DYNAMICS OF NON-CONFORMING SPACES IN A PLANNED MODERN
CITY: THE CASE OF FRANCE COLONY IN ISLAMABAD

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ABSTRACT

DYNAMICS OF NON-CONFORM SPACES IN A PLANNED MODERN CITY: THE CASE OF FRANCE COLONY IN ISLAMABAD

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Cities planned with modernist notions are often critiqued by mapping the discord between the original plans and the material reality; the ideal and the real. This approach considers all deviations from the initial master plan as direct instances of the failure of modernism. This research aims at furthering the understanding of planned modern urbanism by investigating the relation between formal and informal planning processes. It does so by negating the existence of non-conform spaces due to inherent flaws in the modern ideology. Rather by considering the plan-implementation as a continuous and reciprocal process instead of a sequential one, it shows that under different conditions, the creation of non-conform spaces institute changes in the original plan. By taking on the planned capital city of Islamabad (1959-63) and viewing its development through an urbanist lens, the thesis touches upon the landscape of non-conform spaces in the city to study the positive role of spatial non-conformity in the operationalization of contemporary cities. It departs from existing literature that views the formal and informal processes as binary oppositions and limits the possibilities of investigating any other kind of relation between the two-urban phenomenon. Finally, it focuses on one squatter settlement (one of the major types of non-conform spaces in Islamabad) namely the France

Colony to explore in detail, the actions that force us to acknowledge the pervasiveness of non-conforming spaces in highly planned contexts. It investigates the role of state and non-state actor enmeshed in its sustenance and the entanglement with legal procedures to extend stay.

Keywords: Modern Urbanism, Non-conformity, Informal Processes, Legal-illegal divide, Planned cities, Islamabad

ÖZ

PLANLI MODERN ŞEHİRDE UYGUN OLMAYAN MEKANLARIN DİNAMİKLERİ: İSLAMABAD'DA FRANSA KOLONİSİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Modernist fikirlerle planlanan şehirler, genellikle tasarlanan ile uygulanan plan arasındaki uyumsuzluk ile eleştirilirler; ideal olan ve gerçekleştirilen. Bu yaklaşım, nazım imar planından ayrışan tüm uygulamaları, modernizmin başarısızlığının doğrudan bir örneği olarak kabul eder. Bu tez, resmi ve gayriresmi planlama süreçleri arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyerek planlı modern şehircilik anlayışına yönelik eleştirel bir fikir geliştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Modernizm sahip olduğu içsel çelişki nedeniyle, plan dışı gelişen mekanların varlığını reddeder. Oysa ki, planlı uygulama sıralı bir süreç yerine sürekli ve karşılıklı bir diyalog olarak ele alındığında, farklı koşullar altında ortaya çıkan plan dışı mekanların original planı değiştirebileceği görülmektedir. Bu noktada, çalışmanın ampirik incelemesinde planlı bir başkent olarak İslamabat (1959-63) şehrini planlama bakış açısından ele alarak plansız gelişen kentsel mekanların, çağdaş kentlerin oluşumundaki potansiyel rolünü sorgulayıp mercek altına almaktadır. Ayrıca, bu çalışma mevcut literatürden farklı olarak, resmi ve gayriresmi kentsel mekan oluşum sürecindeki ikili olguyu karşılaştırmalı olarak inceleyerek limit ve potansiyelleri ortaya koymaktadır. Son olarak, ampirik çalışmada İslamabat'taki en önemli plansız yerleşimlerinden biri olan bir gecekondu alanını bir planlı yerleşim örneği olan Fransız koloni bölgesi ile beraber inceleyerek plansız yerleşmelerin planlı kentsel bağlam içerisinde

düşünmeyi zorlayan aksiyonlarına odaklanılmaktadır. Böylece, bu tez devletin ve devlet dışı aktörlerin kentsel mekan ve planlama süreci içerisindeki rolünü ve bu rolü yasal süreçle beraber incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modern şehircilik, Gayriresmi süreçler, Plan dışı mekanlar, Yasal-yasa dışı bölünme, Planlı şehirler, İslamabat

To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One can distinguish two kinds of images of the city: those that are consciously formed, and others that reveal themselves unintentionally. The former emerges out of an artistic intention that is realized in squares, perspectives, groups of buildings, which Baedeker usually illuminates with a small star. The latter in contrast, emerge without having being previously planned. They are not compositions that, like the Pariser Platz or Place de la Concorde, owed their existence to a unified building conception, but rather they are fortuitous creations that do not permit themselves to be called to account.

Siegfried Kracauer, "Aus dem Fenster gesehen"

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

CADA   Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives (Benaki Museum, Greece)

CDA   Capital Development Authority

DA   Doxiadis Associates

ICT   Islamabad Capital Territory

ICTA   Islamabad Capital Territory Administration

ICTLGA   Islamabad Capital Territory Local Government Act

KAC   Katchi Abadi Cell

KAA   Katchi Abadi Alliance

MCI   Metropolitan Corporation of Islamabad

UC   Union Council

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Identification of Research Problem

The contemporary cities we know are more often the embodiment of unexpected outcomes and unintended consequences rather than visionary planning. This thesis is an investigation into those spaces that do not comply with the original 'plan', changing the way cities were envisaged and how they are operationalized.

Though at most instances cities evolve organically, there are major examples where cities were developed with certain motives, as a showcase of power or for the exertion of planning ideas. Modernism is a sheer example where cities provided an actual ground for the realization of modern ideology of planning. Examples include Brasilia (Brazil), Canberra (Australia), Chandigarh (India) and Islamabad (Pakistan); cities which were developed through a 'plan'. **Nonconforming urban phenomena in planned modern cities of the twentieth century have mostly been conceptualized as contradictions to the ideal "plan" (Epstein, 1973; Sarin, 1982; Holston, 1989).** Thus established, the conception of these spaces is dependent on the plan and subsist only where there is a plan. This thesis explores this relation of planned and unplanned via taking on the city of Islamabad; a 20th century designed capital based on the modernist lineage.

Anthropologist James Holston (1989) in his work on Brasilia, another modernist capital designed in the late 1950s employs a binary framework to explain the relationship between official plans and intentions, and unofficial spaces and practices. Holston (1989) and Sennett (1992) explain how ambiguities and unintended paradoxes that directly challenge the structure of the plan are dealt with

in planned places using strategies of eviction, demolition, or segregation. However, the same strategy cannot be used to explain urban phenomenon which while remaining outside the purview of the plan, actually complement the planned places and sustain the overall plan as is the case in Islamabad. Holston's center-periphery explanation for the sprouting of such spaces also becomes redundant for areas where such spaces exist in highly planned contexts such as the city of Islamabad. Thus, this research attempts to explore these two opposite urban phenomenon i.e. the formal and the informal, via the lens of complementarity as opposed to a contradictory relationship.

Recent scholarship on urban informality has demonstrated the relevance of nonconformity in urban development processes around the world and highlighted the profusion of informal practices in governmental planning procedures (Roy et. al., 2004). This brings into attention, the legal status these spaces enjoy which exist as part of the city but are external to the master plan. It also prompts towards the various government and non-government actors that are involved in the creation of such spaces and assist them sustain over longer periods of time, often under the notