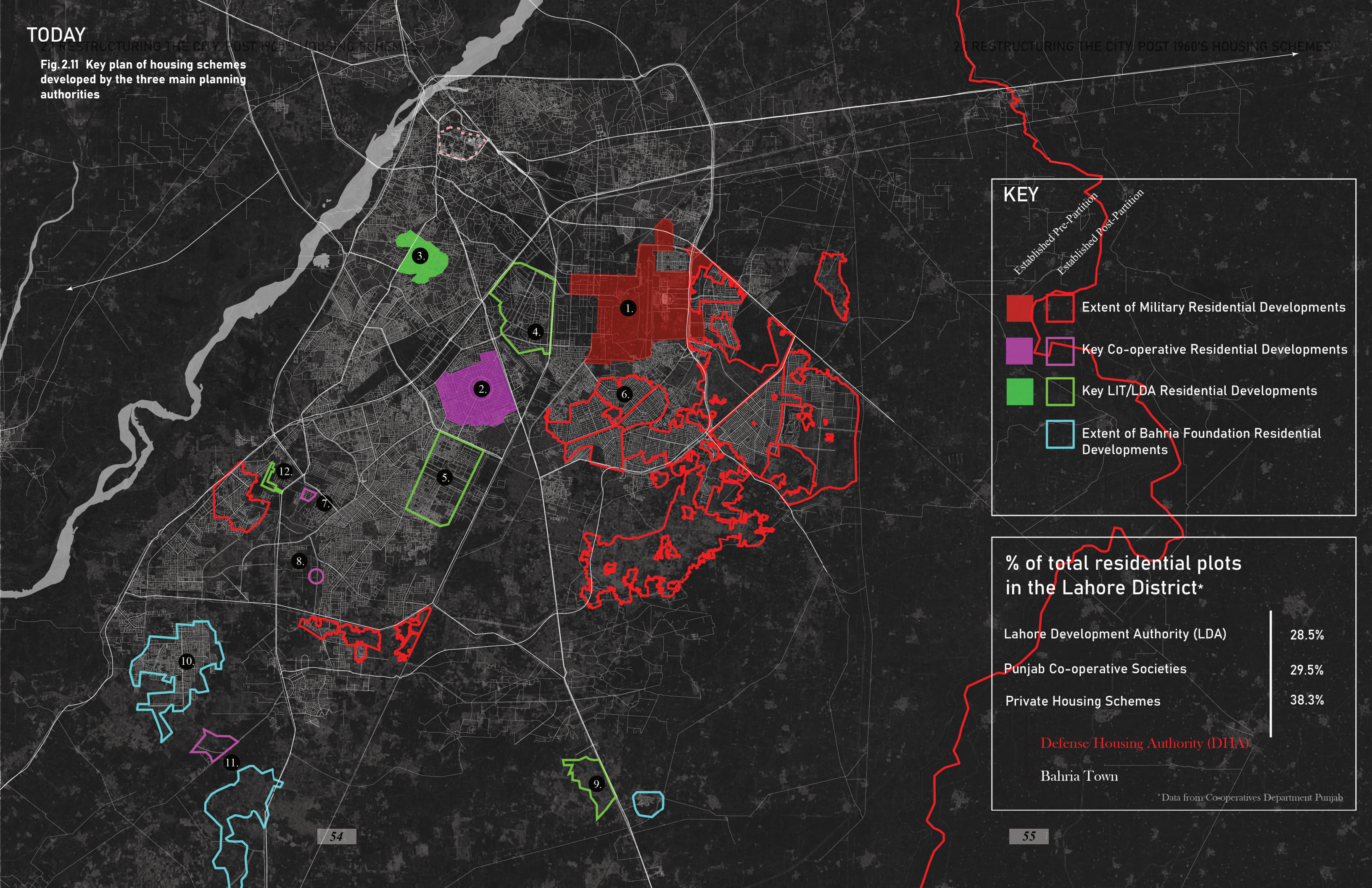


Fig. 2.10 Guide Map of Lahore 1987 Annotating Key Residential Developments

Fig. 2.11 Key plan of housing schemes developed by the three main planning authorities



KEY

- Established Pre-Partition
- Established Post-Partition
- Extent of Military Residential Developments
- Key Co-operative Residential Developments
- Key LIT/LDA Residential Developments
- Extent of Bahria Foundation Residential Developments

% of total residential plots in the Lahore District*

Lahore Development Authority (LDA)	28.5%
Punjab Co-operative Societies	29.5%
Private Housing Schemes	38.3%
Defense Housing Authority (DHA)	
Bahria Town	

*Data from Co-operatives Department Punjab

in Punjab 1947-1962 by Elisabetta Iob]

The relationship between social idealism and housing development that is seen in DHA through advertisements and marketing can be traced back to its utopic architectural predecessors: the military cantonment and the Garden City. In Pakistan's major cities, especially high population areas such as Lahore and Karachi, the cantonment typology evolved in an intertwined manner with offshoots of Ebenezer Howard's Garden city movement in the West. Key developments built between 1850-1920 for employees and officials of the British Raj included the Mian Mir Cantonment, Mayo Garden, G.O.R 1 (Government Officer's Residences), as well as Model Town. These new residential typologies catered only to an elite class of British officers, and an emerging Indian middle-class which took over the elite military-bureaucratic positions after the partition of Pakistan and India.¹² The creation of Model Town was a venture initiated by the new middle-class of Lahore, alongside barrister turned planner Diwan Khem Chand.¹³ This new middle-class in India was created through employment under the British government.¹⁴

In a thorough study of Model Town, Shama Anbrine describes the relationship that earlier developments in Lahore such as Mayo Gardens and Government Officer's Residences (G.O.R.) had with the typology of Model Town.¹⁵ She mentions that typically, the indigenous officers would stay in military housing while they were serving but would have to move back to their villages after they retired. Model Town was established under the principles of a co-operative society, which at the time were informed by the 1912 Co-operative Societies Act. The purpose of the Punjab Co-operatives was initially for the improvement of the agricultural sector, however residential co-op-

12 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

13 Anbrine Shah, "The Co-Operative Model Town Society"

14 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*

15 Anbrine Shah, "The Co-Operative Model Town Society"

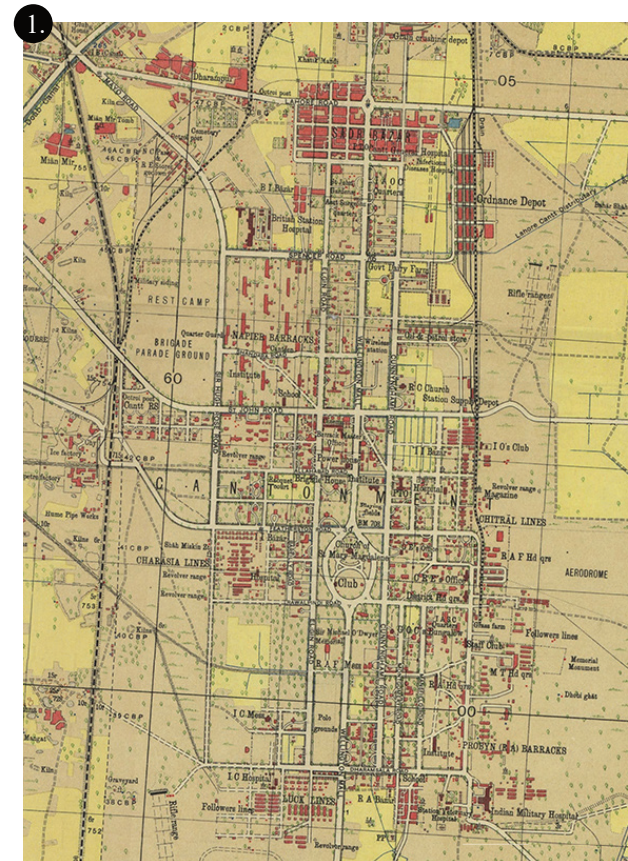
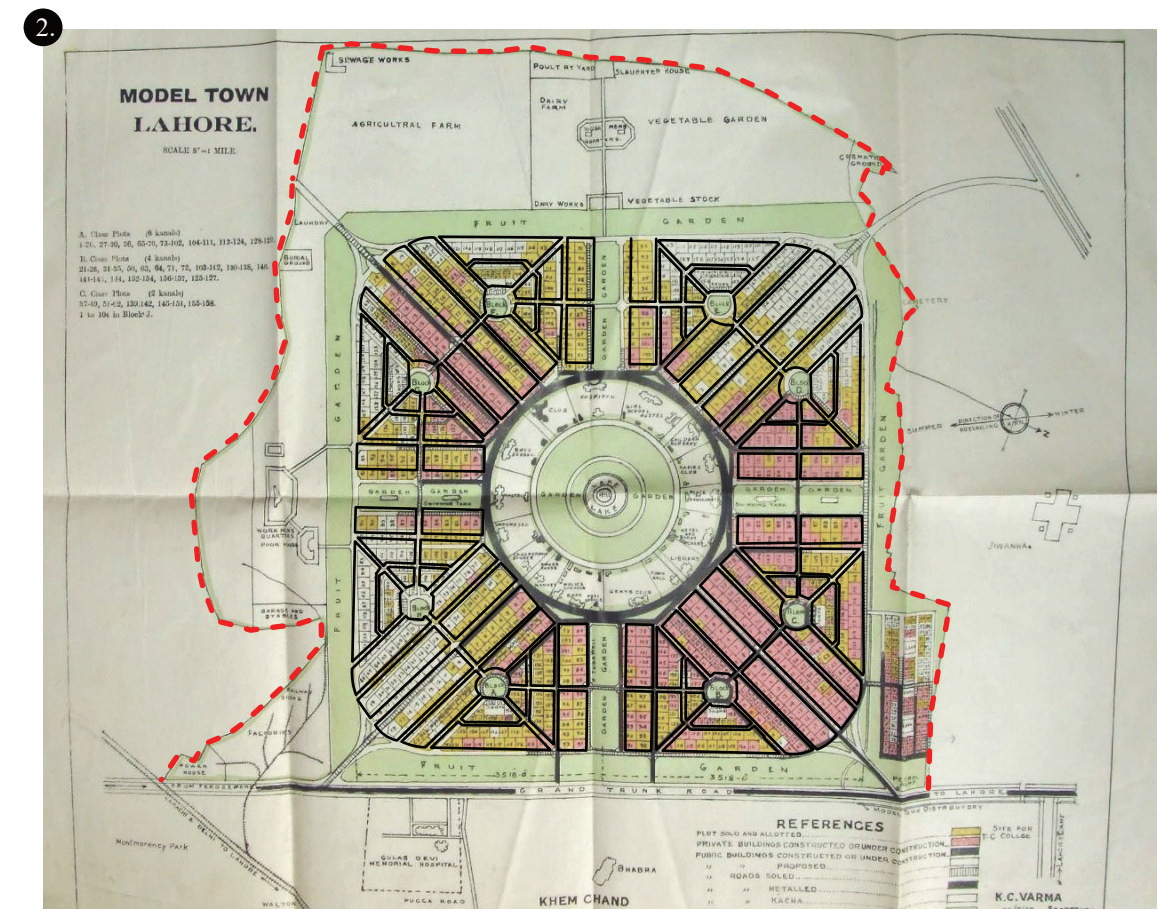


Fig. 2.12 1. Plan of Mian Mir Cantonment circa 1933

Fig. 2.13 2. Early plan of Model Town circa 1930. (Copyright Emmy Eustace) Annotated by Author

Note: Red dashed line denotes planned scheme boundary. Black lines denote residential blocks. Plans are not to scale.



eratives came about to provide the middle-class with affordable housing. Model Town Lahore was the first co-operative housing society in all of India. In 1916, Patrick Geddes visited Lahore, but his participation in the planning on Model Town is uncertain. The resultant development, developed by Diwan Khem Chand, is *more in line with an English upper middle-class suburb of nineteenth century than a Garden city*.¹⁶ Shama Anbrine notes some reasons for the misaligned re-interpretation of the ideal garden city principles. The scheme was initiated by a new middle-class who's ideals were related to those of the cantonments and British residential areas they had stayed in during their service. In addition, residents were not able to distance themselves from Lahore because their business and education engagements were still located in the city.¹⁷ Anbrine notes that a key different between Model Town and the military housing that the officer's resided in before retirement was the distribution of plots and the inclusion of more green space and local amenities. In the officer's cantonments, plots were grouped based military and government ranking, whereas Model Town had a mix of different land sizes in the same block. This mix demonstrated a social aspect of Model Town that the cantonments lacked.¹⁸ However, through the direction of the new Indian middle-class, Lahore's first 'Garden City' was indeed influenced by the highly internalized existing government and military areas that existed at the time.¹⁹

Within Lahore, the consociation of these two typologies has resulted in a unique fragmented landscape of gated housing colonies – a typology that by and large transcends its development agencies.

16 Anbrine Shah, "The Co-Operative Model Town Society" 90
 17 Anbrine Shah, "The Co-Operative Model Town Society" 93
 18 Anbrine Shah, "The Co-Operative Model Town Society" 163
 19 Anbrine Shah, "The Co-Operative Model Town Society"

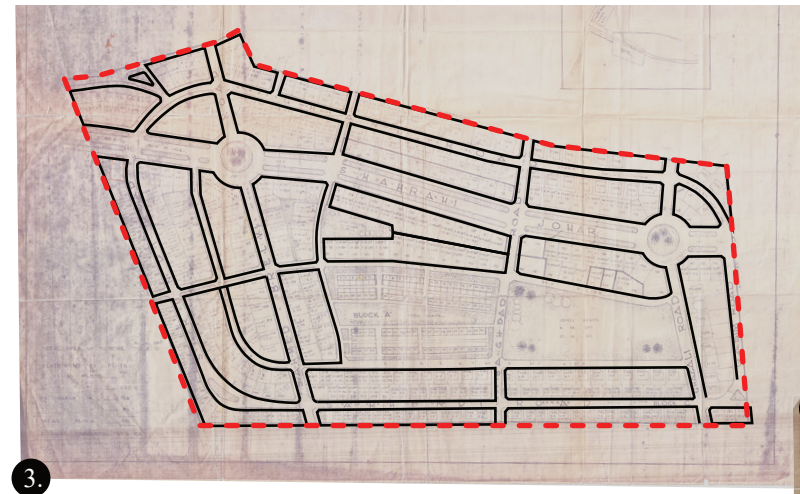


Fig. 2.14 3. Initial development plan of Samanabad (c. 1940) Annotated by Author

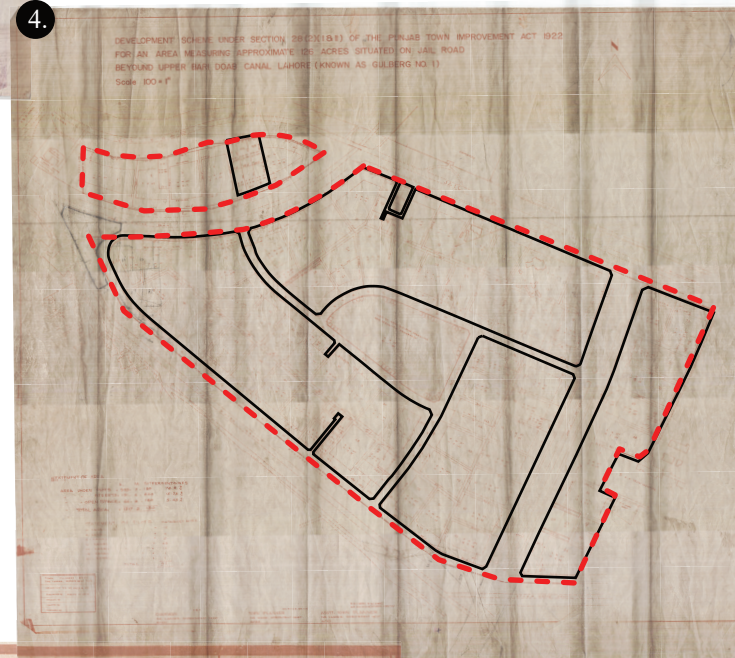
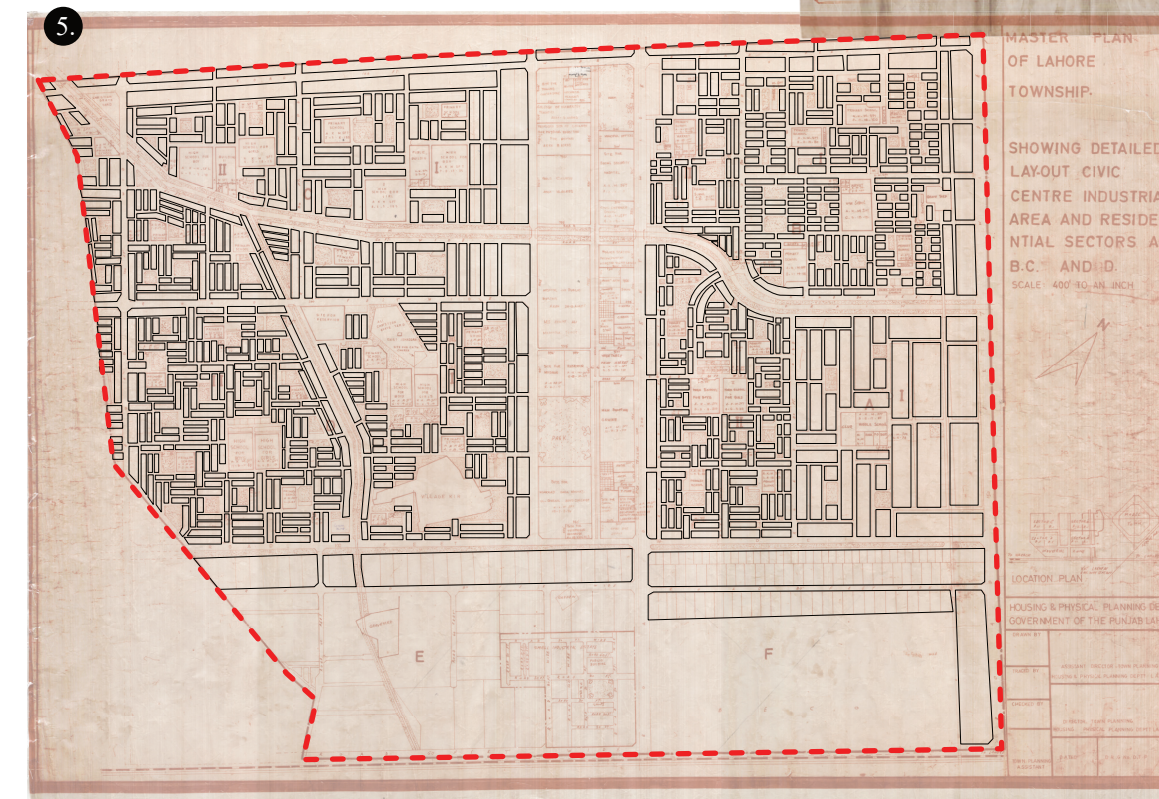


Fig. 2.15 4. Initial development plan of Gulberg (c. 1950) Annotated by Author

Fig. 2.16 5. Initial development plan of Township (c. 1970) Annotated by Author



Note: Red dashed line denotes planned scheme boundary. Black lines denote residential blocks. Plans are not to scale.

2.1 RESTRUCTURING THE CITY: POST 1960'S HOUSING SCHEMES

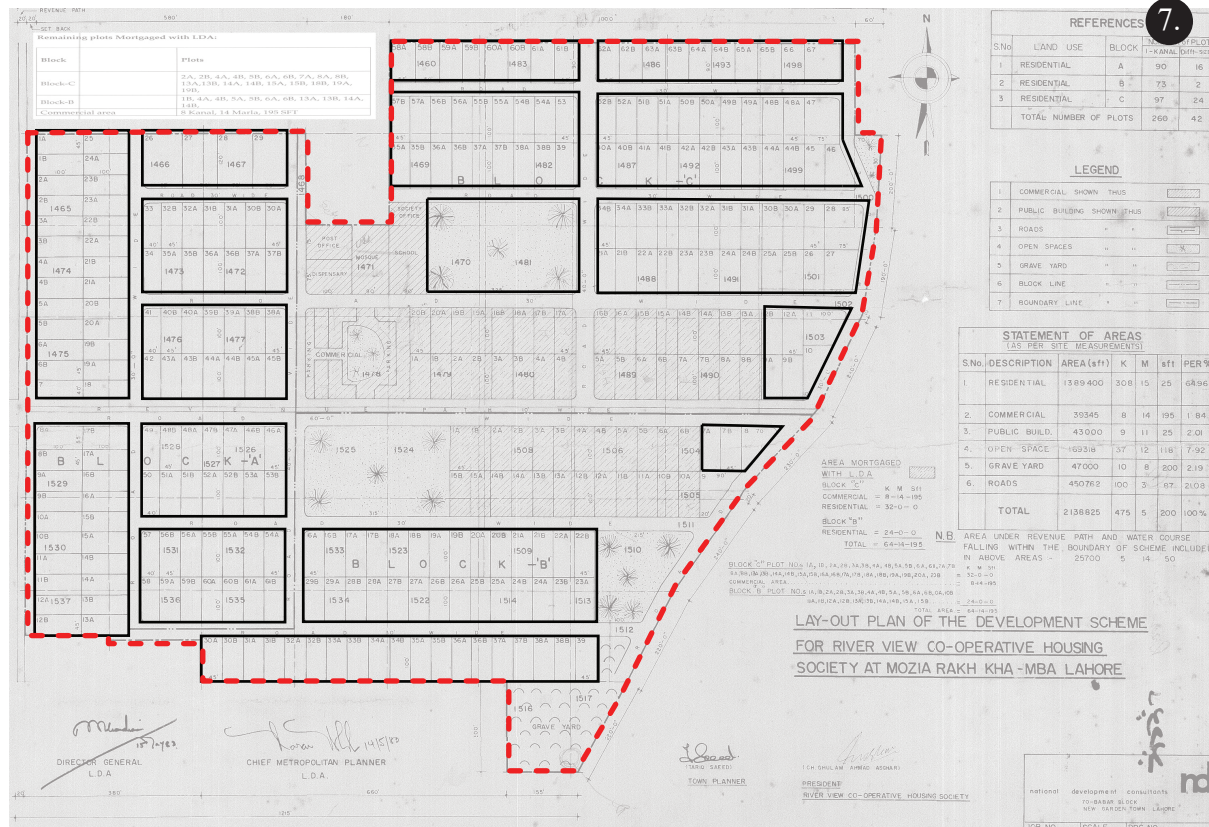
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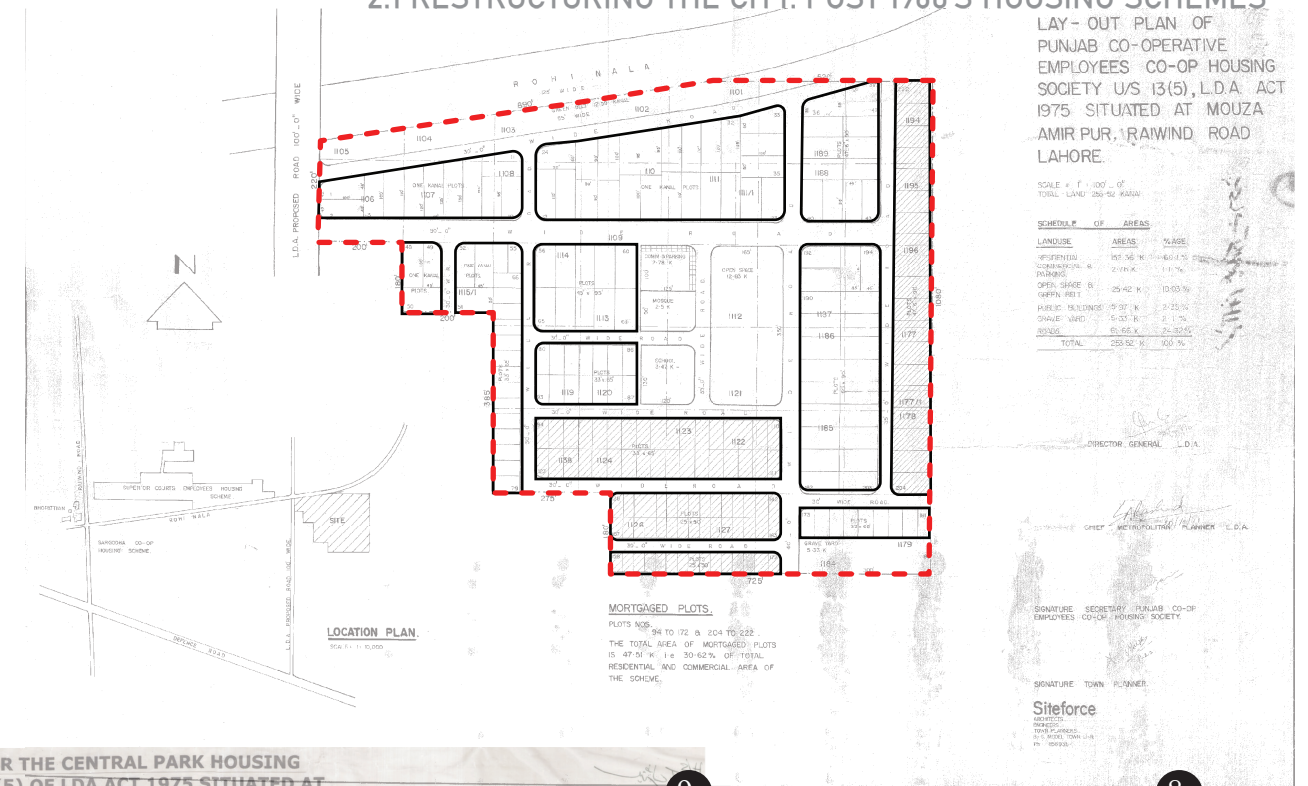
Note: Red dashed line denotes planned scheme boundary. Black lines denote residential blocks. Plans are not to scale.

Fig.2.17 6. Figure ground of LCCHS (c.1980) (DHA Phase 1)

Fig.2.18 7. Initial development plan of River-view Co-op Housing Society (c. 2000) Annotated by Author



2.1 RESTRUCTURING THE CITY: POST 1960'S HOUSING SCHEMES



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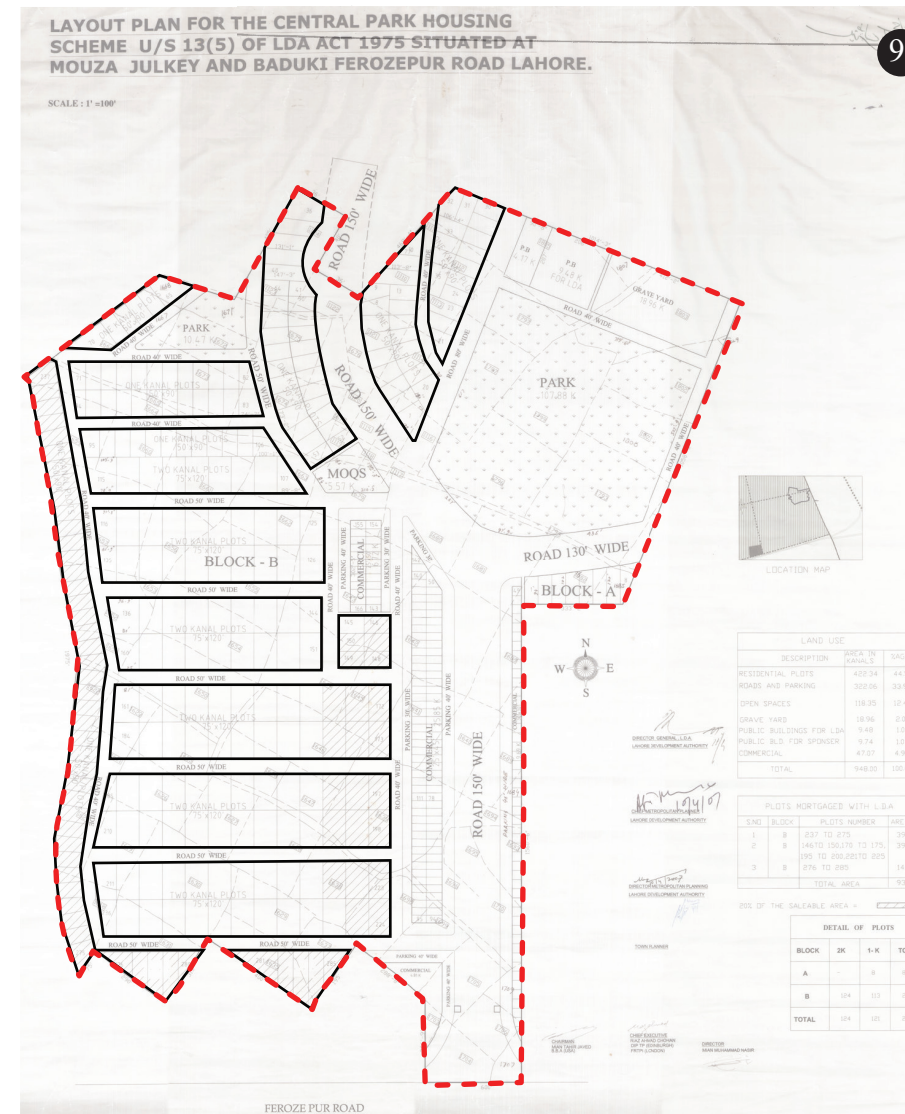


Fig.2.19 8. Initial development plan of Punjab Gov't Employees Co-op Housing Society (c. 2005) Annotated by Author

Fig.2.20 9. Initial development plan of Central Park Housing Scheme (c. 2005) from LDA Archives. Annotated by Author

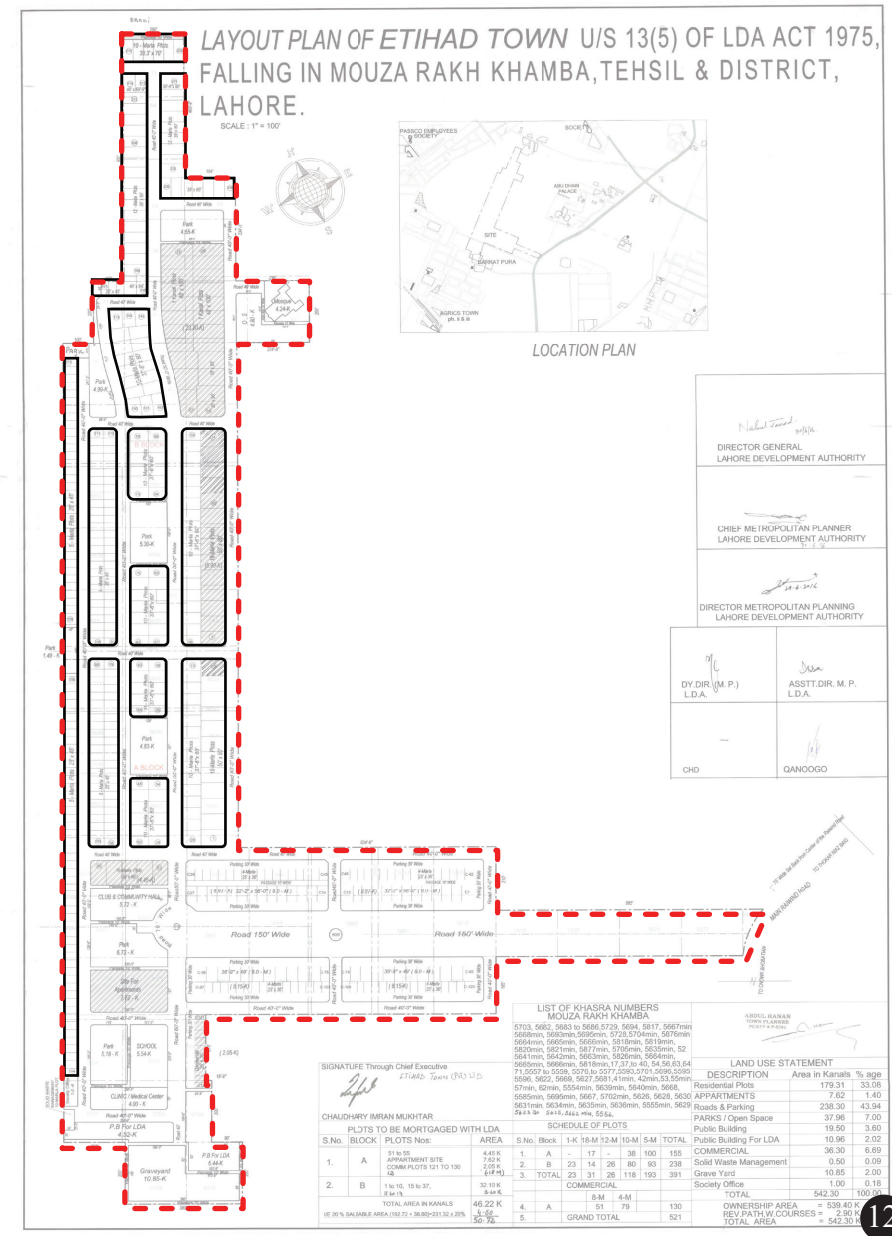
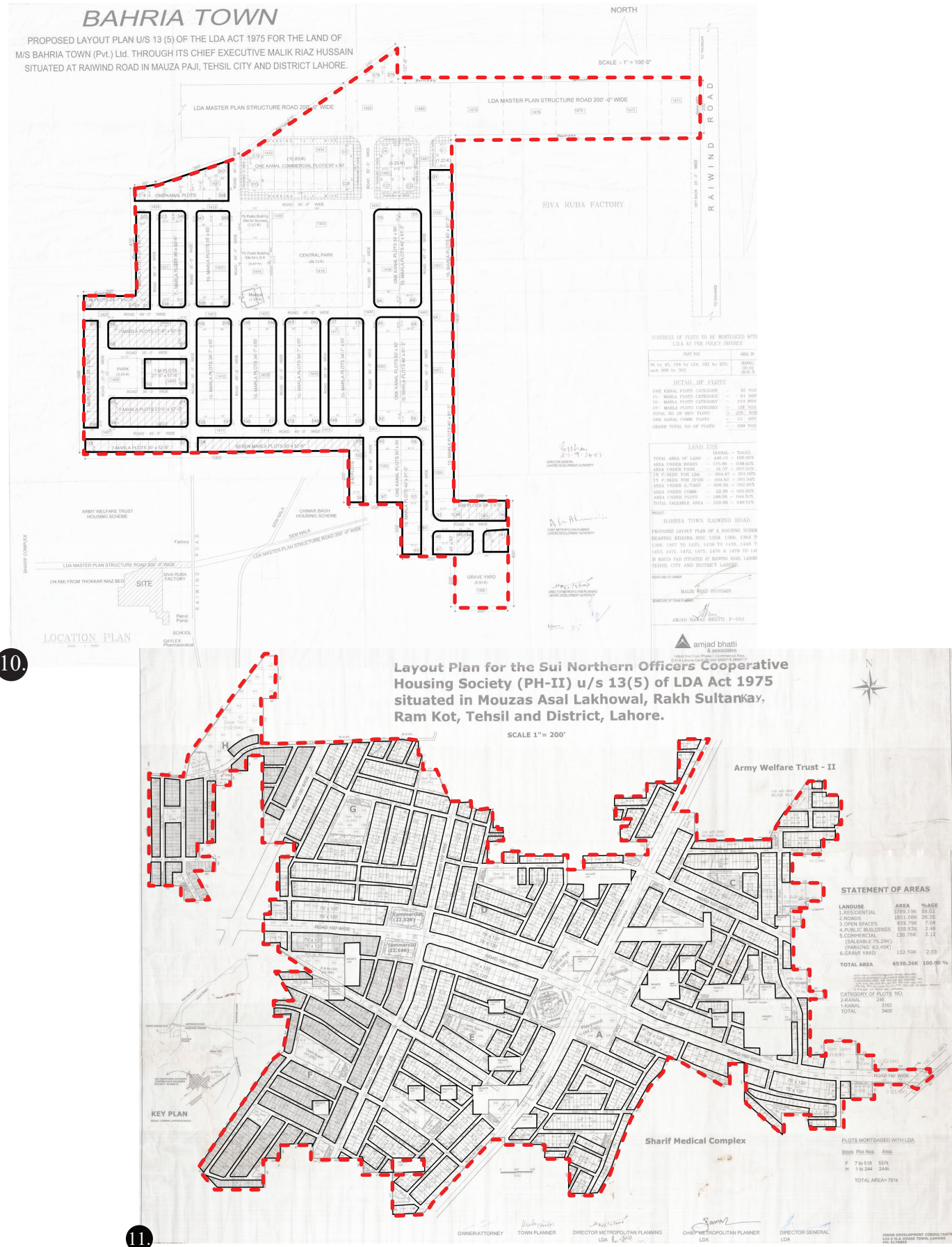


Fig. 2.23 10. Initial partial development plan of Bahria Town (c. 2005) Annotated by Author

Fig. 2.21 11. Initial development plan of Sui Northern Officers Co-op Housing Society Phase 2 (c. 2008) Annotated by Author

Fig. 2.22 12. Initial development plan of Etihad Town (c. 2016) Annotated by Author

Note: Red dashed line denotes planned scheme boundary. Black lines denote residential blocks. Plans are not to scale.

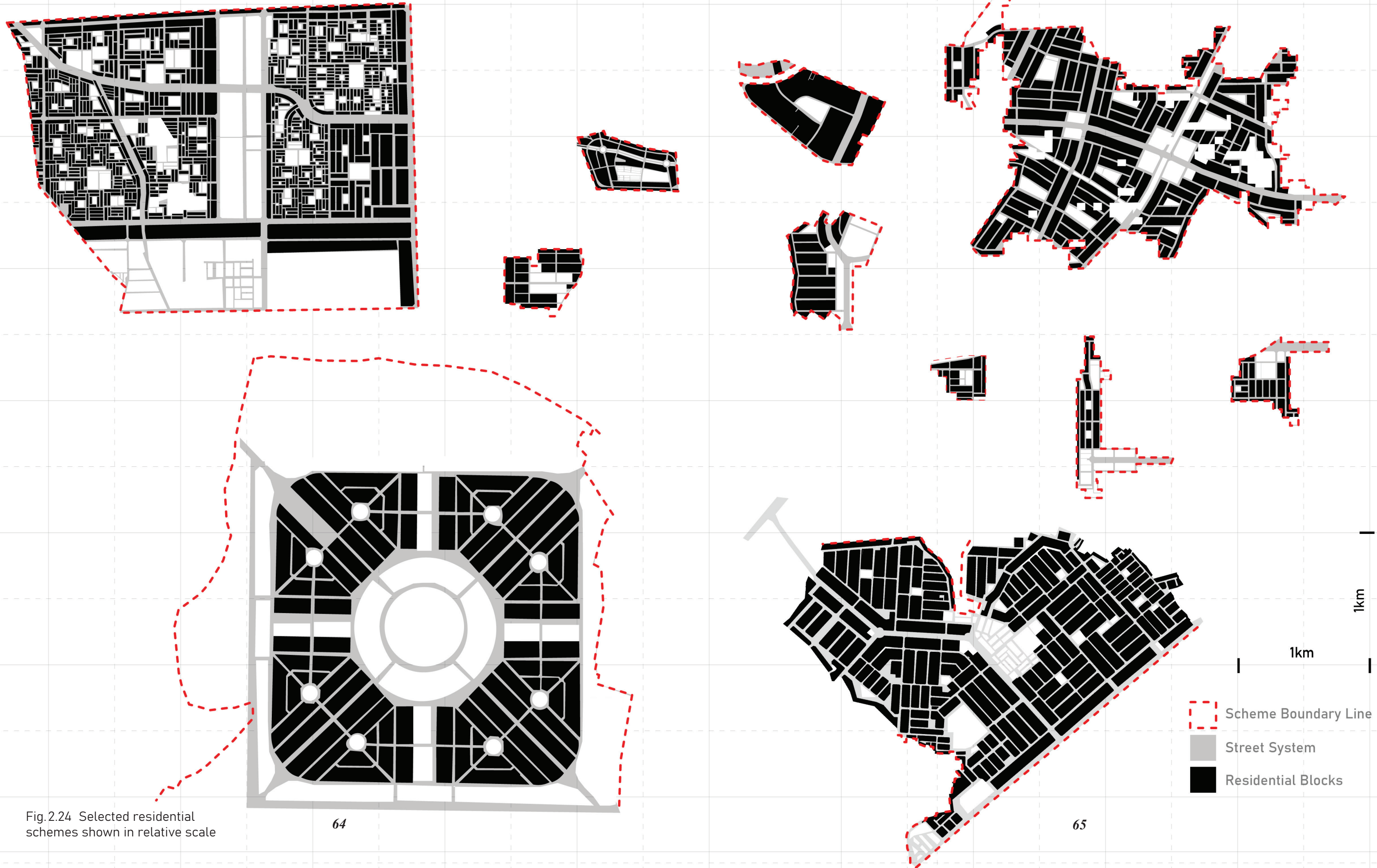


Fig.2.24 Selected residential schemes shown in relative scale

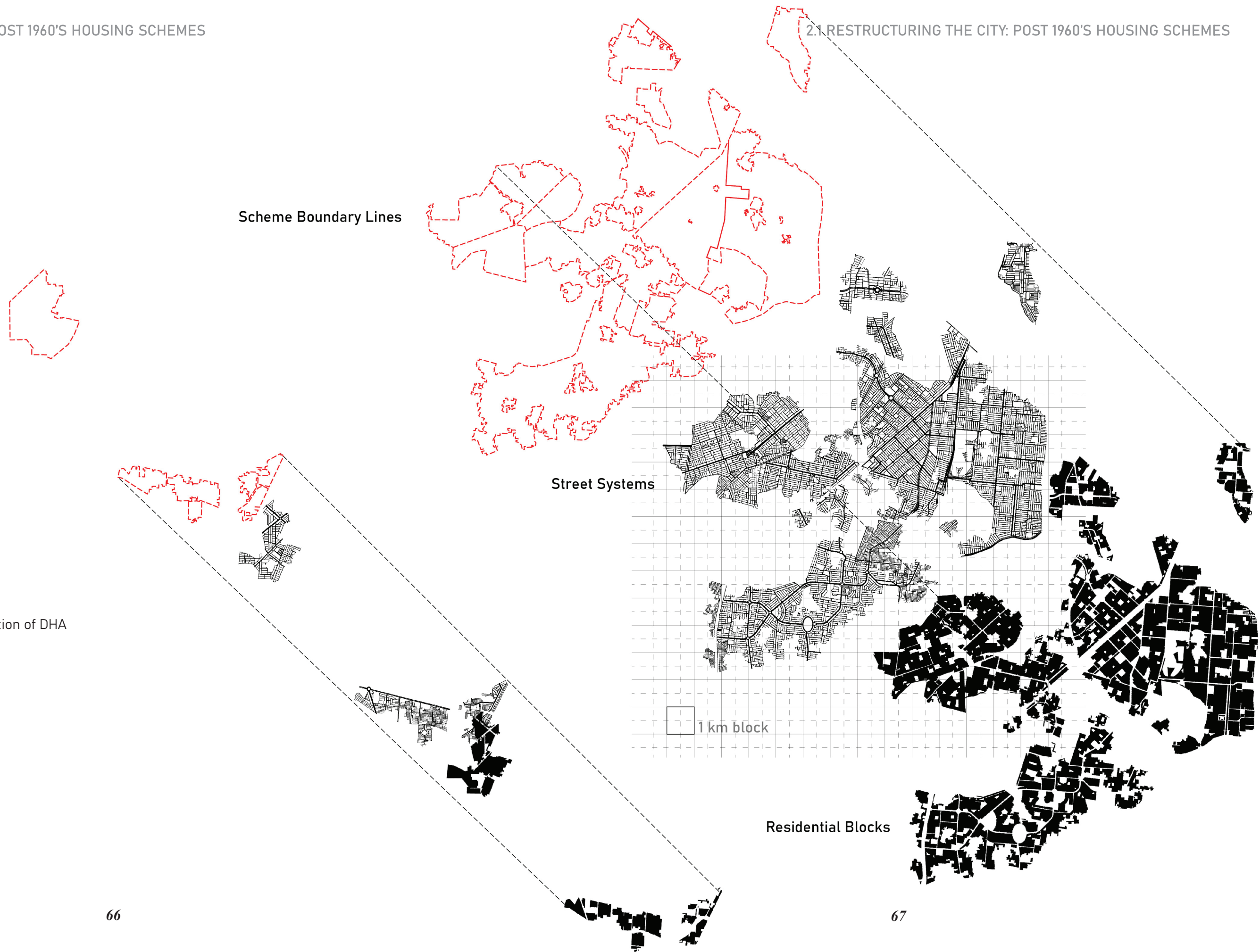


Fig. 2.25 Diagrammatic deconstruction of DHA development

2.2 Research Precedents and Methodology

Cities often contain demonstrative architectural symbols of power operating in space.²⁰ In the post-colonial city, however, within the design of these spaces, there is an inherent creation, reassessment, or purging of colonial era institutional identities. This desire to define or redefine national identity through architectural identity is felt at differing scales, but of interest in this thesis is the top-down imposition of a ‘new’ identity on inhabitants. Whereas government buildings inherently seek to demonstrate power, residential and public buildings have a more subversive relationship to both power and identity. This section summarizes three key research precedents that have informed my work and discusses my own research methods and process.

Fragmentation of space is seen in Lahore through dichotomies such as informal and formal developments, gated housing colonies and the historic villages encapsulated within them, and through the Walled City and the starkly different colonial development surrounding it. There are a multitude of architectural identities that exist within this fragmented urbanity, each having its origins from three vastly different power structures: a pre-colonial monarchy, the colonial occupation, and the era of the nation-state. Having started my research by reading about Lahore’s cultural and political history, I was focused broadly on the built spaces that arose from Mughal rule, colonial occupation, and the chaotic changes that took place in the city during and after Partition. In being the power centre for multiple different rulers through history, it is not surprising that the urban landscape reflects the relationship between power and identity in a unique way. I began to see Lahore as a product of different oppressions; the most recent oppressor being real estate giants in the private and military economy.

²⁰ Lawrence Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, 2008).

The first precedent I will introduce is Eyal Weizman’s seminal work, *Hollow Lands*, which studied architectural representations of Israel’s oppressive forces in Palestine. Each chapter centers a socio-spatial mechanism of *colonial control and separation*.²¹ “Control and separation” meaning that the desire of the oppressive force is not strictly to control the indigenous population but also to separate and remove from view. Weizman uses the term “*frontier architecture*” to describe the specific type of colonial power that is being exercised in Palestine: one that does not contain a single actor or ideology but is composed of corporations, individual settlers, network providers, the media, etc.²² This creates a “*structured chaos*” that leads to the “*violent dispossession*” of Palestinians.²³ In relationship to other theories of colonization, *Hollow Lands* brings attention to architecture as a concrete, unquestionable- complex yet simple, form of politics, which he calls “*politics in matter*”.²⁴ The relationship between power and identity manifests, and is manifested, in architectural form and spatial representation. Through employing identity as a tool, space is made more desirable, and colonial control is successfully exercised. Weizman looks at this within the context of Jerusalem in the chapter titled: *Jerusalem: Petrifying the Holy City*, in which he sees how the city was domesticated through the creation of familiar architecture for the Jewish settlers. The religious ideology was manifested down to the scale of the detailing of residential stone cladding, through which the architecture was made to look more inviting to the settlers.²⁵

The second research precedent is “*Living Together, A Class Apart: A Socio-Spatial Exploration of Exclusion Within a Gated Community*”, a study conducted by sociologist Nawal Shaharyar. In her research she is interested in the urban and so-

²¹ Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land*, 1. publ. ed. (London [u.a.]: Verso, 2007).

²² Weizman, *Hollow Land*

²³ Weizman, *Hollow Land*

²⁴ Weizman, *Hollow Land*

²⁵ Weizman, *Hollow Land*

ciological manifestations that expose the relationship between domestic workers and the upper-class inhabitants within DHA Lahore. She employs Henri Lefebvre's theory regarding the spatial triad to examine how formal/explicit and informal/implicit elements operate together to form spaces of elitism and exclusion within the city. Her analysis included interviews of DHA officials, residents and domestic workers, as well as qualitative analysis of magazines (marketing material), bulletins and newsletters. She points to the importance of cartographic representations of the DHA as a gated community; noting that in marketing maps, as well as in the planning process, the site is continuously represented as an isolated space.²⁶ This is consistent with the representation of the majority of private schemes in Lahore, most of which are planned with the assumption that they will be walled off or separated from their context by more informal means such as security checkpoints.

The sociological concept of studying exclusion through covert symbology is valuable in understanding how architecture has the power to impose specific ideologies. Shaharyar notes that although Urdu is more commonly spoken and read than English, a majority of the marketing material, community notices, as well as wayfinding is written in English. Notices and signage that is deemed relevant to the domestic working class within DHA is more often provided in both English and Urdu.²⁷ Studying exclusion in this way opens up a deeper understanding of how elitism penetrates every aspect of the DHA 'society' that is created by the army. The use of language, the representation of ethnicity, and the architectural typologies and styles more often visible in their advertisements are indicators of what the institution views the ideal Pakistani middle-class lifestyle to be. I want to further understand of these socio-spatial mechanisms that create different manifestations of injustice, such as

26 Nawal Shaharyar, "Living Together, a Class Apart: A Socio-Spatial Exploration of Exclusion within a Gated Community," (2020).

27 Shaharyar, "Living Together, a Class Apart: A Socio-Spatial Exploration of Exclusion within a Gated Community,"

socio-spatial exclusion, through the perpetuation of ideology through the built infrastructure.

The last precedent is *Organization Space*, in which Keller Easterling discusses three systems: landscapes, highways and houses in America.²⁸ I am interested in using this method of spatial organization to think about how ideology operates at the urban scale. Easterling proposes that "*organizational expressions perhaps inform our understanding of some very familiar development formats that typically resist conventional architectural analysis.*"²⁹ An example she gives of this is of the suburban residential formations, which in the way they are repetitively produced and organized can be, as a process of development, likened to agricultural production. She notes that the determinant of its spatial qualities and consequences is the way in which these houses are organized, and not the architectural character of an individual home.³⁰ A similar conceptualization of space is needed in the analysis of the multitudinous and repetitive forms of DHA developments. In order to understand the architectural identity of DHA developments, I am suggesting that the prevalent typology of their developments needs to be broken down into its repeated elements.

I am proposing that each of these broad mechanisms, Boundary Lines, Street Systems, and Residential Plots, allows for the military institution's multi-faceted socio-spatial control of its populace. I demonstrate through drawing and historical analysis that the rapid tabula-rasa style urbanization being carried forth by one of the major powers in Pakistan, the Military, is not just for the sake of housing, but is a monument to an identity consolidated from the fragments of a post-colonial nation. Through an encompassing analysis, I show the immense

28 Keller Easterling, *Organization Space: Landscapes, Houses and Highways in America* MIT Press, 1999).

29 Easterling, *Organization Space: Landscapes, Houses and Highways in America*

30 Easterling, *Organization Space: Landscapes, Houses and Highways in America*

scale at which the upper-middle class ideological project is operating in Pakistan. Of particular interest is the way in which architectural typology symbolically and physically contributes to social control through the idealization of living standards and the imposition of a singularized identity. Throughout these three larger systems, I first look at specific material-ideological strategies that operate at the urban scale and move down to smaller architectural elements. I use marketing material as a primary tool of analysis. Marketing material includes maps which are readily available for the purposes of consumer land purchasing. The DHA provides maps on their own website, as well as through private authorized sellers. The primary, DHA authorized, real-estate companies which hold this material include: Lahore Real Estate, eProperty, and al Meezan Properties.³¹ DHA also provides maps of their schemes on their own website. The DHA maps provide more raw information such as boundary walls, entrance gates, plot numbers, street widths, and the marketing plans are often diagrammed to show different colors for different residential plot sizes, and to note what areas are commercial.

“Is the Defence Housing Authority (DHA), a real estate entity of the army, working without any oversight or is it answerable to the federal government?” According to local news network, Dawn, in an article written in July of 2015, this question was posed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan during a hearing. This lack of accountability gained heightened attention in 2015 and was documented through a number of news articles. However, repeated events in Pakistan show that simply speaking ill against military operations has its consequences. *Military Inc.* by Ayesha Siddiqa is a key resource in understanding the military’s involvement with the economy. Upon its release it was met with hostility. In the preface to the new edition, the writer mentioned she had been labelled as a traitor and threatened with exile. It is therefore not surprising that the DHA development process is somewhat elusive.

31 "DHA Quetta: Authorized Real Estate Agents ," , accessed February 6, 2021, <https://www.dhaquetta.org/dealers>.

My last visit to Lahore was in February 2019. At the time, I was interested in understanding three different time periods of housing development in Lahore: colonial, post-colonial, and current. I documented three locations in three different housing developments through photos and videos: Model Town, DHA Phase 1, and Paragon City. I was interested in understanding the character of these developments as well as how they separated themselves from adjacent urban informality. I had the chance the visit the NESPAK office in Lahore (National Engineering Services Pakistan), where I received CAD base plans of metropolitan Lahore. Publicly available GIS data is also limited, especially in military-owned areas such as Cantonment and DHA. I had the opportunity to visit the Punjab Archives, where I was able to document some colonial-era maps of Lahore. As my research has become more focused on DHA, I have found that the majority of information exists in the following forms: news articles, public/social media announcements, publicly available information regarding development on DHA’s website, media created by private real estate agents, and through the analysis of Google Earth satellite imagery.

3

Scheme Boundary Lines

- 3.1 Insecurity and the Gated Community
- 3.2 Demolition and Retention after Agricultural Land Acquisition
- 3.3 Entrance Gates

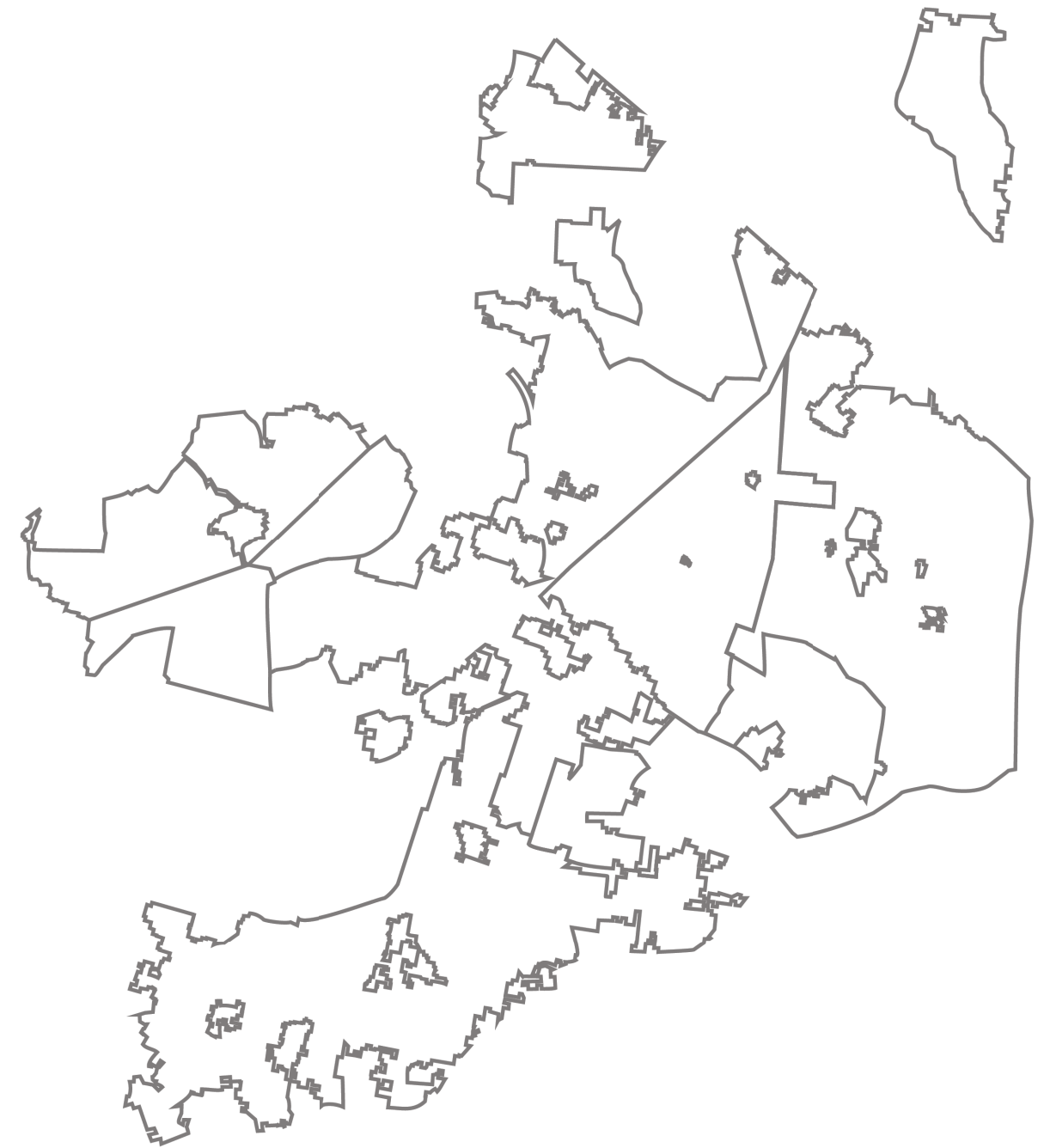
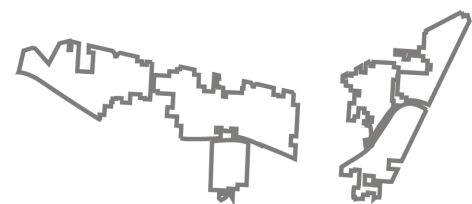
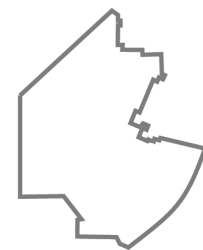


Fig.3.1 Abstract representation of DHA phase boundaries

3.1 Insecurity and the Gated Community

The first material-ideological system that will be explored is the scheme boundary line. By exploiting narratives of insecurity and exclusion through marketing and architectural symbology, the military continues to secure their control and ownership of land. This chapter seeks to understand the effects of ideologies of separation and exclusion on the general development of DHA, as well as its architectural expression.

DHA's boundary lines are elastic: they shrink and expand according to the acquisition of land. Development boundaries are often physically marked by permanent and temporal architectural constructions for purposes of control. Immaterial property lines materialize in the form of brick walls and barbed wire, entrance gates, and temporary barricades. The boundary lines of DHA are largely denoted by the construction of 'boundary walls'. Boundary walls are a given element of residential planning in Lahore; where the colonies' mapped edges cut off, it can be assumed that there is some form of physical manifestation of a wall. As seen in the residential development's design, and marketing plans, the edge of the colony is often denoted by a thick dashed or solid line. Single family homes, within the boundaries of DHA, are also walled off and gated. This often means that the construction of a boundary wall is not necessary, where residential subdivisions encounter DHA's property lines. Planned entrances are often signified with large, monumental gates, boasting of national success for an emergent middle-class. On the occasion that existing agricultural villages or 'katchi-abadis' (informal settlements) meet these boundaries, the boundary line materializes into the construction of walls with monitored entrances. DHA's boundary lines have a consistent exclusionary purpose, fortified by centuries old ideology that vilifies and dehumanizes the 'other'. DHA's boundary demarcation operates at a larger scale than any other gated community within the city, but it is often marketed in the same ways that traditional enclaves

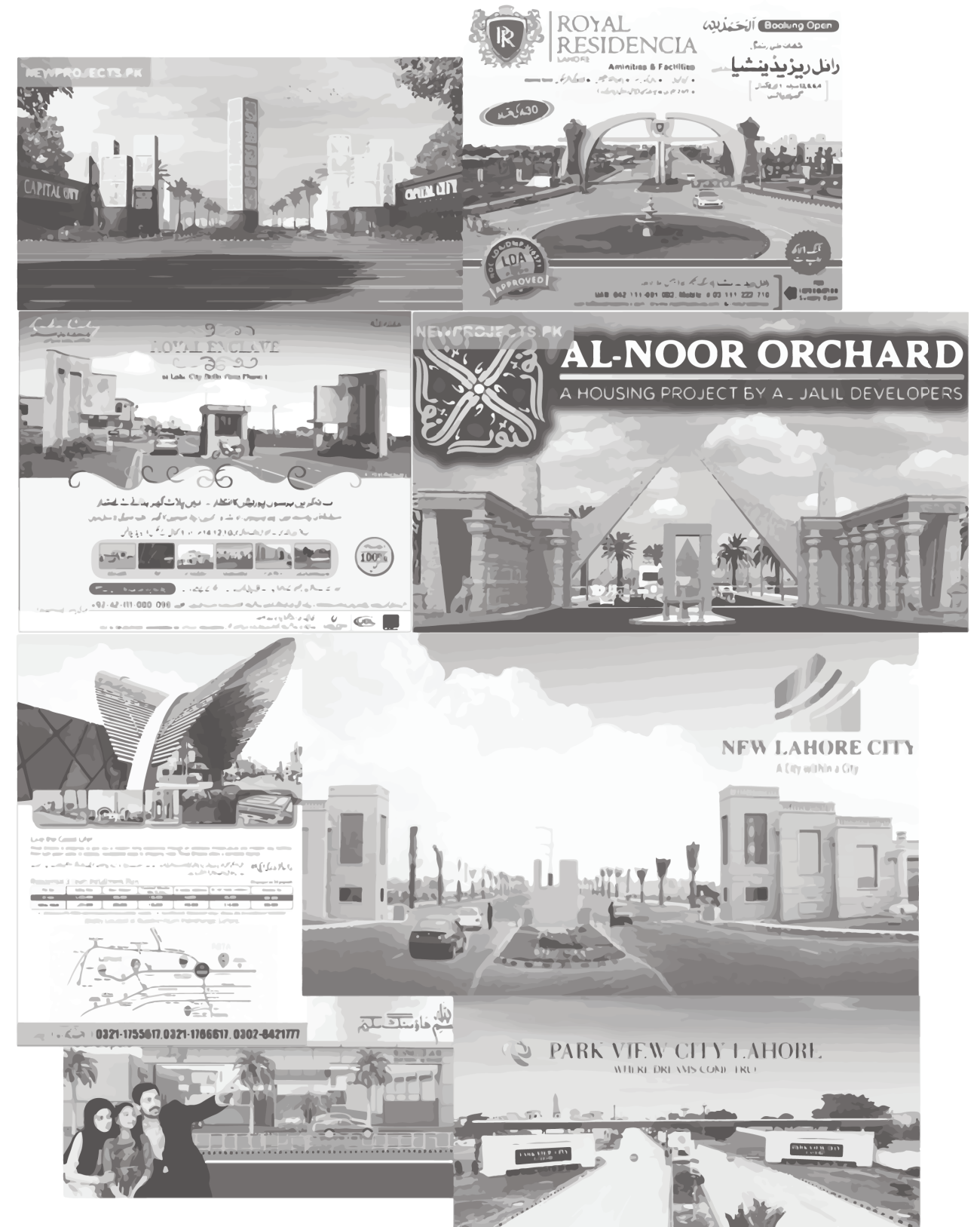


Fig.3.2 Collage of advertisements for various non-DHA private housing developments in Lahore showing entry gates

are (Fig. 3.2).

Many of DHA's advertisements boast of security through controlled entry. DHA also has an upper hand within the market; due to its affiliation with the military, it automatically becomes a 'safer' place to live. Security of residents is one of the key selling points. On their website, they claim to be forerunners in providing residents with security in the private and public realm, however this is not exactly surprising considering the resources they have in association with the military. *DHA SEES (Security, Environment, Emergency Services, and Safety)*¹ is the official name of their security department. Whereas the primary city district development authority, LDA, restricts the usage of barbed wire around residential property, DHA supposedly allows it up to 2 feet beyond LDA and DHA's shared boundary wall limit of 7 feet.²

In an essay titled *City, Space, Power: Lahore's Architecture of In/Security*, published in 2016, architect Sadia Shirazi studied the relationship between Lahore's multiplicity of architectural elements of control and separation, such as checkpoints, boundary walls and barricades in relationship to the 2008 terror attacks. By charting the terrorist attacks that occurred in Lahore from 2008-2012, her work aimed to bring about clarity of how 'unsafe' Lahore really is, and whether the safety precautions that are being taken within the spatial realm are adequate or even necessary. She found that the majority of bomb blasts were targeting the police, army and security personnel. They were also concentrated in the walled city and colonial-era development surrounding it, targeting institutional headquarters. In fact, upper-middle class and elite neighborhoods such as cantonment, and Model Town are shown to have been targeted on one occasion each, both in either supposed secret intelli-

1 "DHA Lahore," , accessed Nov 14, 2021, <https://dhalahore.org/>.

2 "Construction by-Laws in DHA Lahore," , accessed Nov 14, 2021, <https://www.zameen.com/blog/construction-by-laws-dha-lahore.html>.

gence units, police stations, or high traffic commercial centres.³ According to the article, after the slew of bombings, the city had suggested that public buildings raise their boundary walls to 8 feet.⁴ The typology of gated colony entrances and existed before Lahore experienced the brunt of these terrorist attacks. This begs the question of if, and how different the streetscapes would look today had the city not gone through that? Sadia Shirazi describes: "*Today, in the aftermath of the bomb blasts, the most visible manifestation of a regime of control is legible in the preponderance of security measures distributed throughout the city against the specter of non-state violence. Walls, barriers, gates, and checkpoints crop up overnight while others calcify over time into permanent structures in residential quarters, religious sites, civic spaces, governmental and police zones*".⁵ Sadia Shirazi notes that the 2008-2010 bombings led to greater animosity between different classes and ethnicities within Lahore. Within the planning of DHA, there is a moment when the necessity of security from ulterior forces of terror becomes not the exception but the norm, and spatializations of security and permanence become a desirable component within the market.

The images on the following page (Fig. 3.3) advertise a new service which allows home and business owners to register employees and tenants with DHA for higher security across entrance gates and other checkpoints. The image shows a clear power dynamic. The employee or tenant is bent over in respect, wearing plain *shalwar kameez*, which is more traditional, modest clothing. Surrounding them are Army officials, dressed in uniform. Above and centre is a large calligraphic painting reading God's name. This image demonstrates the fear and insecurity that is marketed.

3 Sadia Shirazi, "City, Space, Power: Lahore's Architecture of in/Security," *The Funambulist*, .

4 Sadia Shirazi, "City, Space, Power: Lahore's Architecture of in/Security,"

5 Sadia Shirazi, "City, Space, Power: Lahore's Architecture of in/Security,"



Fig.3.3 Deconstruction of marketing material from DHA's Social Media



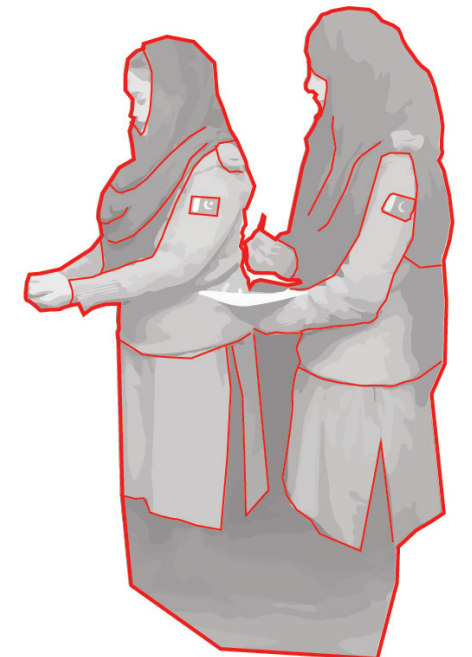
Army officials



Islamic Calligraphy



Home or Business Owner



Army officials



Domestic or Commercial Employee

3.2 Demolition and Retention after Agricultural

Land Acquisition

The military institution has a unique relationship to urban and rural land in Pakistan through military land grants, a tradition inherited through colonial-era legislature.⁶ The Land Acquisition Act (1894) is key in allowing the state to acquire and develop agricultural land for ambiguous purposes. The initial purpose of the act was to give different authorities the power to take land, and land-based resources back from the people for 'public' purposes or for the purposes of a 'Company'. This means that both the government, and private companies, have the right to stake claim to land under circumstances determined entirely by an elite bureaucratic agency. *Public* in this regard means for the use of the public, which essentially includes any development that the government wishes to do, whether it is related to transit, commerce or residential development. An article written by Kanza Rizvi notes the contrast between the amendments that India has made to this act versus those which Pakistan has made. Two key amendments that focus on resettlement were enacted in Pakistan: Resettlement Ordinance (2001), and the National Resettlement Policy (2002). The key issue that remains unaddressed, however, has been the ambiguous definition of the terms required for acquisition. In India, the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (2013), clarifies the term 'public purpose' more carefully. Reforms in Pakistan continue to fail to do so, resulting in mass evictions throughout the country at the hands of private development agencies.

The British had granted land to those soldiers who had served alongside them in the Afghan Wars and the mutiny, and later followed this tradition through the grants given in the Punjab canal colonies.⁷ As early as 1850's, around the time

⁶ Ayesha Siddiqa, *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (Pluto Press, 2015).

⁷ Imran Ali, "The Punjab Canal Colonies, 1885-1940" *The Australian National University*, (1979), .



D
H
A

Fig. 3.4 (Above) Farmers in Karachi standing beside a DHA property marker they knocked down. (Dawn News)

Fig. 3.5 (Right) Drawn recreation of concrete land marker

that Mian Mir cantonment was being built, a new typology of housing, deemed the ‘canal colonies’ were being planned throughout Punjab. The British were attempting to settle groups of “*semi-nodamic pastoralists*” that they considered “*genetically predisposed to crime*.”⁸ In the 1880’s onwards, more colonies based on this ideal were constructed in Punjab surrounding centuries old canals that had been refurbished by the British. These new towns provided the possibility of cultural reform and “*moral transformation*”, as they were isolated and built from scratch. They presented the possibility of a new, British, lifestyle for its inhabitants.⁹

The canal colonies were planned on ‘Crown Land’, which gave the British the right to determine who received land grants within the colonies and how much was given. Parts of this land eventually became gifted to Punjabi ex-soldiers for the purposes of horse and camel breeding and general allotment. During the start of World War 1, these areas were further expanded for the allowance of more military grants. Returning military personnel began to expect to receive these land grants. According to Imran Ali, this signified “*the growing importance of the Military in colonization policy*.”¹⁰ The irrigated lands of the canal colonies became the areas of most agricultural growth, thereby strengthening the military-state’s control of resources.¹¹

Originally developed as a co-operative society under Lahore Cantonment Co-operative Society (LCCH), it is uncertain when DHA’s multi-phased master plan was designed. DHA-EME (Electrical and Mechanical Engineering) sector, constructed before 2000, is currently referred to as Phase 12. Through historic satellite imagery, development in later phases can be seen occurring at the same time as earlier phases. For

8 William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 27-59.

9 Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, 27-59

10 Ali, "The Punjab Canal Colonies, 1885-1940"

11 Ali, "The Punjab Canal Colonies, 1885-1940"

example, construction for part of Phase 8 Ex Air Avenue began in 2003, before Phase 6 development even began to be seen on the ground. Therefore, it is unclear whether DHA is based on an overarching, definitive master plan, or if areas that are acquired are then developed under their authority. Despite this, the process of land acquisition, and systems of land divisions play an important role in the haphazard development patterns that define the development’s edge conditions.

On September 10th 2015, in Lahore, the Express Tribune reported that villagers in Sangatpura were filing a petition against DHA to have the barricades placed around their village removed.

“Counsel for the petitioners told the court that the DHA had blocked routes leading to Sangatpura village near Burki [Road]. He said that the DHA wanted to purchase land cheaply rates by using these tactics. He told the court that sewerage lines of the village were being demolished by the DHA.”

A similar story was published in Dawn on the 28th of September noting these barricades as well as a disruption in water services to the village of Sangatpura. This piece was written by Umair Javed, an assistant professor at LUMS. He notes that both the conclusion and accuracy of these reports are questionable as there was no follow up to the claims. However, hovering over the area on Google Earth and seeing Sangatpura missing in 2020, it is clear that the claims of DHA wanting to expand further East towards Bedian Road and Bar-ki Road were at least true. It is also true that despite pushback, their agricultural land is now mostly developed as DHA Phase 7. The appearance of land markers and barricades is the first physical change that can be seen on the land. The land markers may be temporary but the barricades separating the internalized villages from their surrounding gentrified context often remain in place and form a part of the security infrastructure that separates the two economic zones. The case of Sangatpura, however is that of complete demolition.

In the newspaper *Dawn*, writer Haroon Khalid describes the integration of the village of Charrar in DHA's Phase 1 development as the *imprisonment* of the original inhabitants into this upper-class housing scheme. It was the first village to be incorporated within DHA's development—today, there are at least 14 post-agricultural villages that exist within the boundaries of DHA. When Lahore Cantonment was built, Charrar was documented to have only “several ruined tenements”.¹² Idle security guards in chairs mark the entrances between Charrar and the DHA, their jobs not fully apparent as people move freely between. He mentions that before the land surrounding the village was sold, Charrar was self-sufficient, living off of its own yield.¹³ By no means an ‘informal settlement’, Charrar’s informality within its context was imposed on to it by the rapid gentrification of its surroundings. It was originally established in the 14th century. Khalid notes another village that rests not within but beside DHA: Amar Sidhu, which was established in the 16th century and contains historical Sikh sites.¹⁴ Khalid’s work focusses on the erosion of cultural and ethnic plurality that colonialism and Islamic nationalism brought upon Lahore. The walled and demolished villages within DHA boundaries may not all contain historic monuments but each of them contain stories from a demographic who are simply pushed to the sidelines for the propagation of elitist architecture. His book *Imagining Lahore* aims to unearth these historic narratives.

The following section looks at the demolition and integration scenarios of these two villages within DHA’s scheme boundaries.

12 Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, 27-59

13 Haroon Khalid, "Beyond Shiny Houses - Lahore's Story," *Dawn* Nov 10, 2015. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1218123>.

14 Khalid, "Beyond Shiny Houses - Lahore's Story,"

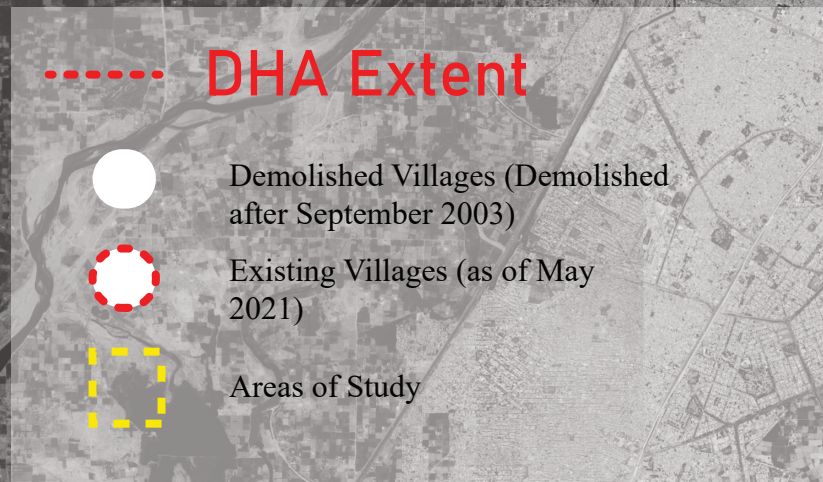


Fig. 3.6 DHA Property lines with areas of study outlined in yellow



E.M.E
(Electrical and
Mechanical Engineers Society)

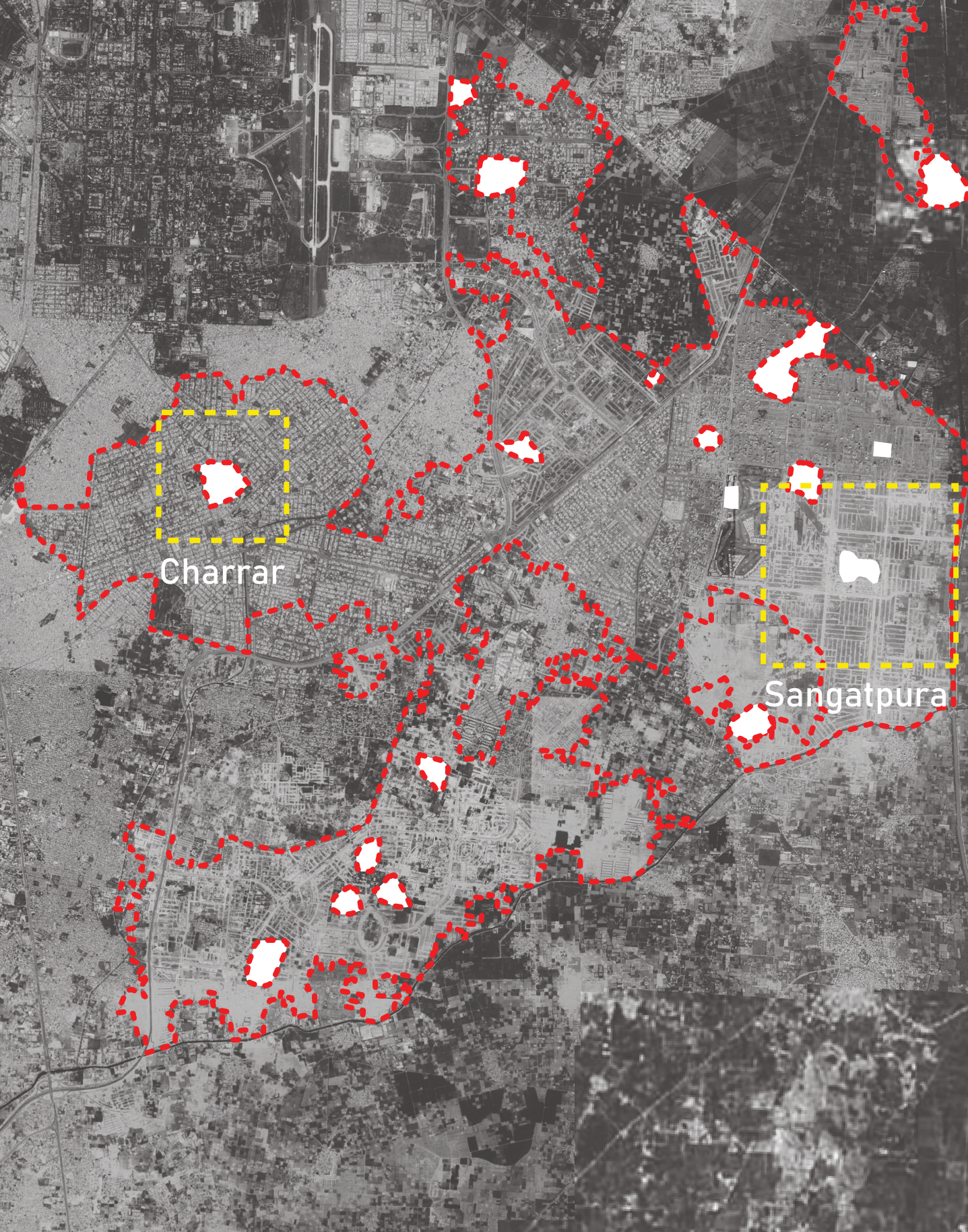




Fig.3.7 Sangatpura Satellite Imagery
(Google Earth, September 2003)



Fig.3.8 Sangatpura Satellite Imagery
(Google Earth, December 2020)

Sangatpura Village

DHA, Phase 7

Demolished

Area: Approx 25 acres (2003)

The following site plans show the demolition of Sangatpura undertaken by DHA from 2003 to 2020. The street lines intersect the fluid boundaries of the village with rigidity, not attempting to consider proper urban integration of the existing context. The red lines denote the construction of boundary walls by DHA. By looking at the new development in relationship to these boundary lines, we can get an idea of how the process of land acquisition works alongside construction. Walls separate areas that have been acquired from those that have not. In Figure 3.19, the remaining built-up area encircled by walls is a school and graveyard that was part of the village.

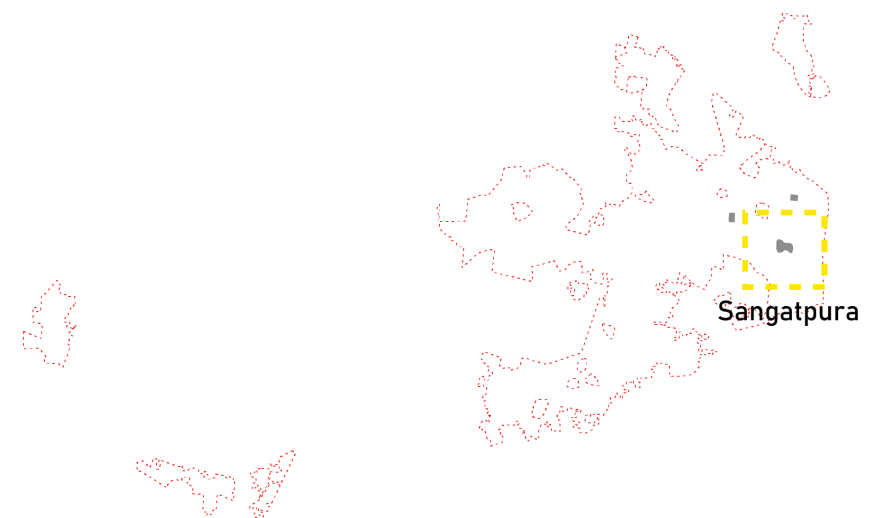


Fig. 3.9 Sangatpura Site Plan: September 2003



Fig. 3.10 Sangatpura Site Plan: December 2015



Fig. 3.11 Sangatpura Site Plan: November 2018



Fig. 3.12 Sangatpura Site Plan: June 2020



Fig. 3.13 Sangatpura Site Plan: October 2020

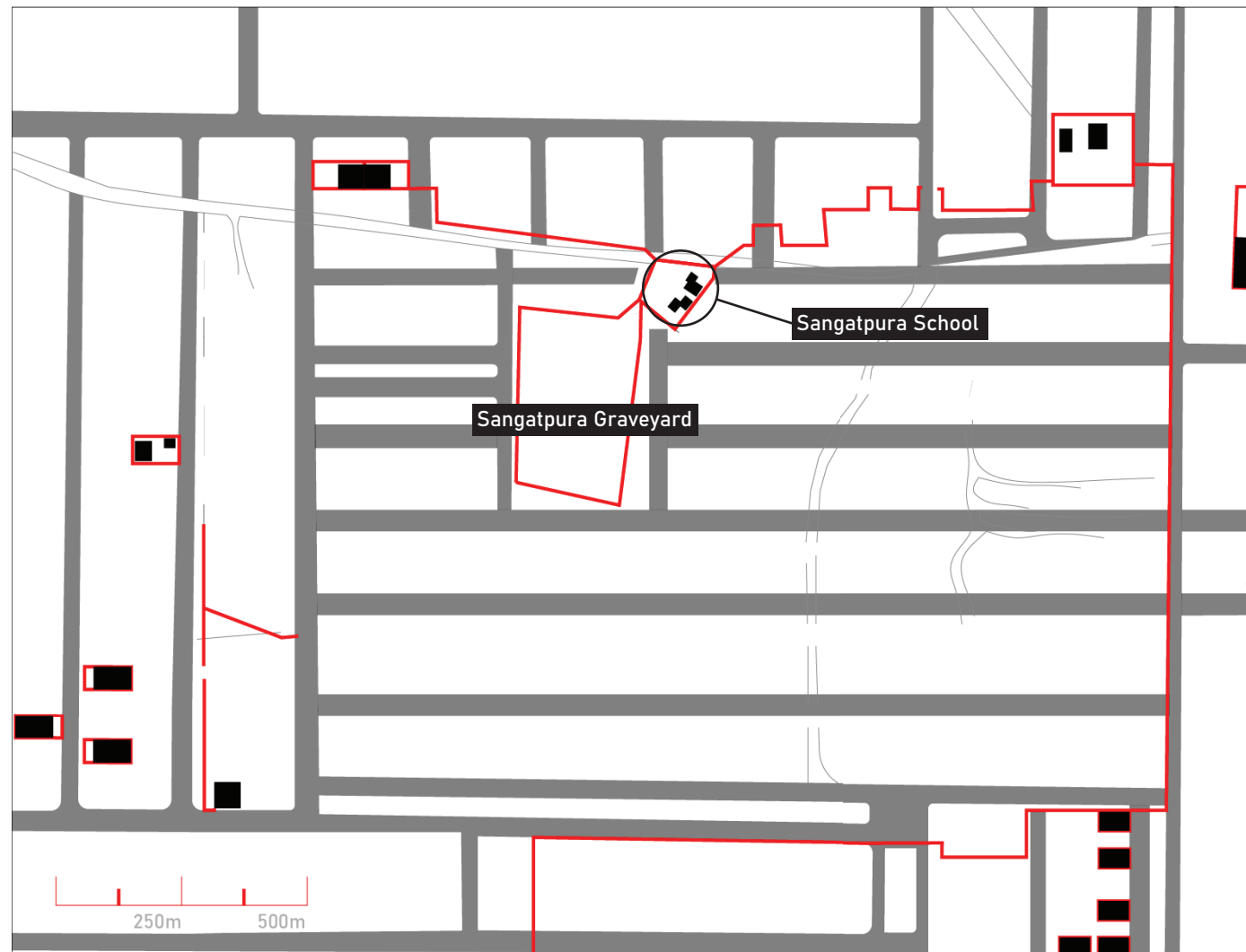


Fig. 3.14 Sangatpura Site Plan: August 2021

Most recent available imagery of Sangatpura is seen through DHA Phase 7 flyovers and drive throughs in videos available on YouTube for the marketing purposes, likely for buyers and investors who are not able to visit the development. A video posted by a real estate company in August 2021 shows a majority of the boundary walls removed, which shows that the entirety of the village has been demolished and residents have left. Scattered boundary walls that encircled the village remain, but the real estate agent in the video assures buyers that these will be removed soon as well.

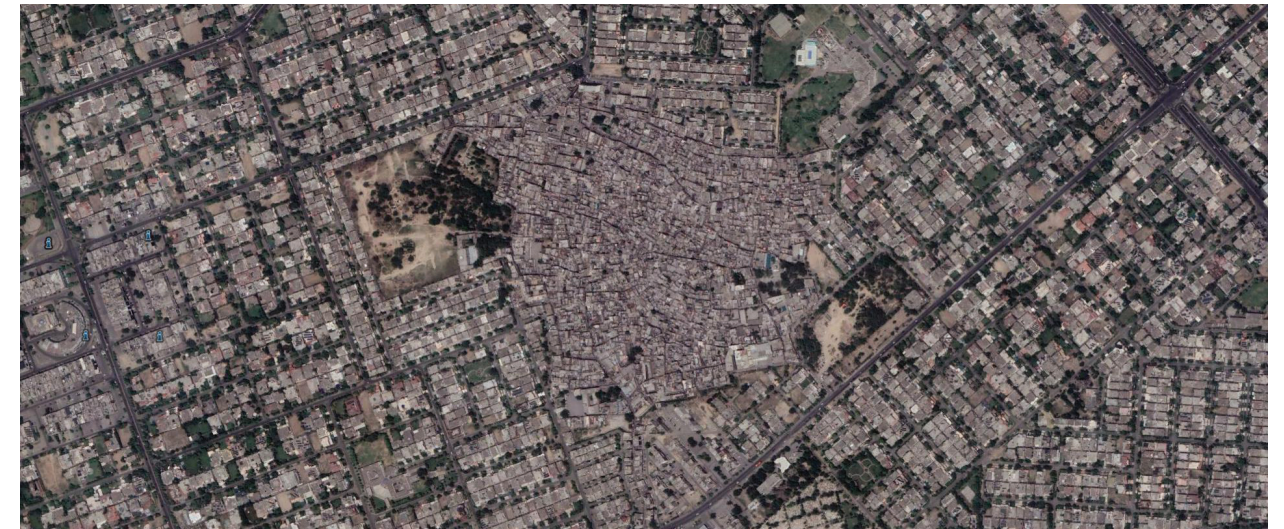


Fig. 3.15 Charrar Satellite Imagery (Google Earth, January 2001)

Fig. 3.16 Charrar Satellite Imagery (Google Earth, June 2021)

Charrar Village

DHA, Phase 1

Retained

Area: 90 acres

At the time of professor and journalist Umair Javed's study in 2013, housed "about 2000 families". He notes that in contrast, the same area of DHA hosts a fraction of that number, approximately "120-150 families".¹⁵ He recounts his visit to Charrar in an article written in *Tanqeed*, an online publication. The residents of Charrar have a dual-edged relationship to their adjacent affluent community. One of the locals mentioned that the strong boundary wall is a positive element, that they give out free meals during Ramazan, and provides the opportunity to work in domestic help.¹⁶ However, as Javed also mentions, the boundary wall constructed by DHA is more so for the security of the residents of DHA, and domestic labor throughout Pakistan is heavily underpaid.

DHA's development meets the edges of Charrar in rigid ways. The edges of residential and other private property lines shown in red form walls, often lined with barbed wire. The commercial area south of the village, and the Mosque to the west provide some shared linkages between different residents. Otherwise, the village and its surrounding context are purposefully separated through the construction of physical boundary walls that encircle private residential and recreational property

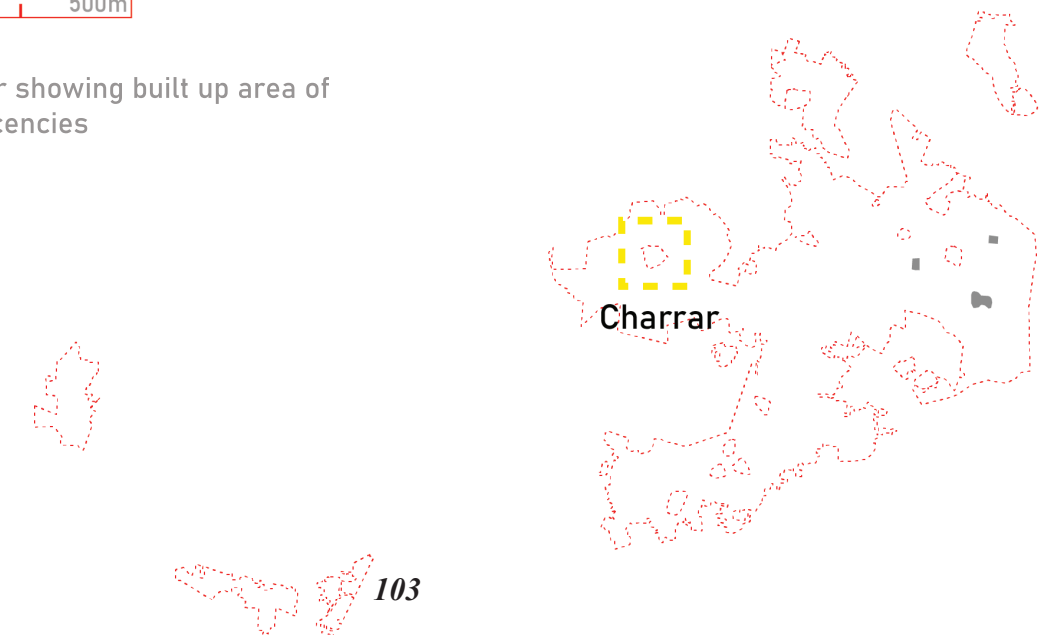
such as *Defence Club*. Pedestrian and vehicular circulation between the two urban fabrics remains informal. The appearance of security is maintained through security guards upon different entries, as well as possibly the purposeful existence of a police station to the east.

¹⁵ Umair Javed, "Hegemony in Punjab," *Tanqeed*, 2015.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*



Fig. 3.17 Map of Charrar showing built up area of the village and its adjacencies







3.4 Entrance Gates

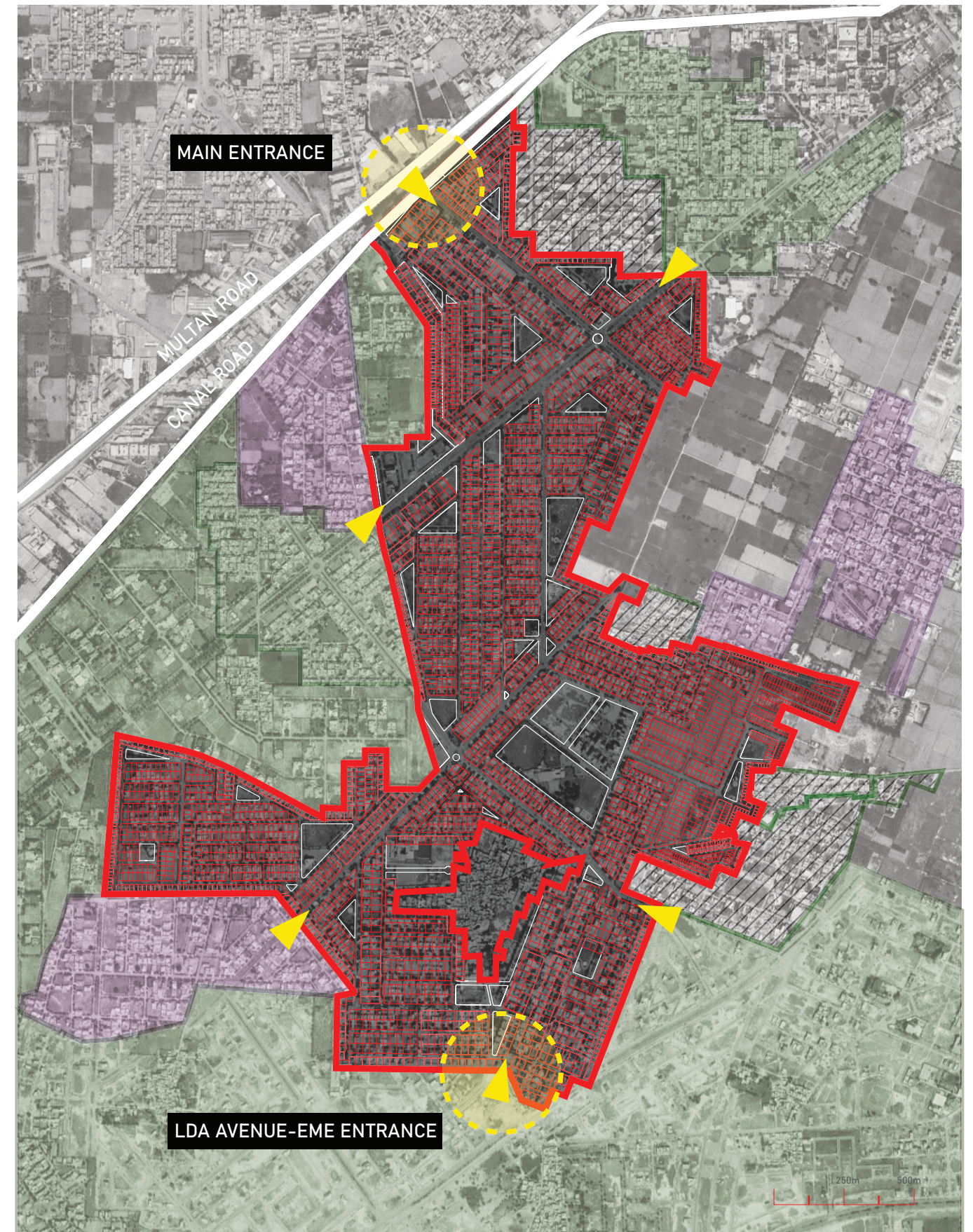
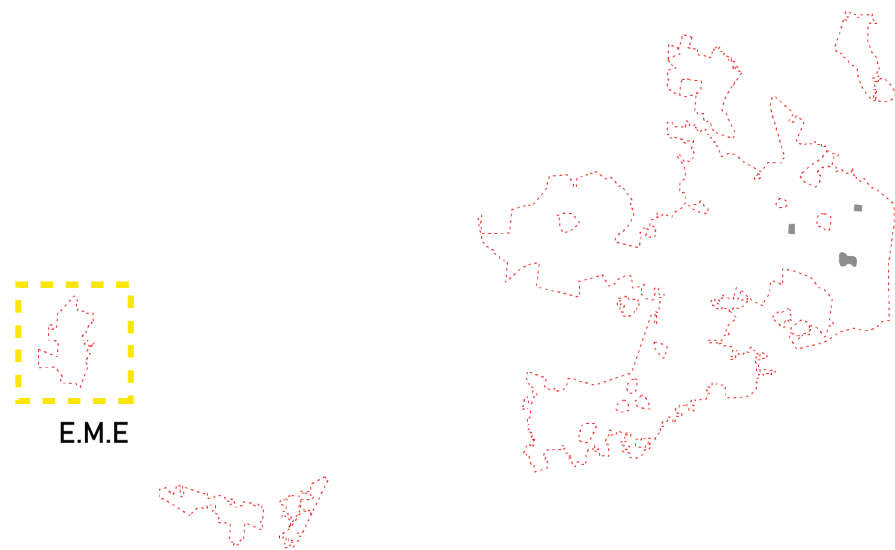
DHA has dedicated entrance points which look different in architectural expression based on their adjacent property. The entry points allow for the control of entry and exit, as well as the portrayal of prestige and power. This section looks at two entry points in E.M.E, which was built around 2001 but became DHA Phase 12. This specific part of DHA likely precedes their south-eastern masterplan and was amalgamated under the Defence Housing Authority establishment due it being a housing society that was previously operated by the Pakistan Army. “E.M.E.” is short for the *Pakistan Army Corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers*.

The site plan on the adjacent page shows the boundaries of EME, with entrances marked in yellow. Blocked out colours show what development agency owns adjacent property. Red lines denote private property boundary lines within EME. These lines are manifested in space in the form of built walls and restrict circulation. As the map shows, connections are made between other middle- and high-income neighborhoods, and temporary or permanent walls are constructed along agricultural, unapproved, or informal adjacencies. The following drawings show these entrances in more detail, and contrast the built conditions that come out of the desire of security versus the demonstration of power.

Fig. 3.18 (Right) EME Housing Development site plan with property boundaries and adjacencies

Development Body Key

-  Unknown/Unapproved
-  Lahore Development Authority
-  Punjab Co-operatives
-  Property Lines



E.M.E./D.H.A. Phase 12

Secondary Entrance

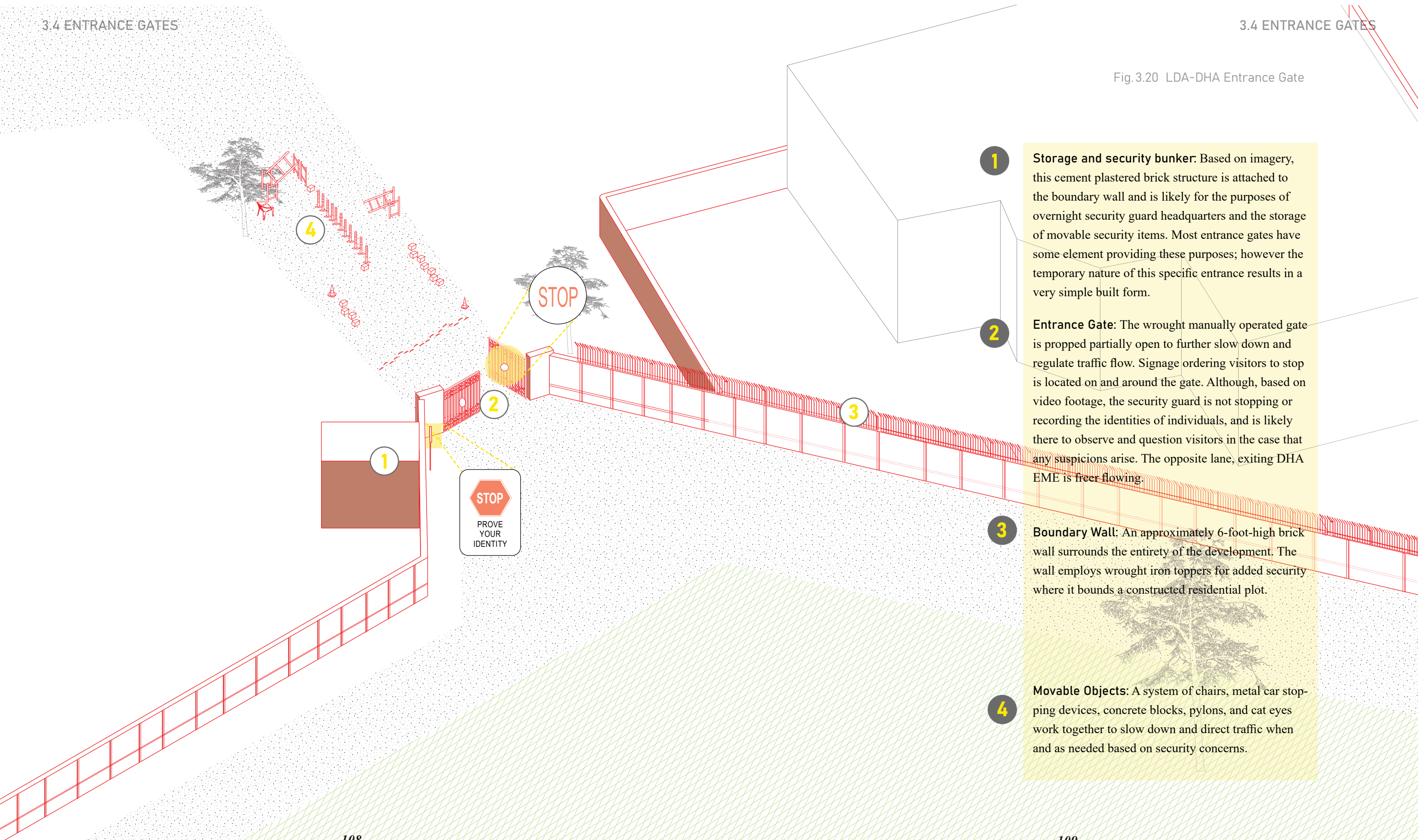
This boundary line condition exists adjacent to *LDA Avenue*, a new developing housing colony by Lahore Development Authority. As the adjacent site, shown in green lines, is currently under construction, the entry condition contains more informal elements of security. Cars and visitors pass through an initial gate, followed by a series of concrete blockades that ensure that vehicles cannot drive through the empty plots that are adjacent to the entry. The last checkpoint is through a security guard operating a car stopper. *LDA Avenue* is another middle to upper-middle class development, however it is largely undeveloped and does not have finished boundary walls itself. Just outside the entrance, there are informal tents with merchants selling meat and produce. The ‘informality’ of the current site is likely why this level of security is required. The following diagram was based on a real estate video available on YouTube, published in August 2020.



Fig.3.19 Drawing showing a partial area of the LDA-DHA Boundary line.

The green line denotes LDA's in progress development.

Fig. 3.20 LDA-DHA Entrance Gate



1 Storage and security bunker: Based on imagery, this cement plastered brick structure is attached to the boundary wall and is likely for the purposes of overnight security guard headquarters and the storage of movable security items. Most entrance gates have some element providing these purposes; however the temporary nature of this specific entrance results in a very simple built form.

2 Entrance Gate: The wrought manually operated gate is propped partially open to further slow down and regulate traffic flow. Signage ordering visitors to stop is located on and around the gate. Although, based on video footage, the security guard is not stopping or recording the identities of individuals, and is likely there to observe and question visitors in the case that any suspicions arise. The opposite lane, exiting DHA EME is freer flowing.

3 Boundary Wall: An approximately 6-foot-high brick wall surrounds the entirety of the development. The wall employs wrought iron toppers for added security where it bounds a constructed residential plot.

4 Movable Objects: A system of chairs, metal car stopping devices, concrete blocks, pylons, and cat eyes work together to slow down and direct traffic when and as needed based on security concerns.

E.M.E./D.H.A. Phase 12

Primary Entrance

The main entrance gate is located off of a major arterial road, Canal Road. The gate opens up to a six-lane boulevard called Jinnah Avenue, which is the major circulatory road within the development named after the nation's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The entry gate also contains both movable and fixed mechanisms of power and security. The following diagram is based off of images and videos made publicly available in the Summer of 2020. Similar to the secondary entrance, some of the movable elements may be to allow for more circulatory control due to COVID.

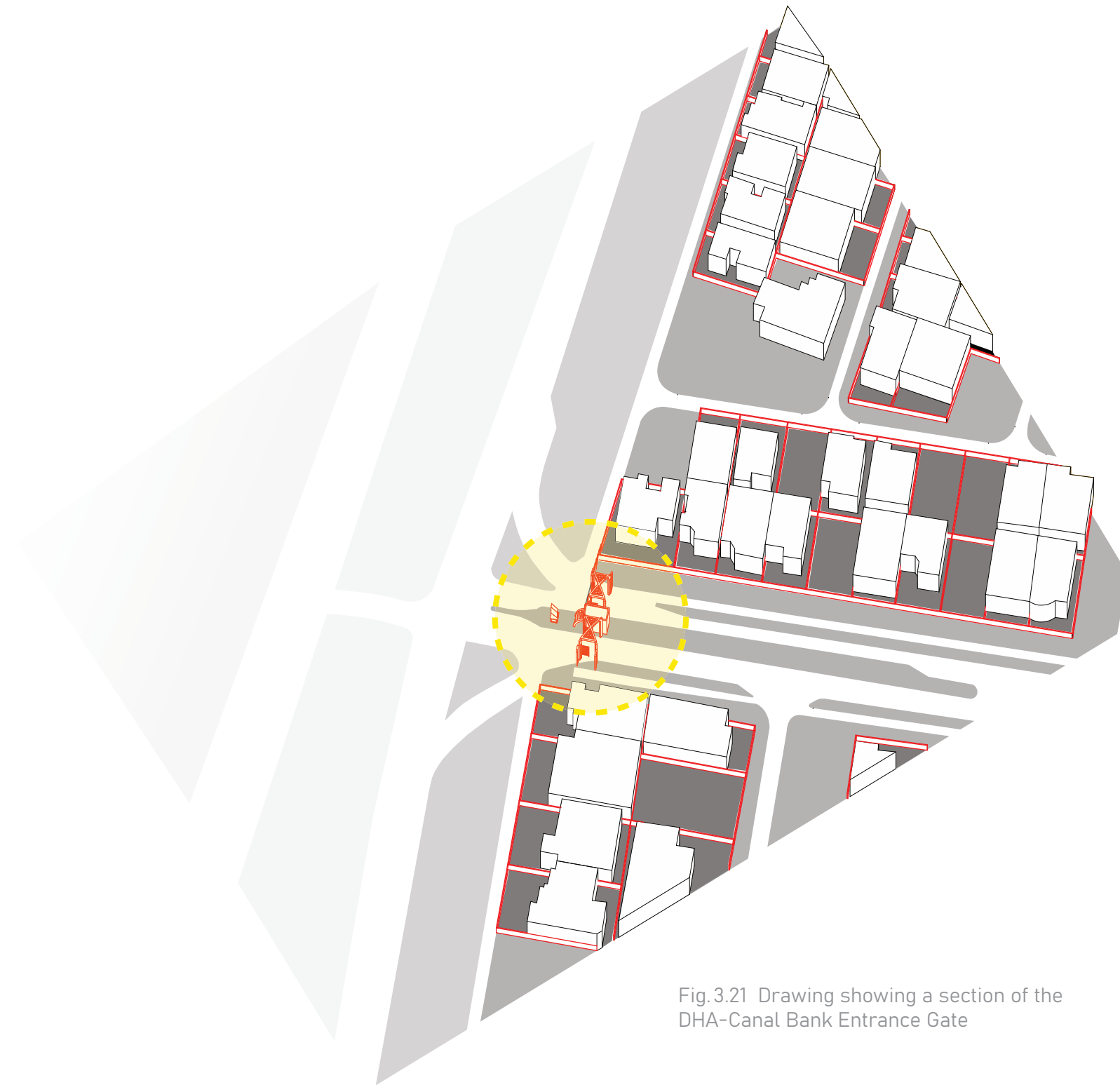
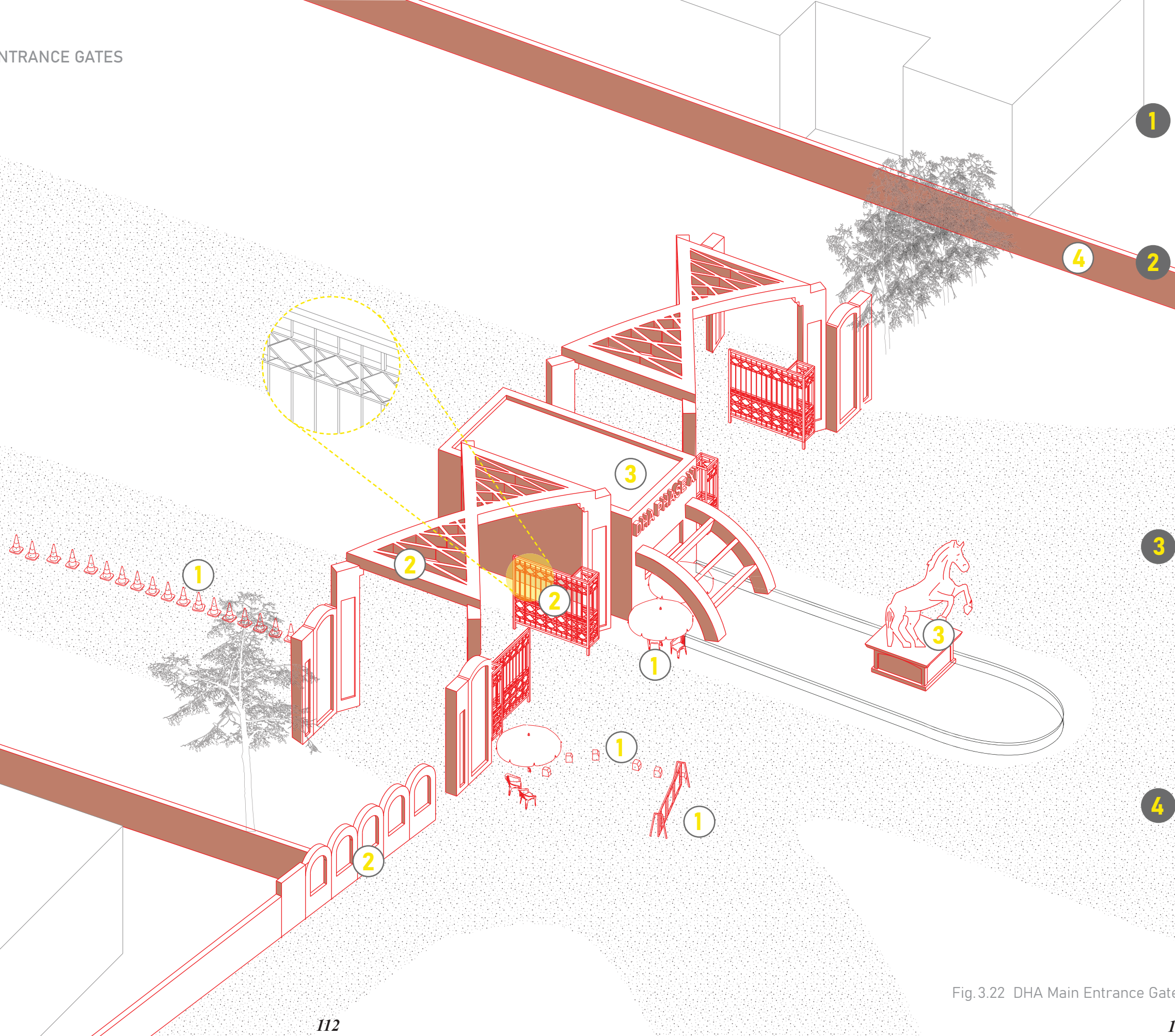


Fig.3.21 Drawing showing a section of the DHA-Canal Bank Entrance Gate



1 Movable Objects: A system of chairs and umbrellas, concrete blocks, cat eyes, road barricades, and pylons work together to slow down and direct traffic when and as needed based on security concerns.built form.

2 Islamic/ Mughal Ornament: The design of the gate employs three major patterns: the geometric patterns on the gates, the arched walls, and the geometric canopy structure. Overall, the style incorporates elements of Islamic geometric art, and arches that are common in the Mughal period buildings in the Lahore’s Walled City, as well as in the subcontinent at large. Simplified Islamic geometric motifs, that are seen in the canopy structure and gate patterns, are common in contemporary Islamic architecture internationally.

3 Military Symbolism: The central axis of the entrance gate contains symbolic elements that are not related to the idea of an international Islam, rather, they incorporate elements of military prestige and power. The horse figure is the central element of the Pakistan Army Corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers badge. The central bunker like form is the security guard headquarters. A robust concrete trellis structure is built outwards from the security building, visually fortifying the entrance gate.

4 Boundary Wall: An approximately 6-foot-high cement plastered brick wall surrounds the entirety of the development

Fig.3.22 DHA Main Entrance Gate

4

Street Systems

- 4.1 Progress within the Gated Community
- 4.2 Organization at the City and Sector Scale
- 4.3 The Mosque

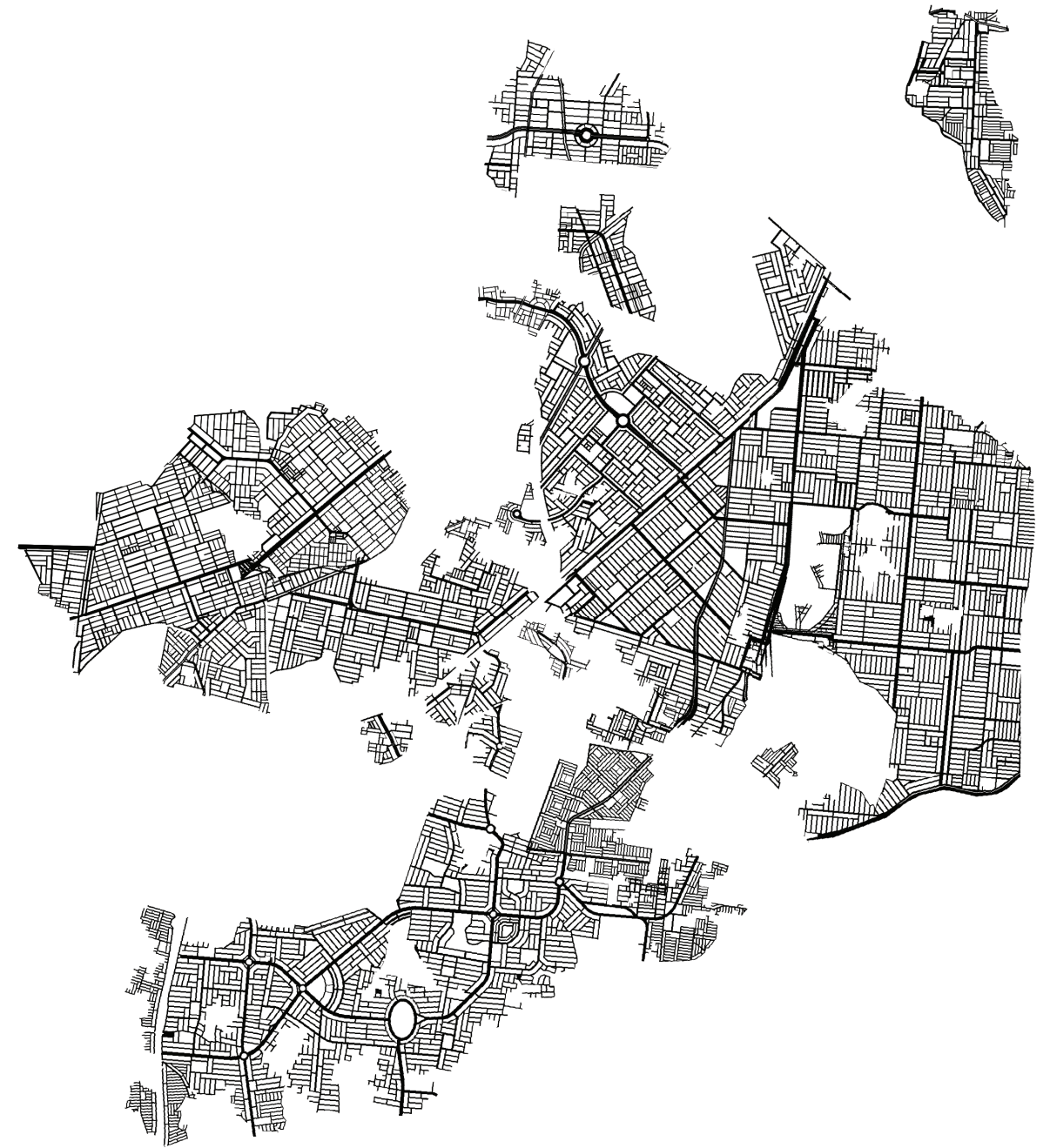
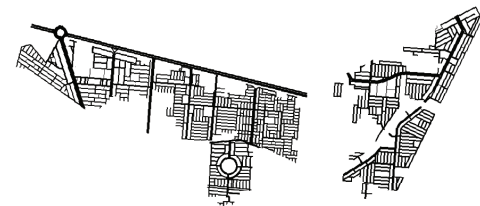
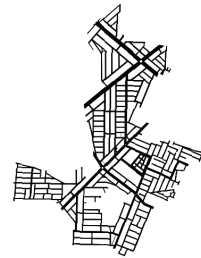


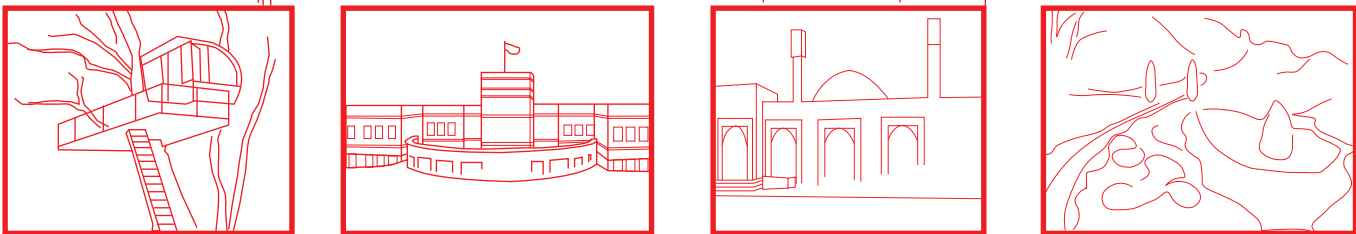
Fig. 4.1 Abstract representation of DHA street grid

IVY Green
Sector Z Phase VIII

Fast Pace Development Works
start from
15th July 2016

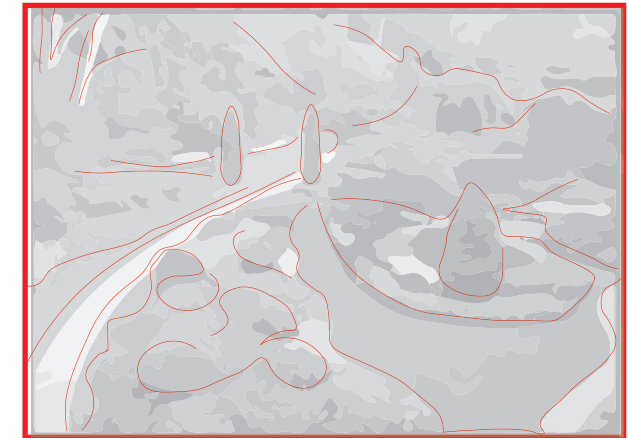
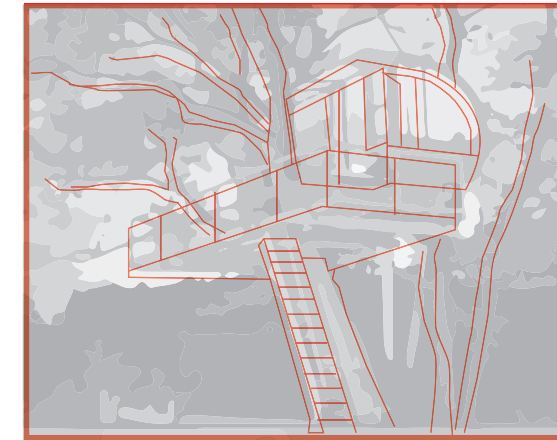
Facilities

- Eco Elegant Living
- Solar Street Lights
- Japanese Gardens
- Event Complex
- Walled & Gated Community
- Evenly Distributed Amenities
- Interactive Play Area
- Interactive Fountain
- Green Maze
- Tree House Coffee Shop
- Round The Clock Security
- Hierarchical Road Network



The Ultimate Living Concept | **DHA LAHORE**

Together towards greener pastures



Together towards greener pastures

- Solar Street Lights
- Evenly Distributed Amenities
- Hierarchical Road Network

Fig.4.2 Breakdown of DHA Advertisement

4.1 Progress within the Gated Community

A brochure advertising the new DHA Phase 9 boasts of “*Lush green landscapes and parks, thoroughfares and boulevards, Underground water, power and gas, 24/7 guarded entrance and security, family club house, and sports complex*”¹ Alongside the text is a generic, stock photo of a two-way country road disappearing into the horizon. There is also a diagram of new Wi-Fi infrastructure, which through reverse image search can be traced back to multiple articles and webpages about “Li-Fi”. A third image simply shows a close up of a solar-powered streetlight. This brochure, like much of DHA’s advertisement material, is full of stock imagery that is seemingly from the North American world. Alongside these images are captions that idealize self-sufficiency, security, and technological advancement as checkpoints for a developed society. An advertisement communicating similar selling points is shown in Fig 4.2.

The gridded streets that organize these amenities and insulated resources have been manifestations of state power through colonial rule and during Ayub Khan’s control.² The historic fabric of Lahore and towns within India before colonial intervention was from an outside perspective, hard to navigate, understand, or control. One of the first interventions by the British in Lahore was Circular Road, a wide road encircling the Walled City, constructed before 1875. All British settlement and development occurred outside of this core. Circular Road acted as an organizational element by separating the old city from areas that were at the time more rural and easier to work with.

Desires of progress materializing in the urban grid have been common in much of colonial intervention, as well as in early development and nationalistic projects that took

1 Defence Housing Authority, "DHA Prism Phase IX Marketing Brochure," .

2 Sundas Shahid, "The Urban Grid: Control and Power" April 03, 2014, .

place post-independence. In Lahore, these aspirations were previously materialized by gridded streets that were consistent throughout British-era residential development.

The Mian Mir cantonment was designed in the 1850’s, and it had similar endeavors. At the center of the plan was an Anglican church. Separate markets and facilities were built for military residents. Linear streets were etched out of thin air on to empty land. William J. Glover conjectures that the ‘countryside’ must have been easier to design and build upon compared to the city, where there was an existing fabric and sociology to deal with. However, the problems of the historic city, saw their way into Mian Mir as well. The cantonment suffered bouts of diseases, as exchange between surrounding villages and the cantonment residents continued. This led to the surveying of villages within 5 miles of the site, which included about 48 villages. Documentation included “*drainage, sources of water supply, and the visible appearance of houses and people.*”³ The act of constructing Mian Mir cantonment was rooted in a desire for organization, and the planning of this reflects it. William Glover discusses Mian Mir cantonment as a “*clear manifestations of the colonial spatial imagination at work*”⁴ Other British-era residential developments include Mayo Garden and Government Officer’s Residences (G.O.R. 1). The organization of streets through out these developments was consistent. Their purpose, similar to DHA’s initial purpose, was to house Government and Army officials during service and after retirement. The contrast that is created by the layout of these developments and their surroundings is through the linear, hierarchical street formations.

Another manifestation of the colonial spatial imagination are the previously mentioned canal colonies. The canal colonies started off as agricultural and industrial reformatories, designed in a panoptic layout. Areas of land surrounding

3 William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 27-59.

4 Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, 27-59

the canal were irrigated to provide for development. These colonies are discussed by William Glover in *Making Lahore Modern* as being: “*organized in long narrow strips of land, with a road running through the center of the settlement and with individual cottages facing the road.*” The design of the settlement layouts was geared towards ease of surveillance. In some colonies, house inspections were carried out weekly.⁵

This section looks at the layout of DHA to understand its underlying ideologies of organization. DHA’s hierarchical streets are a key design component in the organization of upper middle-class territory. The street system is rigid, rarely changing based on its surrounding context, making it an imposing form on the land. The entrance gates that form a part of the boundary line system are located on Main Boulevard, a 150-200’ wide connective axis, providing circulation within DHA’s different phases. The next category of streets is typically 40-60’, servicing commercial and residential blocks. There are areas of exception, such as certain commercial areas with 60’-80’ roads, as well older developments such as EME, which was later incorporated into the DHA, has narrower typical street widths. Each phase contains neighborhoods centered around amenities such as Mosques, parks, schools, hospitals and shopping centres. A mixture of plot sizes make up different neighbourhoods, seemingly providing a variety of affordability options. This section is focused on understanding the organization principles of DHA colonies by first looking at key historical precedents, then studying organization at the city,

5 Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, 27-59

neighborhood, and architectural scale.

4.2 Ideological Organization through Infrastructure at the City and Sector Scale

The planning ideologies previously discussed were further instilled in Lahore's residential scheme typology by Greek planner and architect Constantinos Doxiadis in the 1950's, under the direction of President Ayub Khan. Before Lahore Cantonment Co-operative Housing Society (LCCHS) was constructed, Lahore contained another developing typology of residential planning which came about through the modernization principles of Ayub Khan's rule. In the 1950's 'townships' were constructed in Lahore and Karachi. An analysis by Markus Daechsel of the Korangi Township in Karachi talks about the contradicting visions of the planner, C.A. Doxiadis, and the military regime, highlighting how the massive scale and prestige of the town was more as a show of success and power by the military.⁶ Before Korangi, Dr. C. A. Doxiadis had been employed to develop the master plan of Islamabad by Ayub Khan, who was then the President of Pakistan. The linearity and planning principles that Doxiadis brought to Pakistan, Ammara Maqsood notes, can be seen in DHA as well.⁷ These influences translate both to large scale planning, and planning at the neighborhood scale. Islamabad was planned as a model for "A City of the Future".⁸

Islamabad's metropolitan area was designed similarly to DHA, in larger 'sectors', for 20-40 thousand people (Fig.

6 MARKUS DAECHSEL, "Sovereignty, Governmentality and Development in Ayub's Pakistan: The Case of Korangi Township," *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no. 1 (2011), 131-157. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25835670>.

7 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

8 Constantinos A. Doxiadis, *Project Brief: Islamabad and the Capital of Pakistan*.

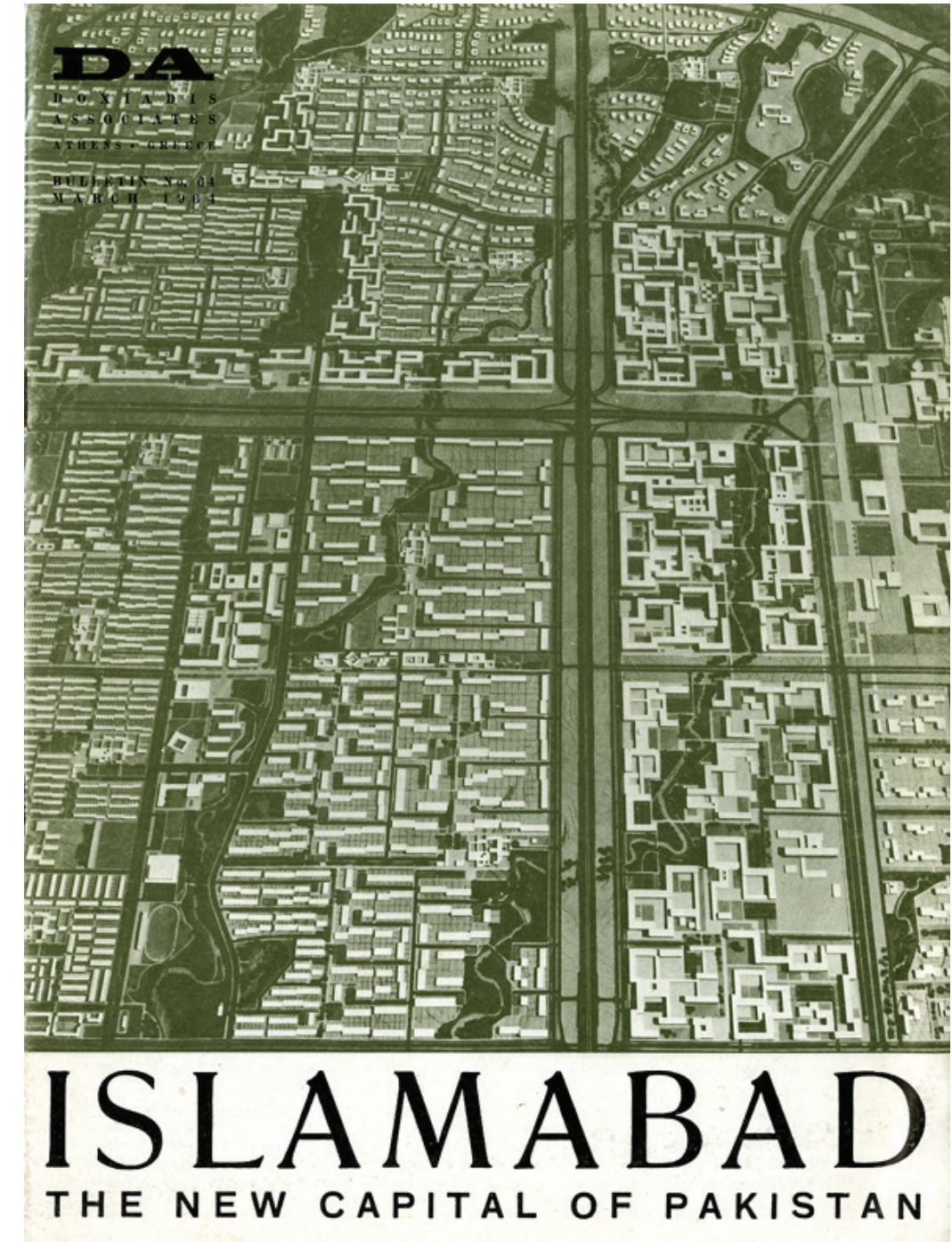


Fig.4.3 Poster showing photography of a model of the Islamabad master plan from March 1964 (Copyright Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation)

4.3-4.4.). The sectors were arranged in a grid formation, with hierarchical latitudinal and longitudinal roads; the widest being highways at 1200 ft, secondary rods at 600 ft, and roads servicing each sector at 100-300ft. Each sector in the Islamabad plan, similarly to DHA, is designed to be self-sufficient. The following page shows a sector within DHA and a sector within Islamabad for comparison (Fig. 4.5-4.6). Sectors in Doxiadis' plan are further divided to provide separations between income levels⁹, whereas in DHA, there is less income distribution as it is mostly aimed towards upper middle class. Doxiadis' role in urban planning and architecture in Pakistan was part of the larger endeavor to blend "regional symbolism, Islamic iconography, and technological modernism"¹⁰ and create a sense of Islamic nationalism through urban design. The military, operating under Ayub Khan at the time, was a key component of this movement. Doxiadis' urban planning represents the confluence of the Military's ideals for the nation and the Ford Foundations' agenda for the post-colonial world.¹¹ Therefore C.A. Doxiadis' developments through out Pakistan represent a key movement towards the architectural manifestations of post 1980's economic liberalisation, which Ayyaz Mallick theorizes as the cause of the middle-class hegemony in Pakistan.¹²

"Ekistics" was an urban planning theory developed by C.A. Doxiadis in 1941, initially for post-war reconstruc-

9 Constantinos A. Doxiadis, *Project Brief: Islamabad and the Capital of Pakistan*

10 Farhan Karim, "Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958–1968," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 5 (2016a), 135-161. doi:10.1386/ijia.5.1.135_1.

11 Karim, "Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958–1968," , 135-161

12 Ayyaz Mallick, "Urban Space and (the Limits of) Middle Class Hegemony in Pakistan," *Null* 39, no. 7 (2018), 1113-1120. doi:10.1080/02723638.2018.1439555. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2018.1439555>.

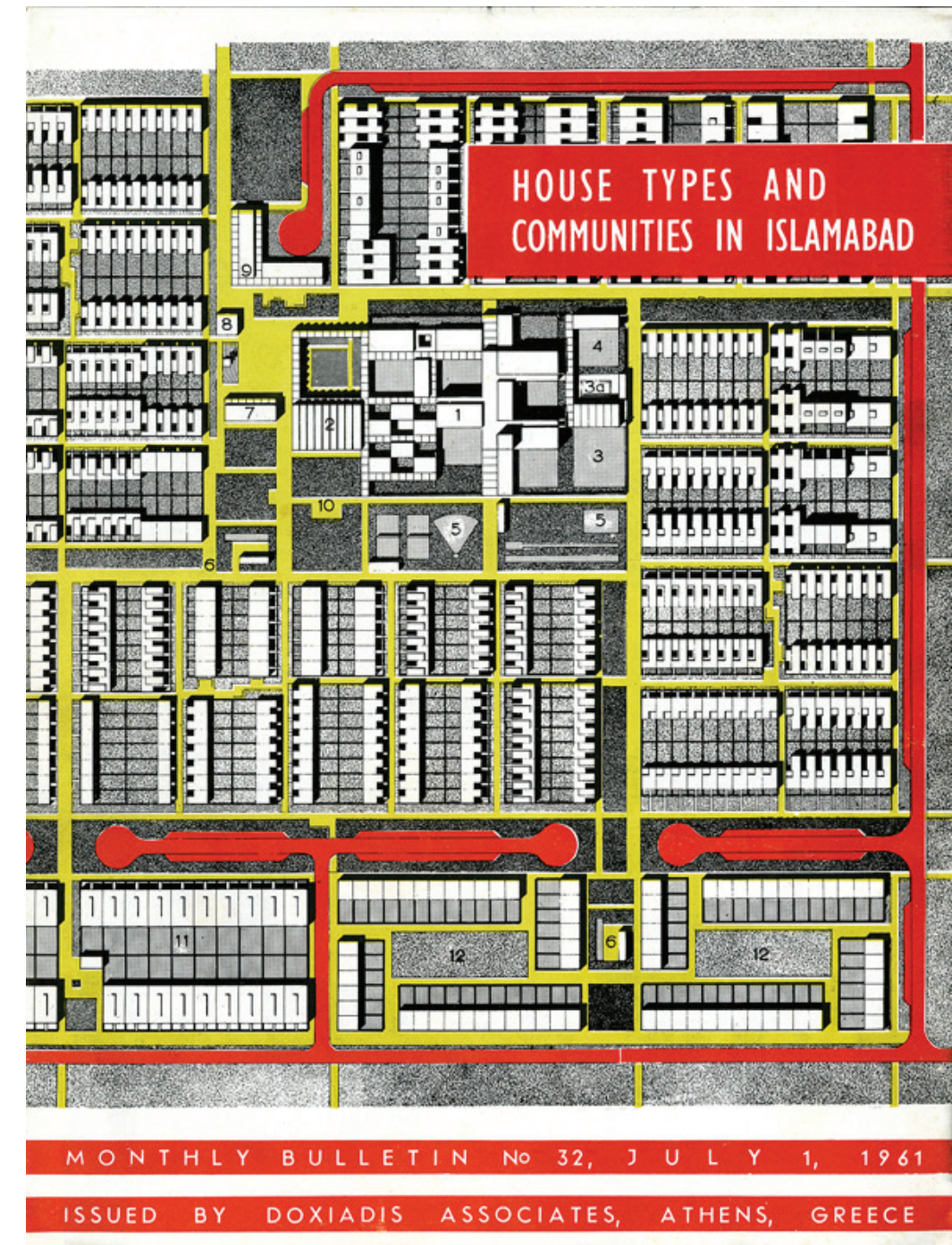


Fig.4.4 Design drawing of Sector planning in Islamabad from July 1961 (Copyright Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation)



Fig. 4.5 'Sector' E-12 Islamabad further divided into four 'Communities'

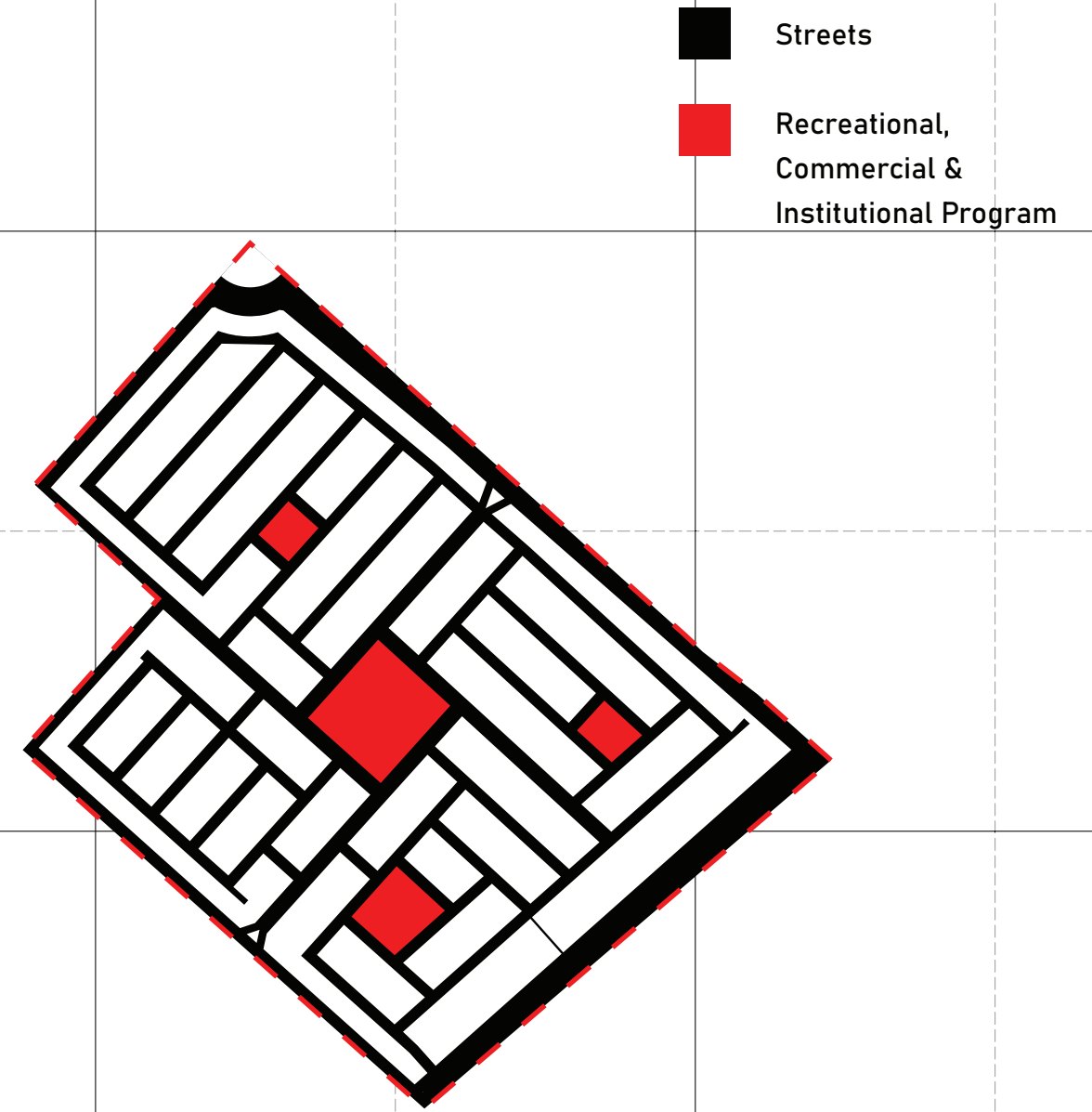


Fig. 4.6 'Sector' W (DHA Lahore Phase 8)

tion in Greece. His research and development was eventually found to be suitable by the Ford Foundation for the purposes of the development of post-colonial countries.¹³ Farhan Karim explores the conjunction of Ekistics and Islamic nationalism, stating that in collaboration with the Pakistani state, specifically working with Ayub Khan, Doxiadis formed some conceptual approaches in his urban planning strategies that were specific to the ideologies of Islamic nationalism. The basic tenants of Islamic architectural and urban form became related to simplicity, order, and “*clarity of expression*”.¹⁴ Islamic design also entered into a binary relationship with traditional Hindu architecture, the latter of which became deemed to be ‘*disorderly*’ or ‘*chaotic*’.¹⁵ Islamic principles of planning were then likened to the classic Greek architecture principles that represented his ideal.

Unlike many other piece-meal private developments in Lahore and Pakistan, DHA has expanded to a continuous 150 sq. km since the 1980’s, with the majority of development occurring after the late 1990’s. This has allowed it to integrate itself within the larger urban fabric in deliberate ways, exposing ideologies of organization at the city scale.

The majority of DHA is longitudinally defined by Ferozepur Road, Bedian Road, Barki Road, DHA Main Boulevard, and Broadview Main Boulevard. Ferozepur Road predates its development; it was planned to provide access to Model Town and future developments in the 1920’s. Laterally, DHA is accessed through major connective axis developed alongside DHA, such as Walton Road, Ghazi Road, Shang-

13 Farhan Karim, "Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958–1968," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 5 (2016b), 135-161. doi:10.1386/ijia.5.1.135_1.

14 Karim, "Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958–1968," , 135-161

15 Karim, "Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958–1968," , 135-161

hai Road which becomes Shabbir Sharif Road, Rohi Nala Road, and Lahore Ring Road. These are all shown on Fig. 4.4. Ghazi Road was built some time in the 1980’s, connecting Ferozepur Road to DHA Phase 1-3, and encircling Lahore Cantonment. Shabbir Sharif Boulevard is named after a martyred Major in the Pakistan Army. There are some other major streets and parks in DHA that are also named after high-ranking martyred military officials, however, the majority of internal streets within sectors are numbered. EME (DHA Phase 12) in particular has streets named after different Muslim poets, such as Rumi and Allama Iqbal, which speaks to the desire to be a ‘culturally’ Islamic nation.

Bedian and Barki Road radiate outward from Lahore all the way to the national border at two points. Bedian Road leads to Bedian Village, a historical, Sikh village near the border, and Barki Road, which is a key point at the India-Pakistan border, cutting through Barki Village. It becomes Khalra Bhikiwind Road once it enters India. Apart from GT Road, which leads to the more well known Wahga Border, these two roads are some of the closest direct access routes from Lahore to the Pak-India Border.

DHA’s main internal connections are either to Walton Road towards Lahore Cantonment, Ferozepur Road, which forms the main longitudinal axis for upper-class development, or Ring Road, which is a mega highway project that was established by the Government of Pakistan in 2009.

The majority of DHA is located on the southeast corner of Lahore’s metropolis area, however Ring Road connects the central phases to the eastern phases directly. It encircles Lahore, following the path of the city’s outward expansion. Ring road provides ease of access to the development of more gated communities in Lahore’s periphery. Constructed and proposed interchanges are connected to key upper-middle class developments such as DHA Halloki Gardens, Bahria Town and Lake City. The north-western edge of the highway connected to Shahdara, where another mega-project is in the works under Prime Minister Imran Khan’s

KEY

- Streets Adjacent to DHA (excluding EME)
- Lahore Ring Road (proposed extent is dashed)
- Lahore Ring Road Interchanges (proposed are dashed)
- Pak-India Border
- Railway Line
- Highest income areas (Category A & B)
Note: Only areas with available data are shown
- Areas of Focus

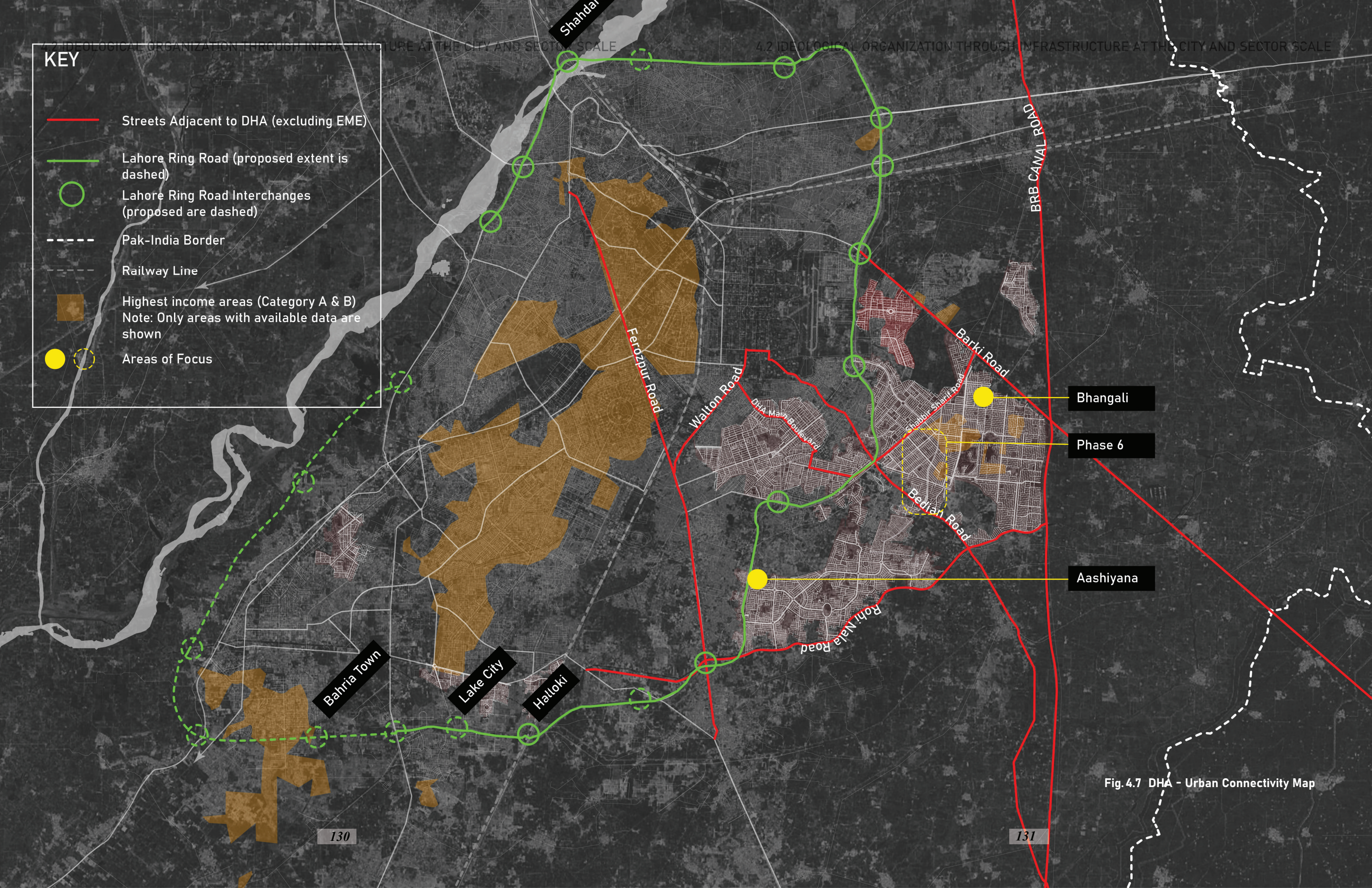


Fig. 4.7 DHA - Urban Connectivity Map

leadership with LDA. The Ravi Riverfront Urban Development Project was launched in 2020 and aims to cover 414 km² of land. This project is anticipated to lead to mass demolition and evictions, guised under the label of a ‘new Pakistan’.¹⁶ Although LDA, DHA, and Bahria Town are contesting development agencies, the city’s overall master planning is still driven by the purpose of fulfilling the upper middle-class project of a ‘world class city’.¹⁷

There are not many cases where DHA shares direct adjacency to another upper middle class residential community because they are often separated by major roads. The following drawings compare two different scenarios of DHA’s design language when connecting to adjacent development: The first is Aashiyana-e-Quaid Housing Scheme, a middle-class housing scheme nestled next to the developing DHA Phase 9 Prism, and the second is Bhangali, an existing village located on the edge of DHA Phase 7. Aashiyana is not targeted to the same income level as DHA, and in its development by PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League) leader Shahbaz Sharif, was for the purposes of providing affordable middle-class housing. However, there are still contrasts, as well as similarities in the ways that DHA’s streets interact with these adjacencies.

DHA Phase 9 Prism’s major 120’ road moves around Aashiyana, and the development is only intersected by 40’ roads that are planned to be lined with homes. The boundary line still manifests as a wall separating these two developments, and similar to EME and LDA Avenue seen in the previous chapter, monitored access may be provided at certain

16 H. Cermeño, "Living and Planning on the Edge: Unravelling Conflict and Claim-Making in Peri-Urban Lahore, Pakistan," *Urban Planning* 6, no. 2 (2021). doi:10.17645/up.v6i2.3858. <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/urbanplanning/article/view/3858/3858>.

17 Mallick, "Urban Space and (the Limits of) Middle Class Hegemony in Pakistan," , 1113-1120

points. DHA’s streets move more ‘respectfully’ around this development compared to many villages, and this case Bhangali. The plots are planned parallel to the boundary line in the case of Aashiyana, whereas in the village, there is an underlying assumption apparent in the planning: the village will not remain. The plots are planned in an invisible grid overlayed onto the village fabric, and the streets and plots are planned perpendicularly to the village’s boundary lines.



Fig. 4.8 Satellite Image of Bhangali and DHA Connective Condition (Google Earth 2022)

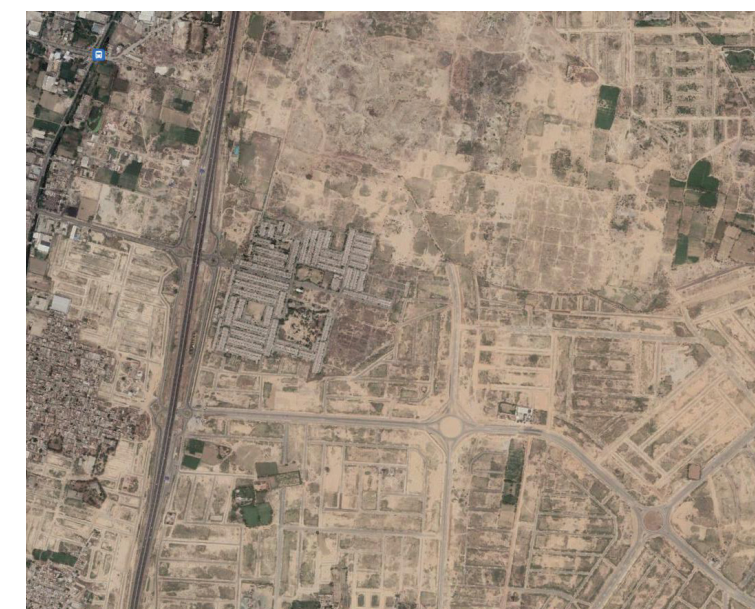


Fig. 4.9 Satellite Image of Aashiyana and DHA Connective Condition (Google Earth 2022)



Fig. 4.10 Bhangali and DHA's planned development connective condition

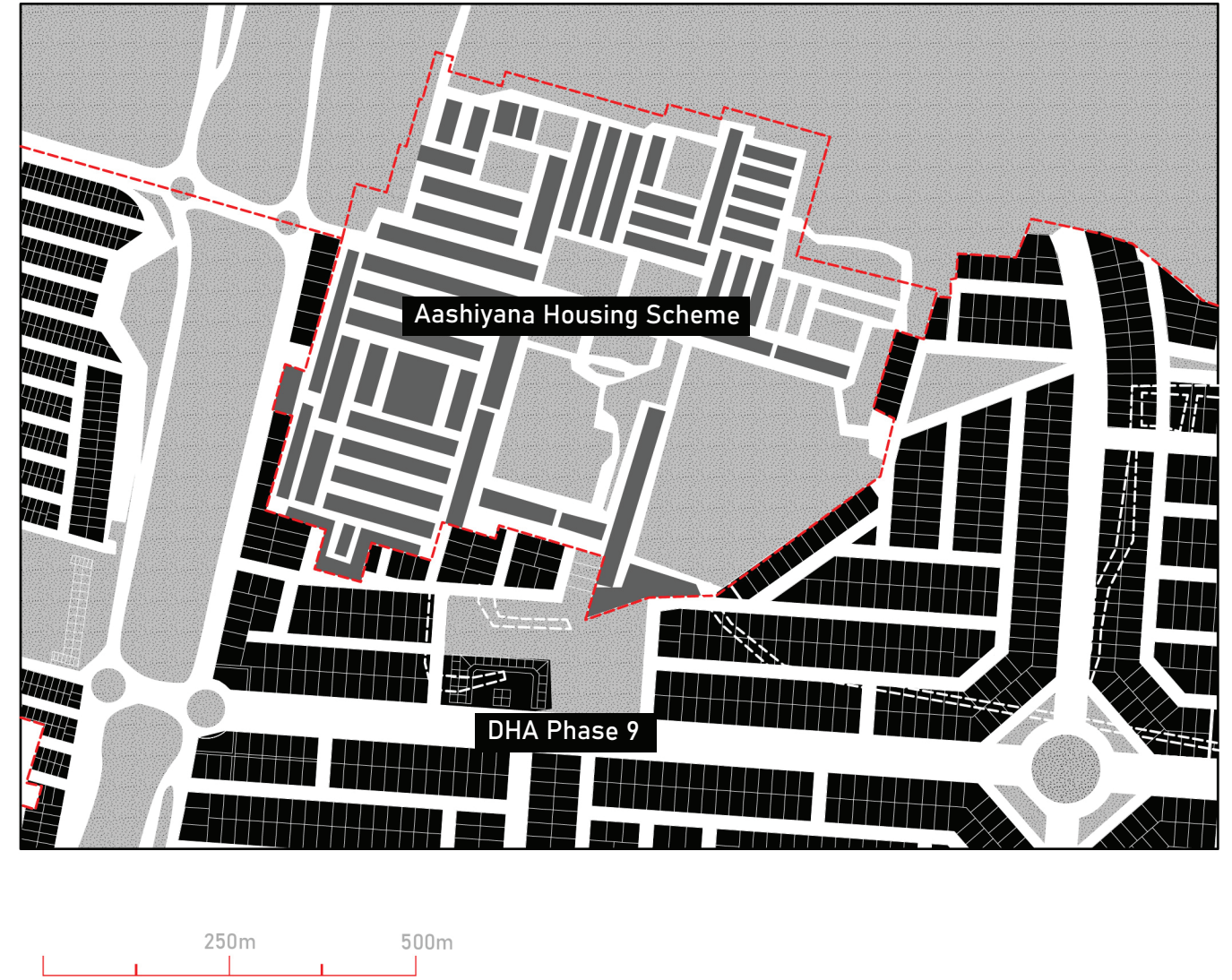
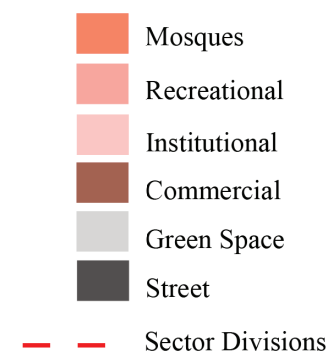


Fig. 4.11 Aashiyana and DHA's planned development connective condition



Fig. 4.12 Organization of Amenities by Sector



4.3 Mosques

Within each sector in DHA there is typically the provision of a *Sector Mosque*. Two have been selected here within short distance of each other and are keyed on Fig. 4.12.

Under the presidency of Ayub Khan, the power of traditional Islamic leaders was decreased: Mosques and religious sites were placed under state control and became symbols of Pakistan's Muslim identity.¹⁸ Mosques built during this time, in the 1960's, had rational, modernist designs, reflecting the Military's desired perception of itself. Faisal Mosque, in Islamabad, designed by Turkish architect Vedat Dalokay, and funded in part by the King of Saudia Arabia (1964-1975), is a good example of this developing architectural style.¹⁹ In her book titled: "Cities and Islamism", Natalie Koch looks at two "monumental mosques" in Kazakhstan and Qatar that perpetuate a top-down ideology orchestrated by political leaders and designers.²⁰ She describes "monumental mosques" as offering "unique insight into the "glocalness" of Islamism." Further stating that these mosques "showcase how the universalism of Islam is parsed into a set of rhetorical and visual tropes that are then articulated into particular ethnic, national and vernacular scripts across the Muslim world."²¹

Today, DHA's sector Mosques continue to keenly represent the desire to connect the establishment's identity to the "universal Islam" or, "generic Islam", that Ammara Maqsood notes is still prevalent in the religious identity of the new Pakistani middle-class. This section will look at the general

18 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*

19 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class*

20 Natalie Koch, Anar Valiyev and Khairul Hazmi Zaini, "Mosques as Monuments: An Inter-Asian Perspective on Monumentality and Religious Landscapes," *Cultural Geographies* 25, no. 1 (2018), 183-199. doi:10.1177/1474474017724480. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474017724480>.

21 Koch, "Mosques as Monuments: An Inter-Asian Perspective on Monumentality and Religious Landscapes," , 183-199

form and ornament on the exterior of these Mosques to study their architectural influences and intentions. While taking into consideration what aspects are global versus local and continuing to ascertain the manifestations of the military's desired version of Islamic ideology.

Sector E Masjid

DHA Phase 6 - Sector E

Area: Approx 1000 sq. m.

Date built: 2012

The Sector E Masjid is formally unlike historic Mosques in the sub-continent. It bears more resemblance to iconic mosques in Istanbul. The cross-in-square plan, and large domed roof, flanked by semi-domed roofs are key characteristics that relate it to the iconic mosques such as the Hagia Sophia. However, the addition of arches along the elevations steers it away from the Byzantine style and brings it back to traditional Islamic architecture. There is a lack of ornament or pattern, which speaks to the modernist Islamic movement of Ayub Khan's era. However, the requirement of a Mosque per sector likely also determines the ornament and detail that is feasible. These characteristics are highlighted in the following drawing (Fig. 4.14)

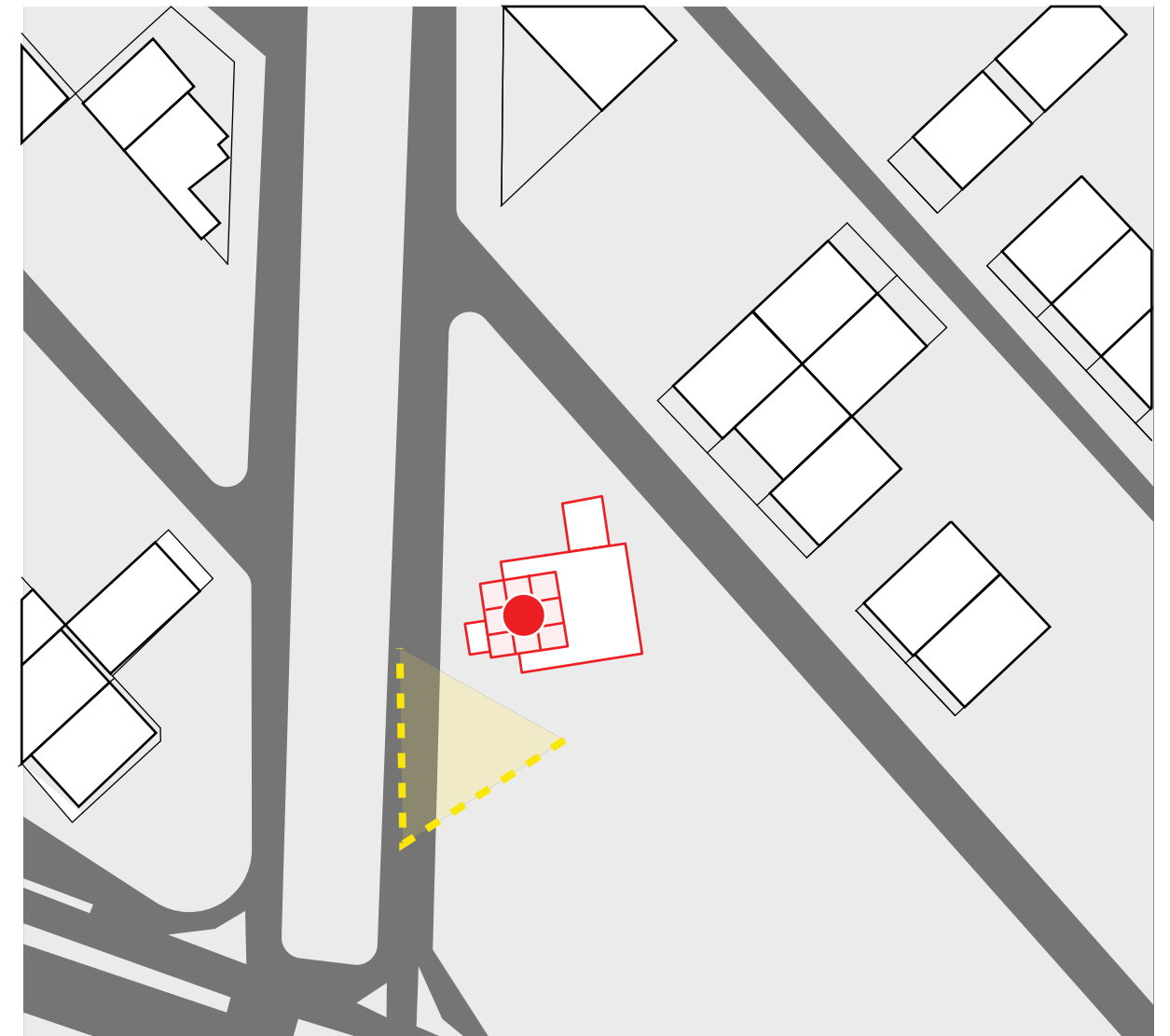


Fig. 4.13 Sector E Mosque site plan

1

Cross-in Square Plan: The main structure, as well as the ancillary structure to the north of the Mosque are planned based on a cross-in square plan, which is derived from the Turkish Islamic architectural styles. This is consistent with interviews taken by Ammara Maqsood, in which DHA's chief administrator expressed his admiration of Turkish architecture. Maqsood also notes that this explains the resemblance of DHA Mosque to the Hagia Sophia. Architectural influences such as this one are co-opted at the surface, aesthetic level, resulting in these post-modernist structures.

2

Rear Prayer Area: Additional praying area is provided atop a plinth behind the main structure. The layout is similar to Sultan Mehmet Mosque in Istanbul, which combines a cross-in square plan and rear courtyard.

3

Ornament: The pointed arches along the façade that mark openings point back to Indo-Islamic Architecture. There is no other ornament on the façade; the exterior plaster finish is brownish-grey, giving it a historic appearance.

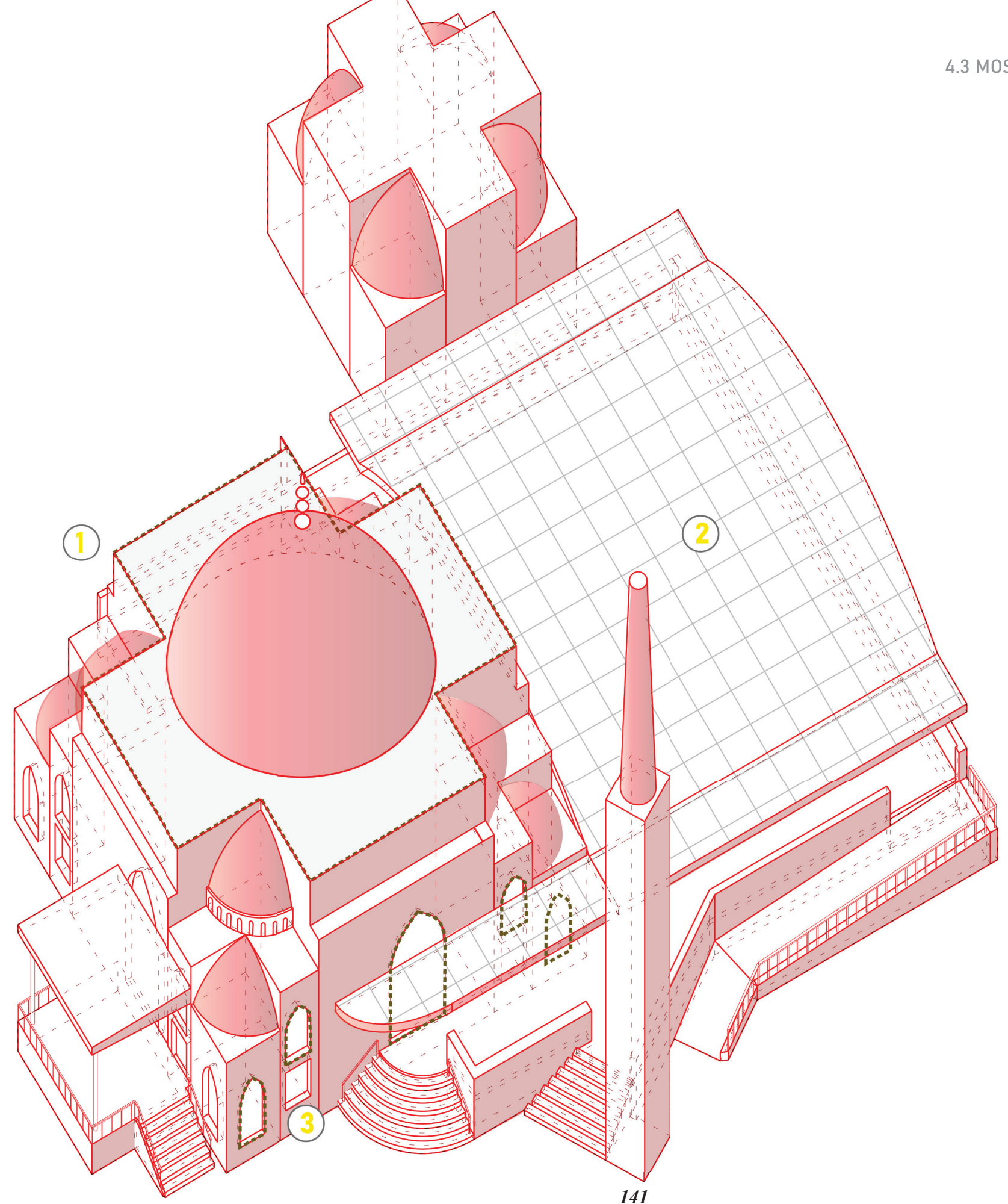
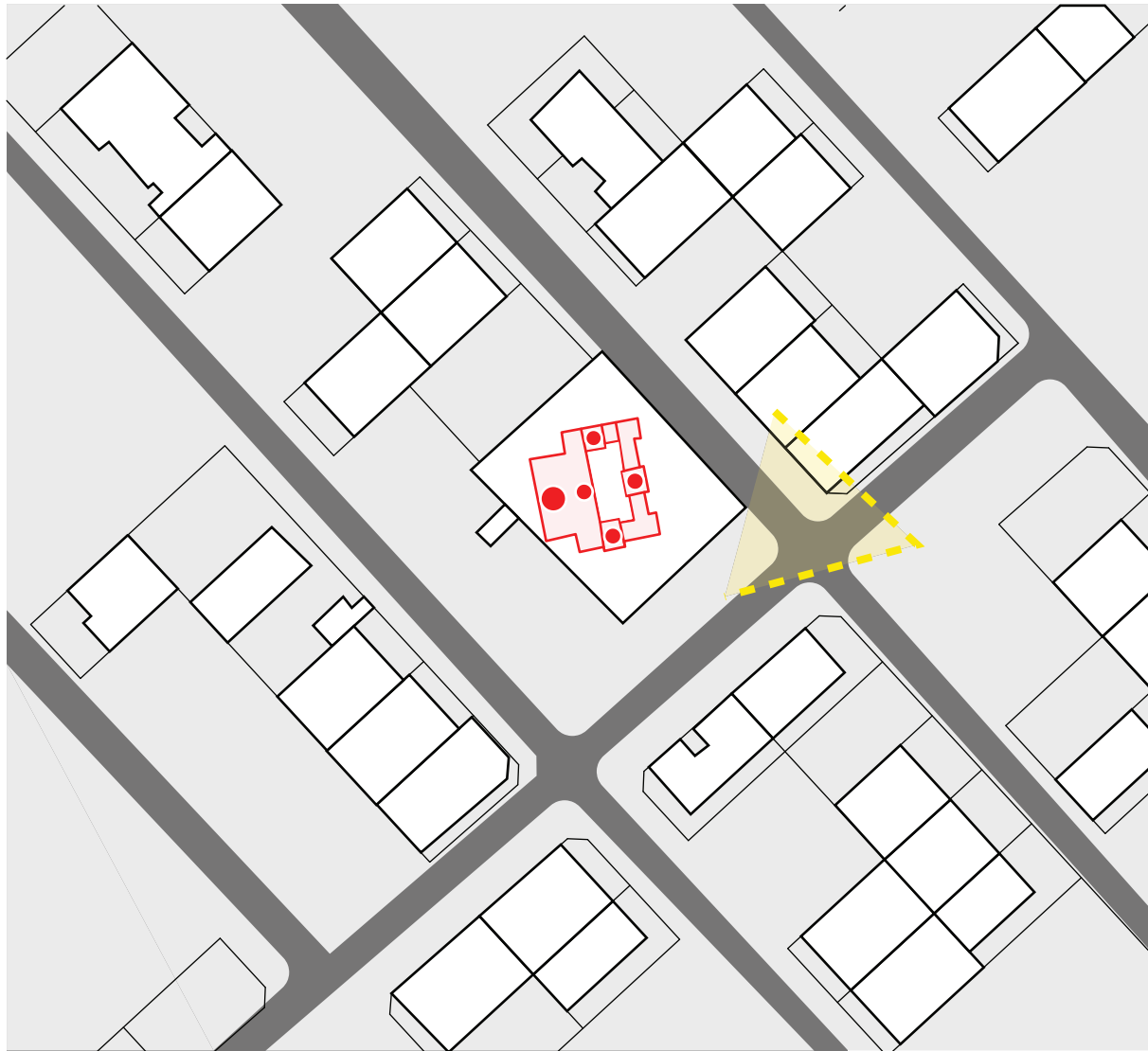


Fig.4.14 Sector E Mosque Axonometric



Sector H Masjid

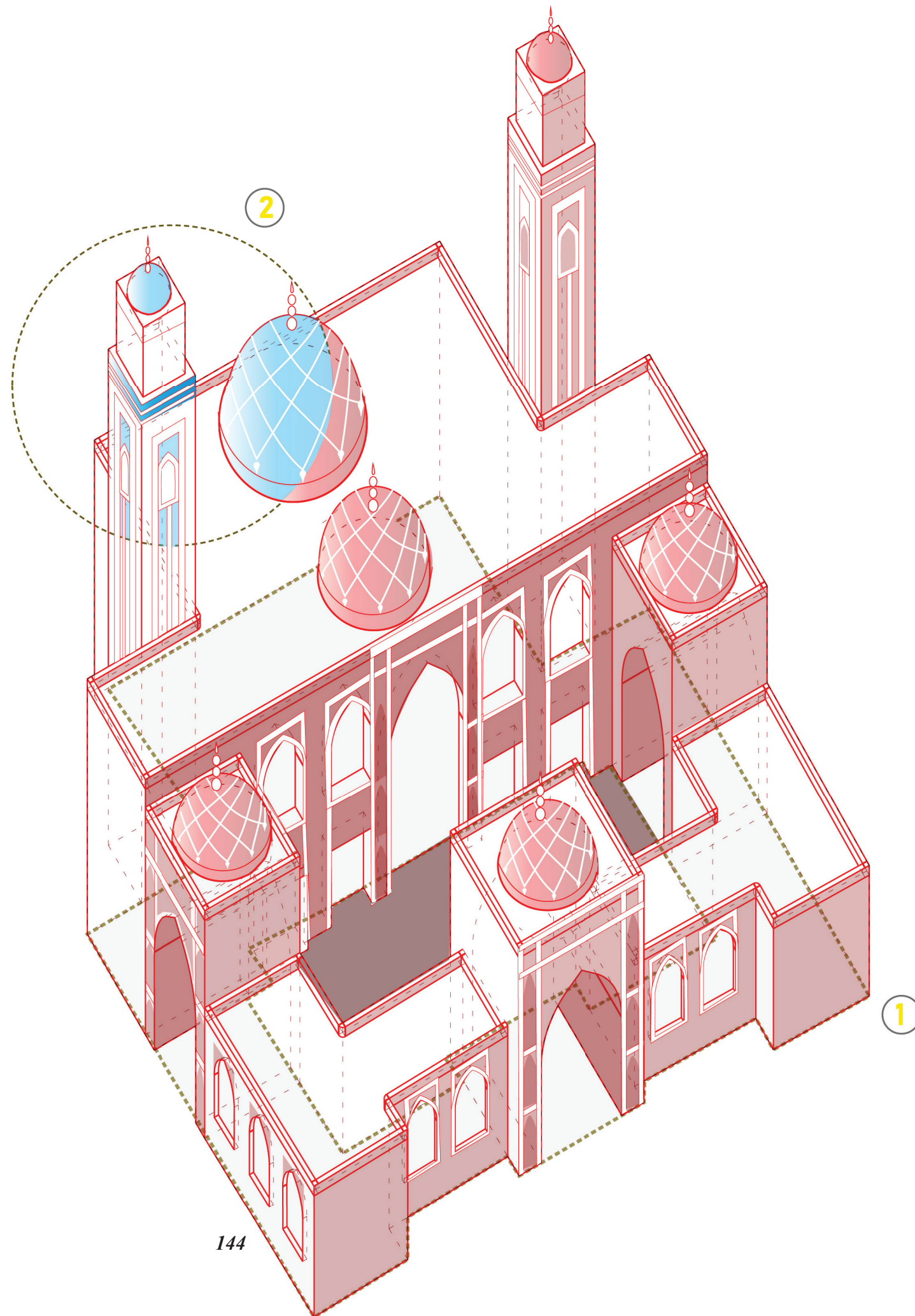
DHA Phase 6 - Sector H

Area: Approx. 660 sq. m.

Date built: 2019

The Sector H Masjid is a smaller, secondary sector mosque. Compared to the Sector E Mosque, it is highly ornamental, demonstrating the wide array of DHA's stylistic explorations. The central courtyard layout, and use of arches is derivative of traditional Mughal-era Mosques in the Indian sub-continent and Lahore. However, the forms are simplified, and the ornament is scaled back to a large degree compared to traditional construction methods of Mughal-era. This approach is common in smaller Mosques in all sectors, again, likely for cost saving. The design seeks to modernize local Mughal influences through incorporating simplified blue patterns and a simple massing. These characteristics are highlighted in the following drawing (Fig. 4.16).

Fig. 4.15 Sector H Mosque site plan



1

Central Courtyard Plan: The layout of this Mosque is formed by a central courtyard with a covered walkway, that is attached to a narrow, wide building. The main entry way enters into the courtyard, which forms additional prayer space. This form is seen in traditional Indo-Islamic Mosques in Lahore, namely Badshahi Masjid and Wazir Khan Masjid. The heavy ornament and use of arches in the interior face is consistent with these precedents. However, the relative scale of the courtyard, the main building and outer walkway is decreased. This again shows the design employing the aesthetic qualities of historic forms over their intended function.

2

Ornament: The extensive blue and white tiling on each façade, and the more maximalist ornamentation pulls away from the modernist principles seen in the Mosque architecture of the broader international Islam. The simplification of these patterns, especially as seen in the domes, speaks to the commercialization and modernization of traditional Islamic architecture. These bold blue and white patterns on the tiles may be drawing from more local influences, however, this kind of tilework is seen in historic Mosques in many areas along the Silk Road.

1

Fig.4.16 Sector H Mosque Axonometric

5

Residential Plots

- 5.1 Individual Success and the Bungalow
- 5.2 Plot Subdivision
- 5.3 The Home



Fig. 5.1 Abstract representation of DHA residential plots

5.1 Individual Success and the Plot

The ownership of a house in DHA is advertised as the emblem of middle-class success and the economic benefit of this is directly linked to the strength of the Pakistani Military.

The Pakistani military resells military land to civilians at high profit margins¹ by acquiring agricultural land at cheap rates. One of the methods through which this is done is the control and manipulation of information related to development and urban planning. The manipulation of information allows easier coercion of the original landowners, who are then allotted 500 square yards of residential plot per acre within DHA as reconciliation.² Using tactics of balloting, land speculation, and foreign investment, other plots within DHA are marketed to the general public with much greater profit margins, which are absorbed by the Military.

Land speculation and the targeting of the sale of these properties to foreign buyers goes hand in hand. Large amounts of residential plots in previous DHA phases remains undeveloped, while new phases are rapidly expanded. Looking over the satellite imagery of the unconstructed residential sectors of DHA's Phase VI and onwards demonstrates this. This trend is seen in Bahria Town's residential sectors as well, where "*an overwhelming majority of the plots in these schemes is being held by middle- and high-income groups either for the purpose of speculation or they do not need a house.*"³ The foreign market is targeted through the development of 'Overseas Enclaves'. These are smaller areas within DHA's sectors with

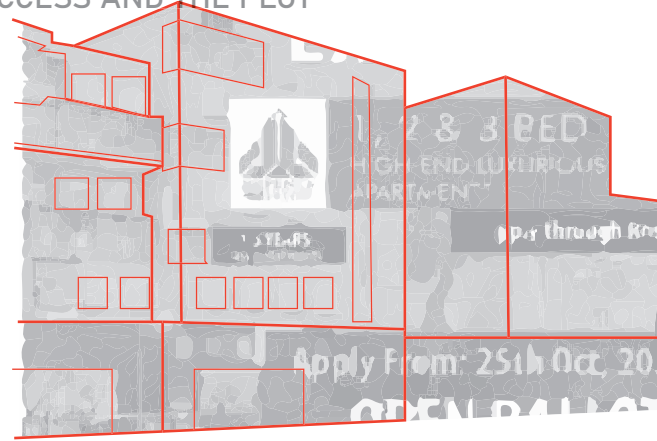
residential plots allotted for purchase by overseas Pakistanis, or ex-patriates. The balloting process through which these are sold is the same for other residential plots as well. Interested applicants submit forms of interest, and through an internal procedure, a certain number of plots are allotted to some of these applicants, who then complete the purchase. The balloting process further increases revenue due to the mandatory application fee, as the demand is high but a relatively smaller number of plots are distributed.

The following advertisement (Fig. 5.2) contains information regarding two opportunities for ex-patriate Pakistanis: investment in a condominium building in Phase V, and individual plots in Phase VII. The representation of housing in these images is reminiscent of a North American style of an upper-class single-family home and is not actually seen constructed in DHA frequently. This is possibly to appeal to the North American market. Furthermore, a reverse image search of the building shown leads to a very similar images of an assisted care centre in Houston, Texas. Based on the analysis of marketing visuals available on DHA's social media, and general real estate websites, the depiction of the actual houses that are most often constructed are not seen. Instead, the types of houses marketed contain pitched roofs, stone-clad exteriors and expansive driveways that are too large to fit in the average 1 Kanal home. The advertisement on the following page show this. The actual construction of homes in DHA Lahore appears to relate to a modern North-American suburban home, but is more closely related to the British bungalow, its local predecessor.

1 Ayesha Siddiqa, *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* Pluto Press, 2015)227.

2 Siddiqa, *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*

3 Areesha Gul et al., "Built Houses as a Tool to Control Residential Land Speculation - A Case Study of Bahria Town, Lahore," *Habitat International* 71 (2018), 81-87. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2017.11.007>. <https://www.science-direct.com/science/article/pii/S0197397517304022>.



A presentation rendering of proposed apartments in Phase 5

An image depicting a pitched roof, North American suburban home



Fig. 5.2 Breakdown of a DHA Advertisement calling for international investment

5.2 Plot Subdivision

The current method of residential subdivision became heavily standardized, not only in DHA, but throughout middle and upper-middle class housing schemes. Residential plots for detached homes are sold in marlas (1 marla equates to 272 sq. ft.) and kanals (1 kanal equates to 5445 sq. ft.). The plots are divided in 5 marla, 10 marla, 1, 2 and 5+ kanals. The most common throughout DHA are 10 marla, 1 kanal, and 2 kanal plots. As per DHA's development guidelines, the amalgamation of adjacent residential plots is allowed under certain conditions, however this is less often done.

The historical precedence that informs subdivision planning in DHA is most clearly Model Town, and Doxiadis' Islamabad. Model Town was separated in three categories of plots: A Class plots that were 6 kanals, B Class plots that were 4 kanals, and C class plots that were 2 kanals. This influenced the development of LIT (now LDA) schemes post-independence. These include Samanabad, and Gulberg. In the development of the plan of Islamabad, Doxiadis similarly divided residential blocks into rectangular plots with common dimensions. Ultimately this type of planned residential subdivision was first seen in Lahore during the late colonial era (1858-1947).

In DHA, the organization of residential plots and supporting programs within sectors varies, despite the general provision of amenities local to each sector. The following set of drawings looks at how adjacencies to different existing context influence the organization of standardized plots within the idealized DHA sector. Whereas the previous section looked at the layout of streets as a tool for ideological organization, this section seeks to understand the ideological role of plot distribution at the scale of the sector. The following previously studied areas are reanalyzed for this purpose: Phase 8 Sector W, which is directly surrounded by other DHA development, Phase 3 Sector Z, adjacent to Charrar, Phase 7 Sector Q, adjacent to Bhangali, and Phase 9 Sector F, adjacent to Aashiya-na-e-Quaid Housing Scheme. This selection represents DHA's

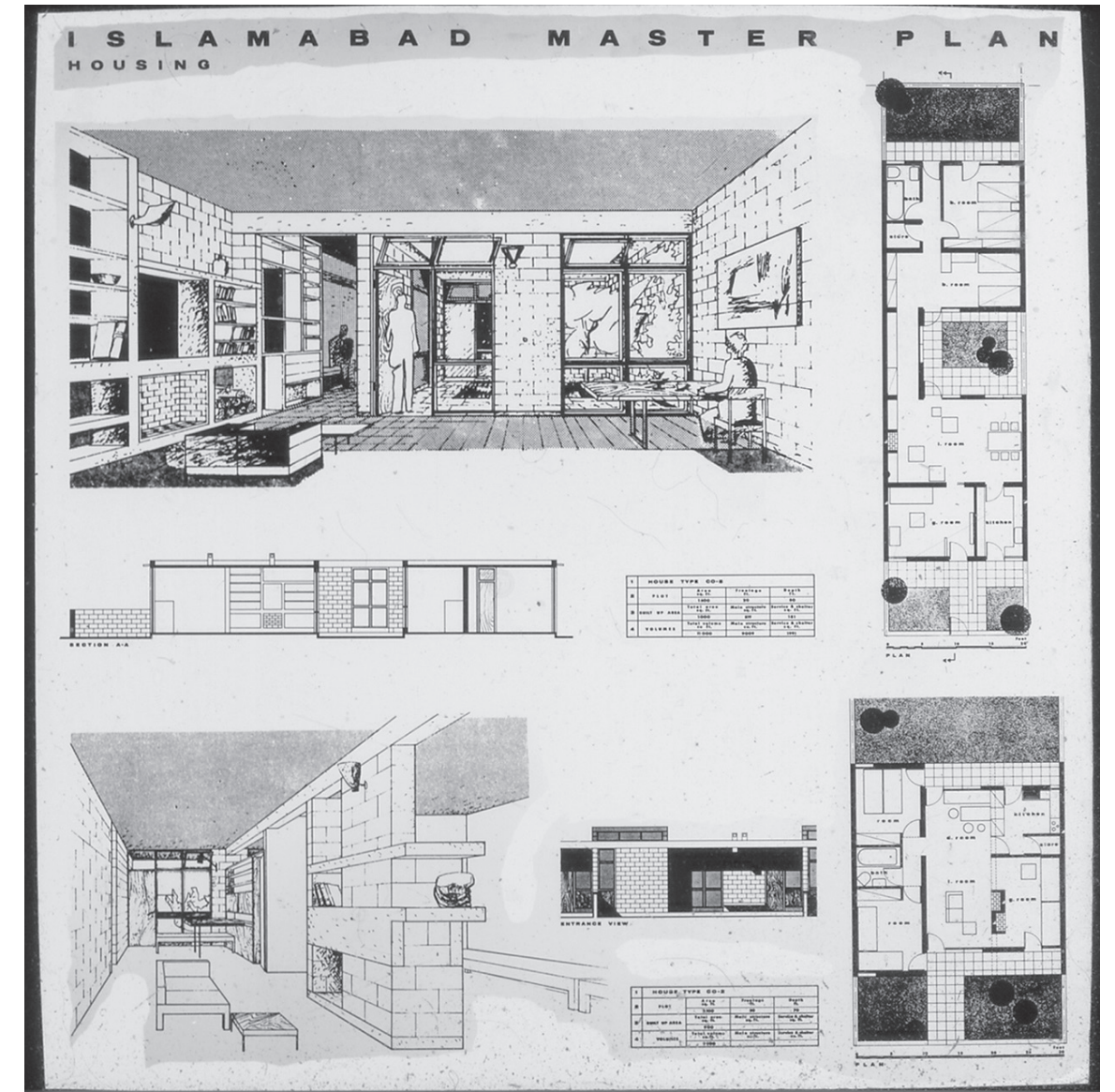


Fig. 5.3 Design drawing of housing types in Islamabad (Copyright Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation)

A. Class Plots (6 kanals)
 1-20, 27-30, 36, 65-70, 73-102, 104-111, 113-124, 128-129.
 B. Class Plots (4 kanals)
 21-26, 31-35, 60, 63, 64, 71, 72, 103-112, 130-138, 140,
 141-143, 144, 152-154, 156-157, 125-127.
 C. Class Plots (2 kanals)
 37-49, 51-62, 139-142, 145-151, 155-158.
 1 to 104 in Block J.

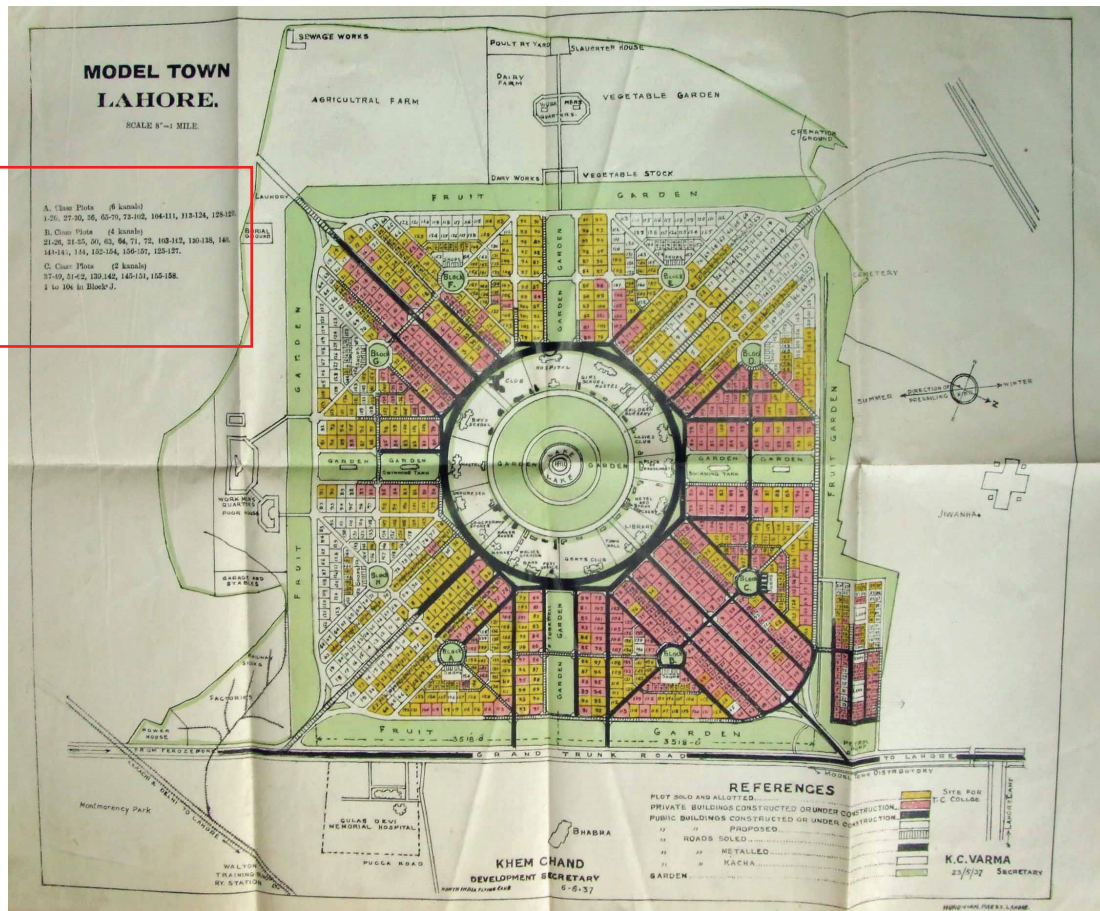
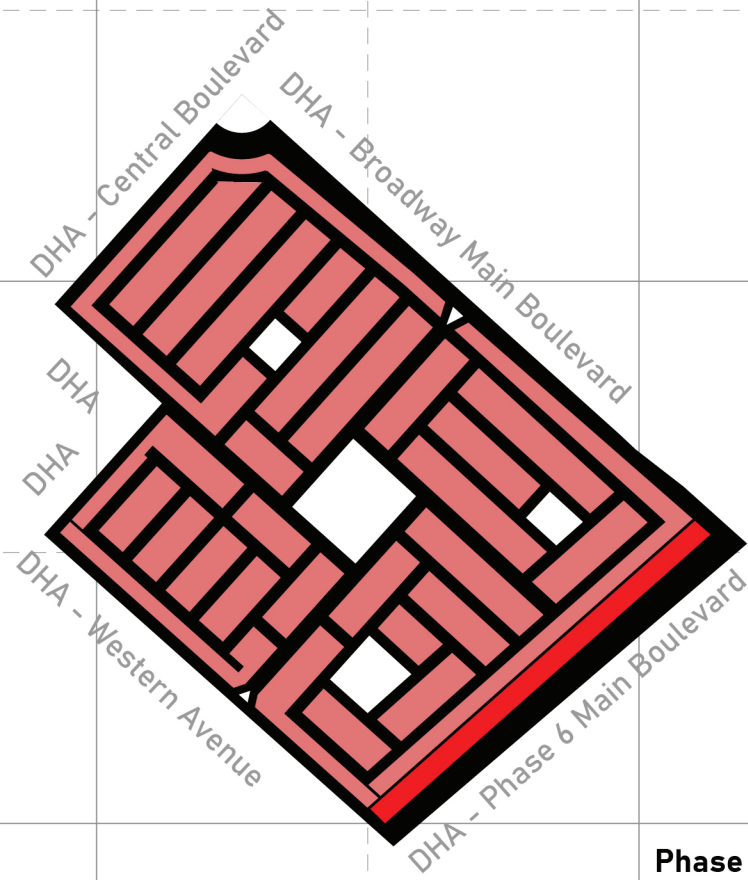


Fig. 5.4 2. Early plan of Model Town showing plot types (Copyright Emmy Eustace)

design response to no context, an internally retained village, an adjacent existing village, and a non-DHA residential scheme, respectively. It also represents older (Phase 1), and newer (Phase 7,9) development.

Model Town (Fig. 5.4) was unique in that it provided a mix of different sized plots within each block, which operates at the same scale as a sector. Doxiadis' plan of Islamabad contained "low-income sectors", in which residential blocks were subdivided into smaller standard plots, so I was interested in seeing how 5 and 10 marla plots were distributed in DHA. The analysis showed that there are not as many 5 and 10 marla plots in general, and they are never grouped within certain sectors. The first area drawn (Fig. 5.5 Left) shows a typical DHA sector, which is surrounded by other DHA development, making it an ideal. It contains only 1 kanal homes, with 2 kanal homes off of DHA's Main Boulevard. The second diagram (Fig. 5.5 Right) shows an area of Phase 3 that borders on to Charrar Village. This study shows that smaller plots are located closer to this boundary, further creating high- and low-income separation. Traces of this design ideology are seen in the next two areas (Fig. 5.6), where the smallest plot types are closer to areas of informality.



Phase 8 - Sector W



Phase 3 - Sector Z

Non-DHA Owned Land Adjacencies

5 Marla Residential Plots

10 Marla Residential Plots

1 Kanal Residential Plots

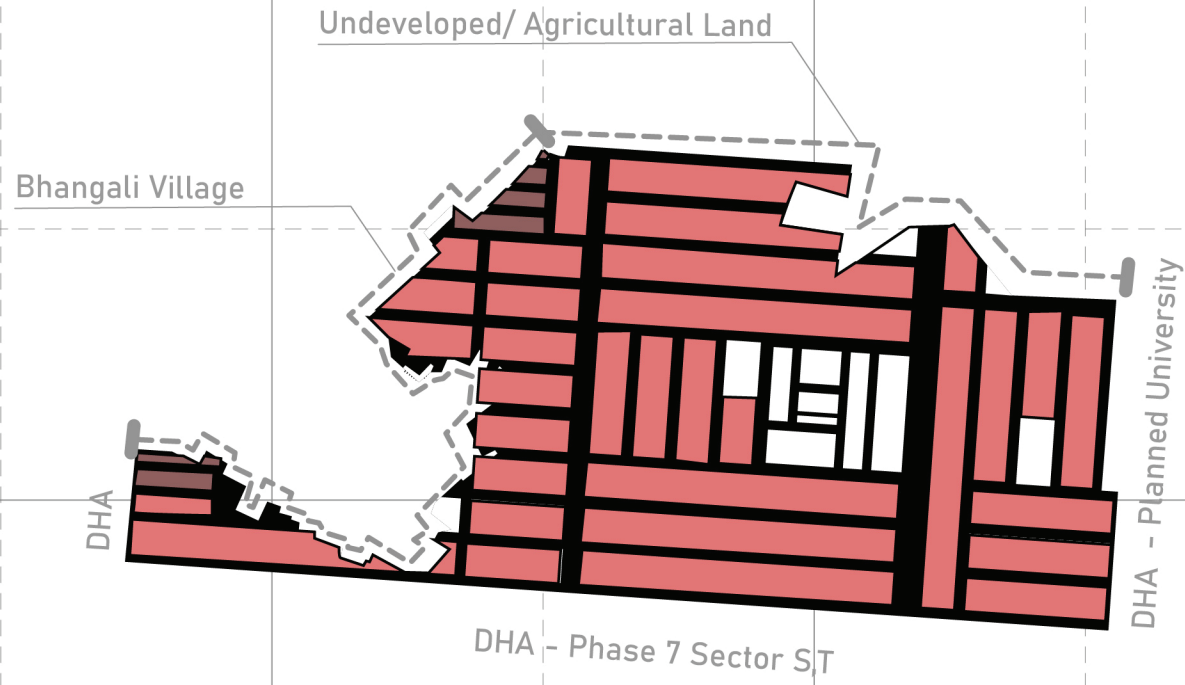
2 Kanal Residential Plots

Note: Key adjacencies are written in grey 156

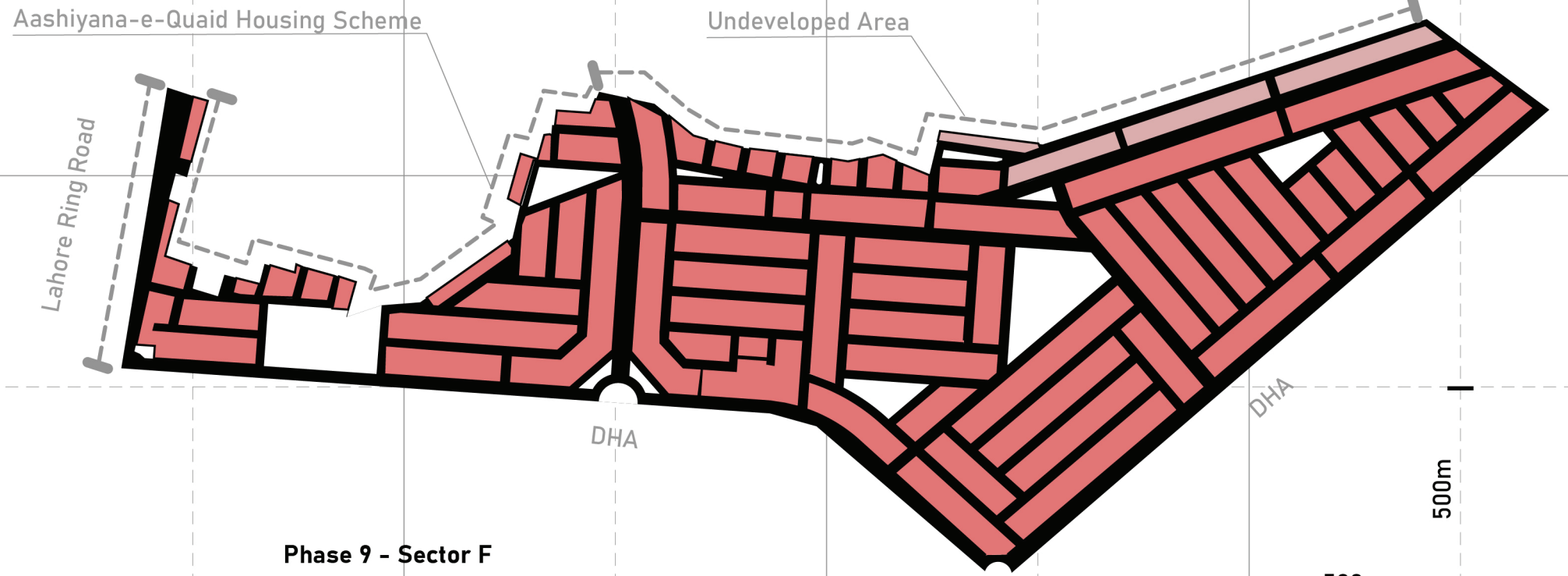
157

500m

500m



Phase 7 - Sector Q



Phase 9 - Sector F

Fig.5.6 Plans of Sectors showing different plot types and adjacencies

--- Non-DHA Owned Land Adjacencies

5 Marla Residential Plots

10 Marla Residential Plots

1 Kanal Residential Plots

2 Kanal Residential Plots

500m

500m

5.3 The Home

The North-American detached home that is often marketed in DHA has a unique rendition in Lahore. This section seeks to understand the basic design principles of typical residential construction in DHA. Detached houses in DHA are mostly custom built after the plot has been purchased and are the focus of this section. These are the most common typology of homes in DHA. DHA's development guidelines are enforced strictly. Within the context of understanding DHA as an environment designed by a top-down hierarchy, the individual home is more an exercise of individual autonomy. The architecture of these homes is the strongest reflection of the character of the individual. Highly varied facades, along with similar site massing and internal programming define the typology of these homes. As plot sizes move from 1 kanal to 2, due to similar parameters set by plot subdivision and development guidelines, the general characteristics are maintained. A few 5 kanal (27,225 sq. ft.) and larger plots are available in each DHA phase but are excluded from this analysis.

More recently, multi-unit high rise residential buildings are beginning to be constructed within DHA, however, it is still a typology which the general population is wary towards. A study on the "acceptability/perception level" of high-rise residential buildings in Lahore found that 2/3rd of the sample size of middle-class individuals dislike the apartment typology. It also found that the majority of acceptability was in the 20–30-year-old age bracket.⁴ The over-all pattern, however, shows the middle-class strives for detached living, regardless of its lack of relative affordability to apartment buildings. The study also showed that safety, security, and privacy were

4 S. Hanif, S. T. Ahmad, S. S. Saleem, "The Need to Build Upwards: A Study of Perception of Vertical/Apartment Housing among Middle Income Group of Lahore," *Vidyabharati International Interdisciplinary Research Journal*, no. 4 (December, 2015), 39-57. <http://www.viirj.org/vol4issue2/4.pdf>.



Fig. 5.7 Elevation of a recently constructed 1 Kanal home in DHA

the most preferred features of hypothetical apartment living.⁵

These notions of dwelling developed during the colonial era, as the typology of bungalows developed through out cities with cantonments in British ruled India. It first evolved in Bengal in the 1770s, from the Bengali word 'Bangala', meaning house.⁶ The Indian bungalow was a housing type that brought together British and Indian vernacular, however, at the time was "restricted for the British" and demonstrated their

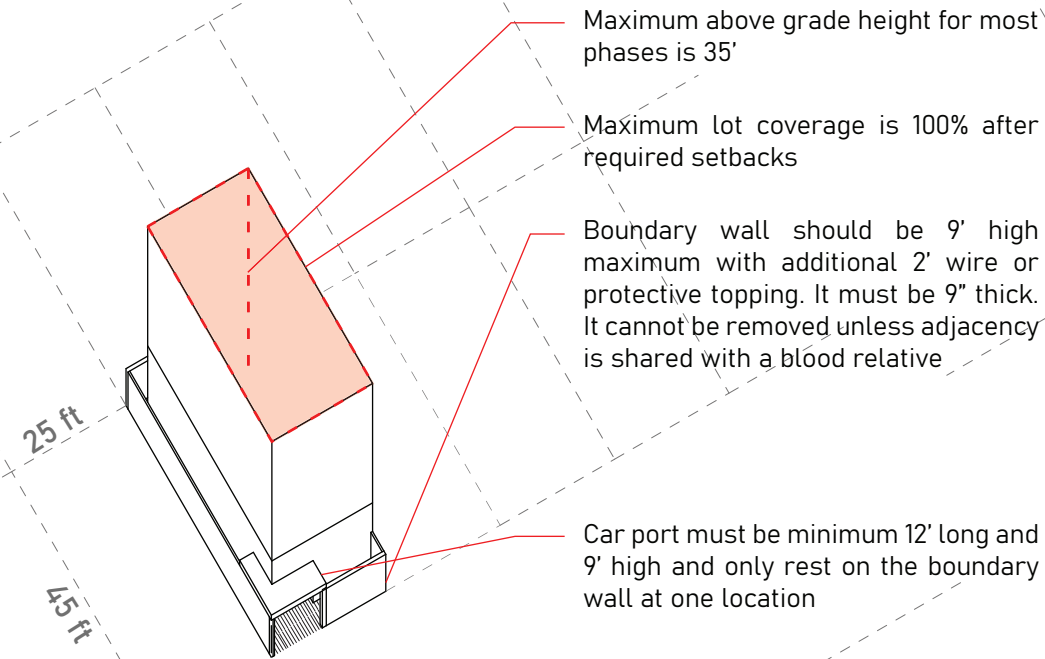
5 S. Hanif, S. T. Ahmad, S. S. Saleem, "The Need to Build Upwards: A Study of Perception of Vertical/Apartment Housing among Middle Income Group of Lahore," , 39-57

6 Eva Prasher, "Bungalows and their Typology in the Colonial Town: Ambala Cantonment," *Creative Space* 4 (2017), 151-164. doi:10.15415/cs.2017.42001.

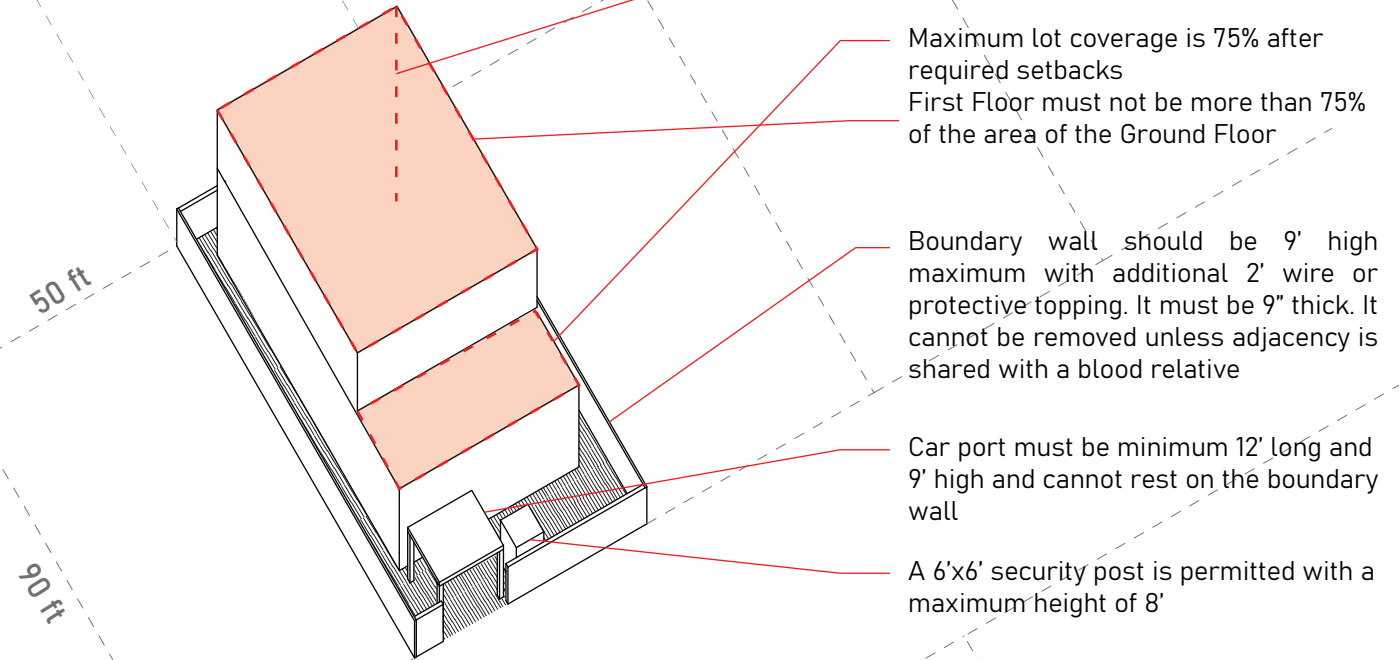
5.3 THE HOME

Fig.5.8 Common dimensions of 5 Marla, 10 Marla, 1 Kanal and 2 Kanal home massing diagrams based on key DHA Residential Development Guidelines

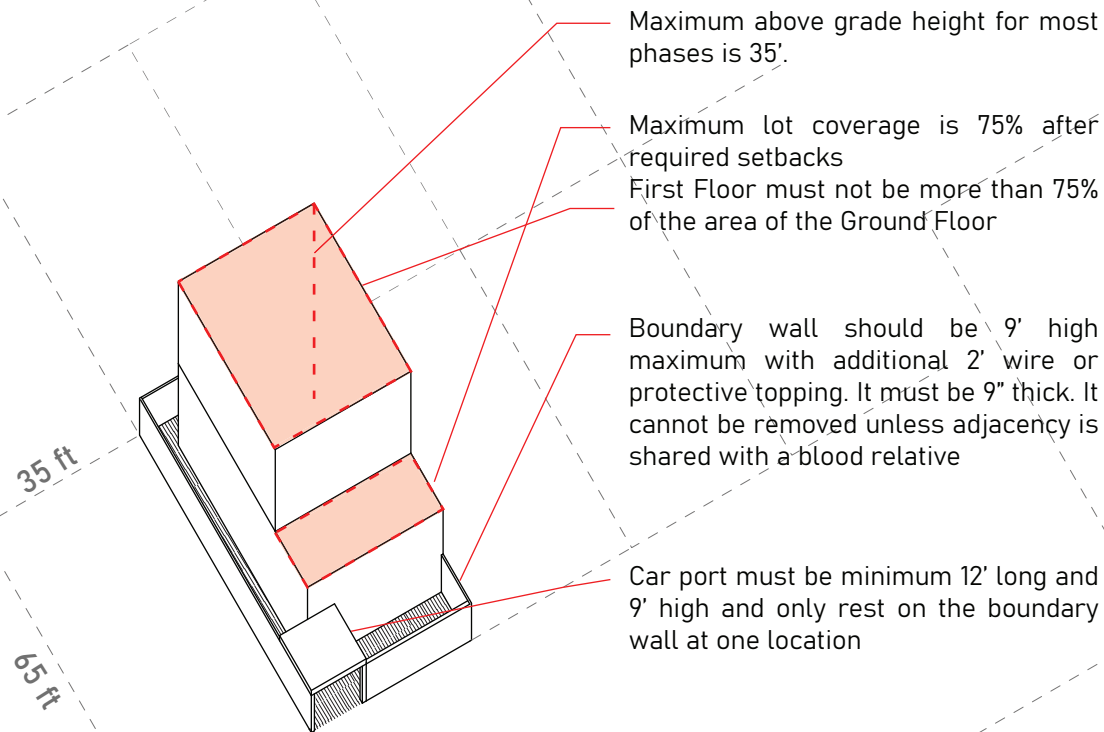
5.3 THE HOME



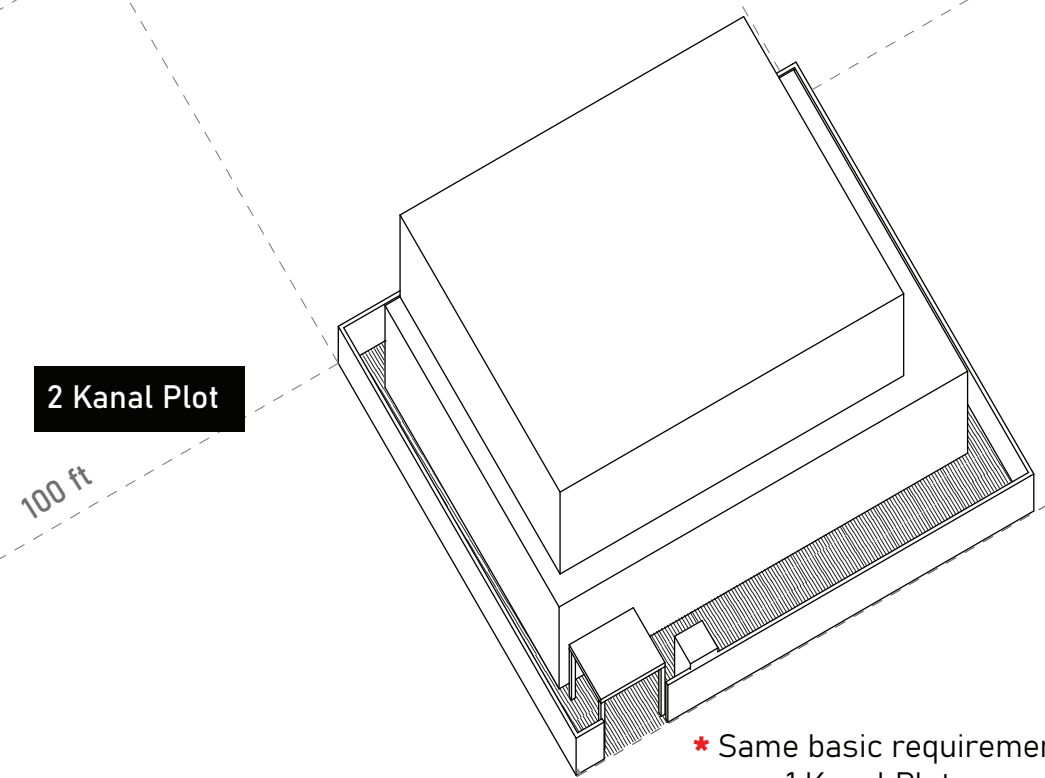
5 Marla Plot



1 Kanal Plot



10 Marla Plot



2 Kanal Plot

* Same basic requirements as a 1 Kanal Plot

25 ft

45 ft

50 ft

90 ft

35 ft

65 ft

162

100 ft

90 ft

163

supremacy.⁷ The form arose from India's climatic vernacular, as the surrounding verandah acted as a cooling mechanism for the adjacent rooms.⁸ The cantonment, within which these bungalows were often located can be generally described as “*an enclosed area separated from other socio-spatial units and further divided into smaller spatial areas.*”⁹ Within the bungalow's boundary walls, kitchens for Muslim and Indian domestic workers were constructed separate from the main building, as well as their respective living quarters.¹⁰ Key living and accessory spaces of the Anglo-Indian bungalow are still seen in DHA's residential development today. This is the consequence of the influence from colonial-era residential development in Lahore Cantonment and other military and government housing. The development of a housing typology in Model Town also drew from the previously mentioned precedents.

Within their boundary walls, both the cantonment typology and resultingly the houses of Model Town had completely separate living areas for domestic workers. The separation of programs based on privacy is described by William Glover as “*nineteenth century Anglo-European middle-class ideals*”¹¹. He describes the bungalow as only partly keeping with the need of separation between different genders, races and class.¹² At the time, common critiques of this new domestic arrangement was that the surrounding verandah allowed for too much porosity between the domestic staff, who used the space for chores and rest, and the residents inside.¹³ However, as Glover describes, British people in India, living in these

7 Prasher, "Bungalows and their Typology in the Colonial Town: Ambala Cantonment," , 151-164

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007)176.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

bungalows, relied on “*native labour for their operation and maintenance.*”¹⁴

An article by Yusra Alvi discusses the impact of new forms of dwelling on traditional pre-colonial domestic relationships, especially on women, highlighting the importance of the *sahin* (courtyard), and the *chhat* (rooftop).¹⁵ In traditional residential architecture, a communal courtyard was surrounded by individual havelis, where women could congregate with a sense of separated togetherness. The joined rooftops allowed movement between different houses, also facilitating social interaction in a private but public manner. Alvi argues that these elements connected women within the neighborhood. She further explains that although engagement of women with the larger public domain is more accepted today, the architecture of homes in Lahore's gated communities is a step back from “*the degree of movement, connectivity, and independence offered by traditional elements of Pakistani architecture.*”¹⁶

The following drawings analyze the relationship between the programs mentioned above to the planning of houses in DHA today. The programmatic plan combines aspects of commonly available built and unbuilt plans of 1 Kanal homes. These plans are available on common real estate and construction websites such as Zameen.com, Civilengineerspk.com, as well as a more specific look at houses in DHA through real estate walk-throughs.

14 Ibid.

15 Yusra Alvi, "How British Colonial Architecture Excluded Pakistani Women from the Public Sphere," *Failed Architecture*, .

16 Alvi, "How British Colonial Architecture Excluded Pakistani Women from the Public Sphere,"

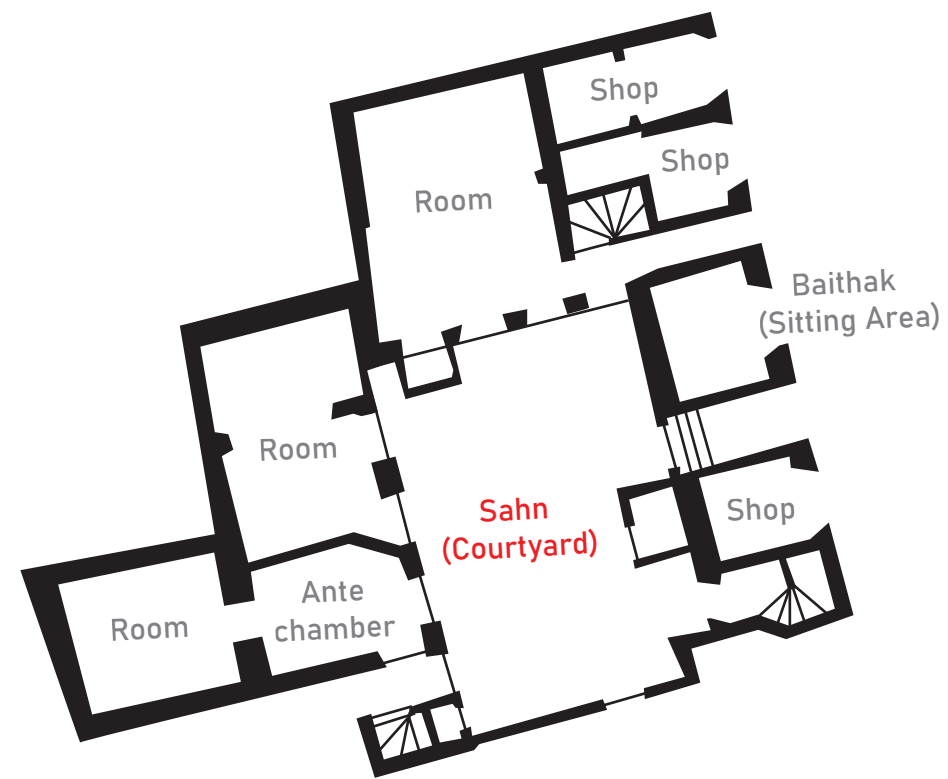


Fig. 5.9 Typical plan of a traditional Haveli showing the courtyard

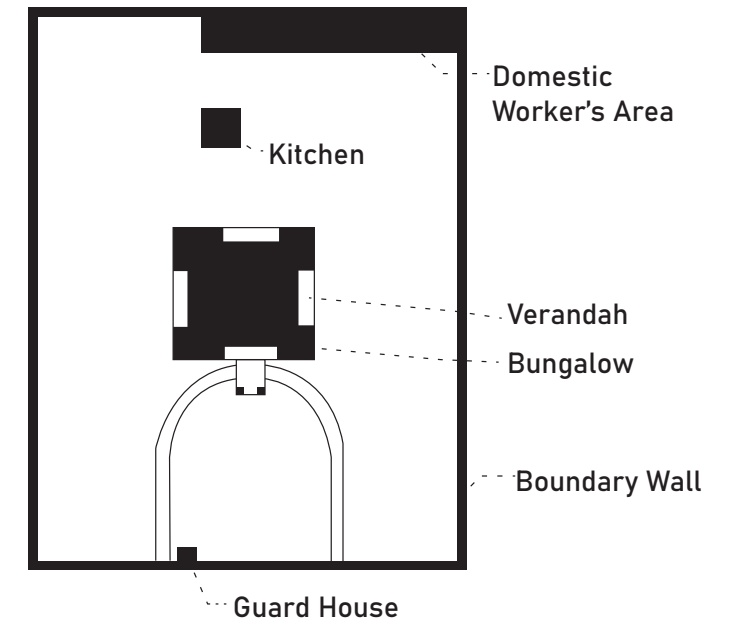


Fig. 5.10 Program diagram of the typical British bungalow compound during the colonial period. Based on a diagram by William Glover in "Making Lahore Modern".

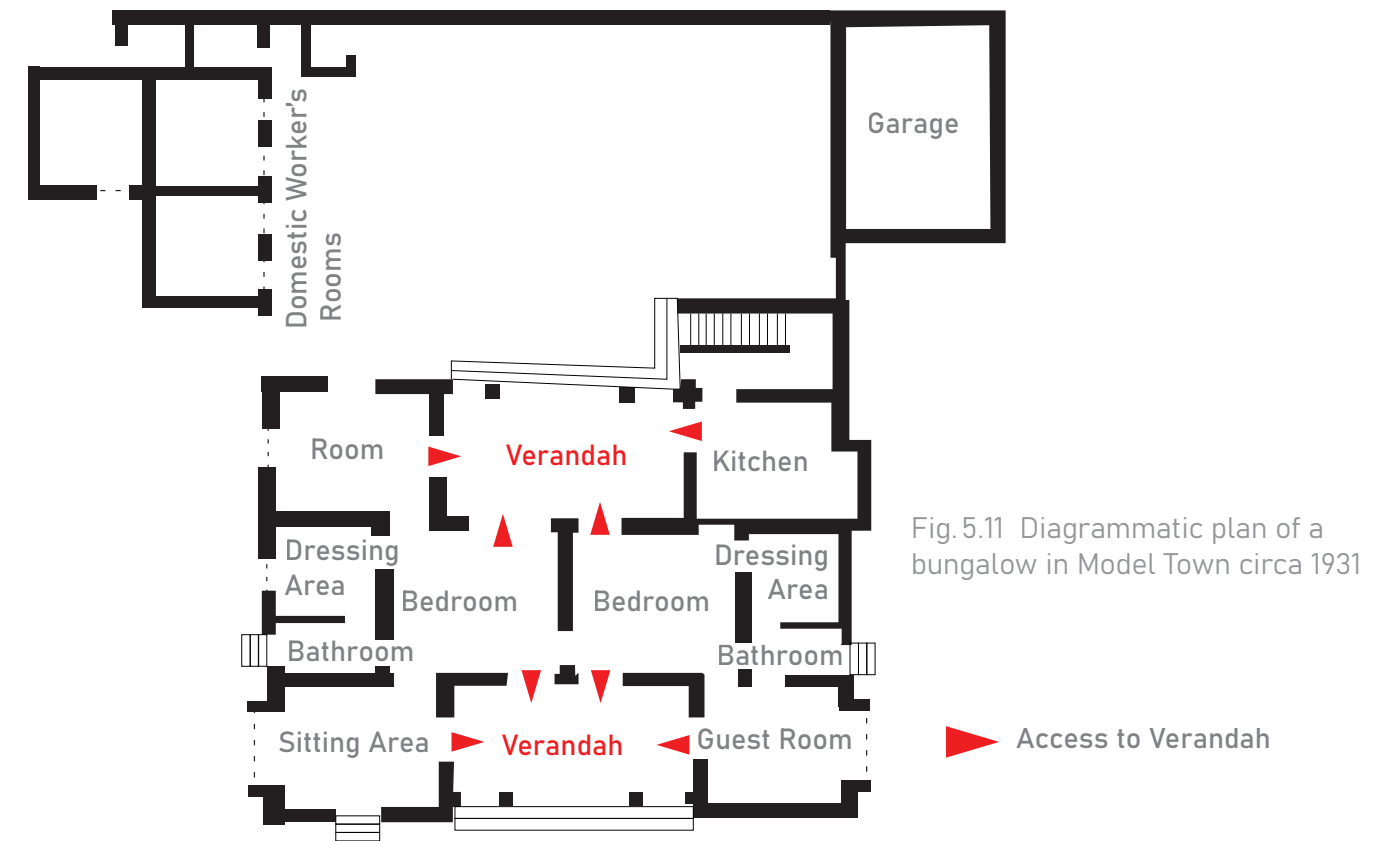


Fig. 5.11 Diagrammatic plan of a bungalow in Model Town circa 1931

- 1 Live-in Domestic “Quarters”:** In-house ‘servant quarters’ are a commonly labelled program in the plans of DHA homes, especially those that are 1 kanal and larger. They are often accessed from the rear by an external staircase that leads up to at the minimum a sleeping area and a bathroom. Sometimes access is provided from the servant quarter to the main house, and other time they are kept separate. The general trend appears to show a decrease in in-house domestic workers, and this is reflected in architectural plans available online for new construction.
- 2 Kitchen:** The placement of the kitchen in many DHA homes is often situated off to the side. It is rarely a central program. This is in keeping with the organization of domestic space within colonial-era bungalows. The kitchen relates to the interaction with domestic workers, which like during the colonial period, is still preferred to be limited.
- 3 Bedrooms:** The bedrooms often carry the same notions of privacy and fulfillment that were provided by the bungalow. Located on the outer edges of the main space, the bedrooms each have their own bathroom, and often their own terraces, instead of access to the shared verandahs as was custom in the traditional bungalow. These individual terraces are programmatically reminiscent of jharokas, which in the traditional dwelling provided safe visual and auditory access to the street below, notably for women.
- 4 Drawing Room:** The drawing room is always placed at the front of the house and is separate from the family living room. Common in bungalows, during the colonial period its purpose was for conducting business, or to provide a more formal space for meeting guests. The drawing room always precedes the living room in the entry sequence, as it is a more public space.

- 5 First Floor:** The first floor in most plans is very similar to the ground floor, without the drawing room as part of the entry sequence. It often has an additional kitchen, living, and dining area. This provides space for multi-generational living, which is very common in Pakistan. As noted by William Glover in “Making Lahore Modern”, based on building permits, a common renovation that was done to the bungalows designed in Model Town was the addition of another floor which mirrored the floor below and acted as a separate unit.

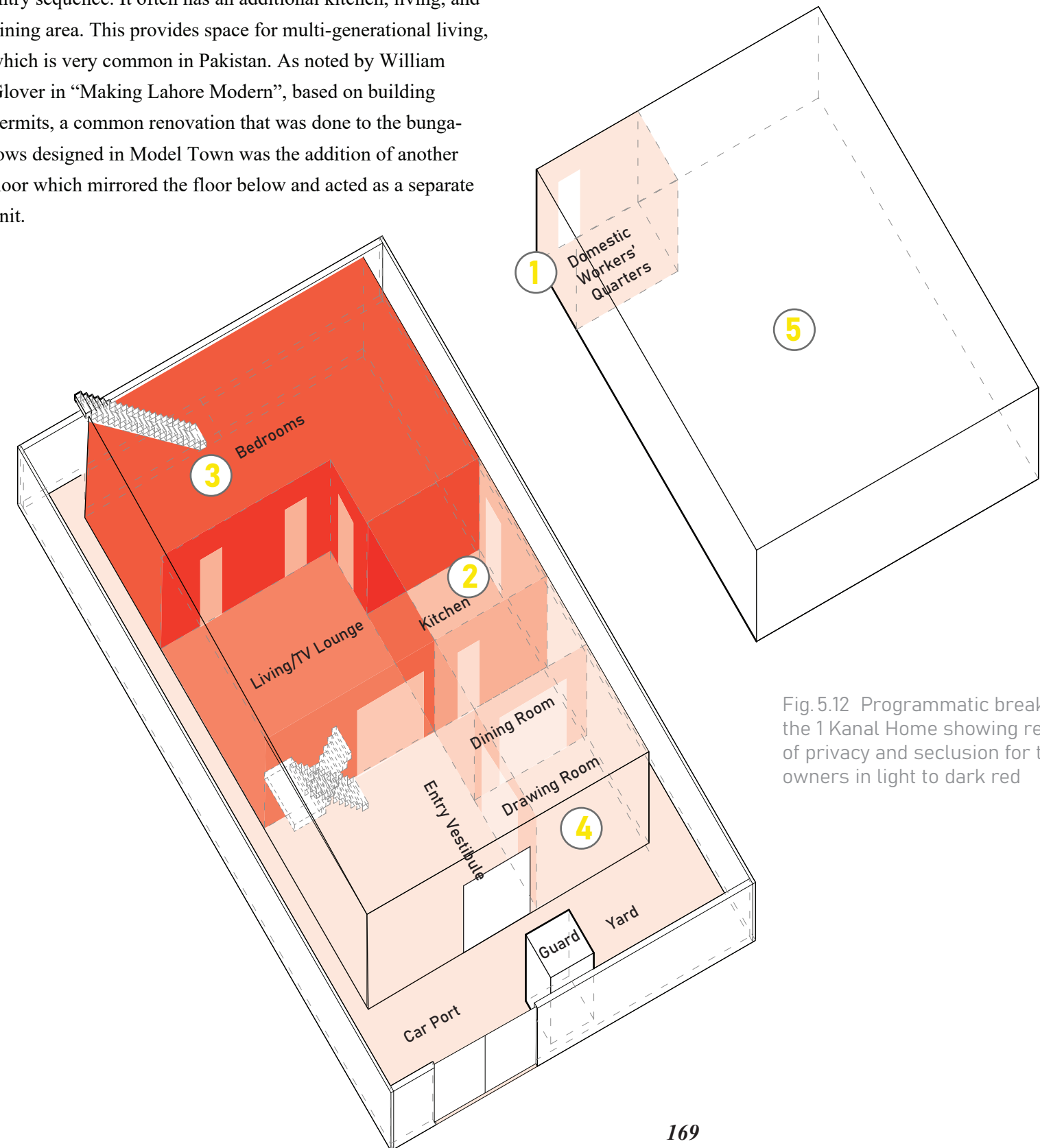


Fig. 5.12 Programmatic breakdown of the 1 Kanal Home showing relative areas of privacy and seclusion for the home-owners in light to dark red

Fig. 5.13 Elevation of a recently constructed 1 Kanal home in DHA



*“If you look at the city from here
you see it is laid out in concentric circles,
each circle surrounded by a wall
exactly like a prison.
Each street is a dog-run for prisoners,
no milestones, no destinations, no way out.

If anyone moves too quickly you wonder
why he hasn't been stopped by a shout.
If someone raises his arm
you expect to hear the jangling of chains.”*

*If You Look at the City from Here (Faiz Ahmed Faiz,
Translation by Naomi Lazard)*

Conclusion

In 1965, Faiz Ahmed Faiz wrote the poem *If You Look at the City from Here*. As I began this process, I spent a lot of time looking at the city on Google Earth, zooming in and out trying to understand what it meant. I was confronted with the swaths of housing colonies, each centered around radiating points. Each home, each private space, bordered, layered with walls, like the flesh of an onion. Walls of antiquity, walls of colonialism, and walls that became higher with the threat of terrorism.

I lived in Lahore when I was fairly young, traversing the city by means of a car, from home to school, or one private colony to another. This rendered my memories of the city fragmented. However, within these memories there were moments of interaction with historical spaces such as Liberty Market, Model Town, Tollinton Market, and Gaddafi Stadium that stuck with me. These spaces contained a different energy from life within DHA. In my memory these spaces were where the world was actually moving.

The partition of India and Pakistan was not a time of architectural development, rather it was a time of destruction and adaptation. The nature of tragedy is such that it leaves behind remnants we do not want to look at. Anything that challenges the integrity of the sacrifice made by millions of martyrs is justifiably an unsavoury topic. In the dominant culture of Pakistan, it often feels like questioning Islamic values is questioning this sacrifice.

If there were spaces created from a pre-Partition understanding of a separatist Islamic identity, its traces were sparse in the metropolises of the new Pakistan and especially in Lahore, where developed areas were previously resided equally if not largely by non-Muslim Indians. The Indian Subcontinent has been a space of contested identities for many millennia. Despite 97% of Pakistanis being ‘Muslim’ as far as the label on your national identification card goes, there is a broad spectrum of definitions for what this label actually means. In *The New Pakistani Middle Class*, Ammara Maqsood explores the existence and reinstatement of this core identity

through interviews. In a conversation with an official at the Defence Housing Authority (DHA), Ammara questioned what the idea of ‘modern living’, that is so often advertised, means to housing developers. The answer was to “*create a progressive society that is not afraid to challenge the values of the past but is always equipped with the ideals of an Islamic nation.*”¹ In saying that, how does this national Islamic identity translate to built space, and how do these spaces in turn, affect the multitude of identities that inhabit the city? What is Pakistan as a nation striving for, and is this even a valid question? How can architecture accommodate everyone when its design only aims to uphold ideals specific to a constructed identity?

At the time I was reading Faiz Ahmed Faiz’ poetry alongside his history of altercations with the state. I was also finding a lot of poetry and short stories by other Socialist Progressive writers of India and Pakistan from the 1950’s. I started the analysis with broad questions about the social effects of military power, national identity, and wanted to relate it to the urbanism of the gated housing schemes that now define Lahore. The connection, of course, lay in Defence Housing Authority, the built emblem of military pride and ideology. However, the planning of DHA is very similar to residential planning in Lahore in general, and this led me to do a broader analysis before engaging in a more specific one.

The culmination of Chapter One and Two demonstrated that this housing scheme typology developed in a close relationship to elitism in the colonial and post-colonial socio-economic landscape of Lahore. This showed me the actual social impact of the military as a colonial era institution. This social impact defined the standards and ideals of living. Through the analysis of advertisements and planning ideologies in DHA, I found that what was being created was deeply related to the lifestyles of the upper middle-class which estab-

1 Ammara Maqsood, *The New Pakistani Middle Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

lished itself in the city during the colonial period. Alongside this, however, was the knowledge of the Military institutions historical control of the nation through often Islamic ideology. This made it vital for me to look at these developments from an ideological lens, to understand what is being marketed, portrayed, and sold as an ‘ideal’ of living.

Reading Ayyaz Mallick’s conceptualizations of material-ideological systems led me to the titles and content of the three final chapters of this book. Each of these spatial mechanisms exist in most, if not all, middle to upper middle class housing schemes in Lahore. To understand how they operate in DHA would mean to understand these mechanisms in their most powerful state.

Chapter Three: *Boundary Lines* looked land acquisition, access, and exclusion, demonstrating the scale at which this operates at the hands of DHA. A closer look at DHA’s interaction with surrounding villages shows that a disregard for existing urban fabric is part of their design ideology. The exclusion of individuals from the acquired land is visualized in the architectural expression of entry gates. Through these expressions of prestige, exclusion and power are idealized as normal and necessary. Insecurity has become a tool for marketing.

Chapter Four: *Street Systems* studied the organization of space at DHA’s sector scale. It demonstrates the desire for progress through a combination of colonial-era, and “Islamic” organization principles. The Islamic principles by which DHA’s neighbourhoods are planned are those informed by an Islamic modernity – a global post-WWII development. The design of Individual Mosques within each sector are consistent with this historical understanding.

Chapter Five: *Residential Plots* looks at the typological development of the DHA home, from how plots are subdivided to how space within the home is most commonly planned. The different representation of homes advertised for investment from ex-patriates, demonstrates that the military's relationship with the real estate market is for financial gain rather than providing housing. An analysis of common housing typologies further shows that the colonial ideals, historically carried forth by the military, penetrate the daily lives of Pakistanis.

The purpose of this method of analysis was to explore the different scales at which power and identity operate within architecture and urban planning. The design ideology of DHA's residential planning centres a "modern Islam", that is informed by local and international influences. It uses exclusionary planning tactics, such as architectural expression, walls, and security to stabilize and maintain this insular community.

The study of colonial-era residential planning precedents alongside analysis of DHA demonstrated that the Pakistani Military mediates a *connected but distinct* relationship between the established middle-class and the new middle-class through aspiration for the lifestyle and social prestige of the former social group, thereby increasing social and economic disparity in Lahore.

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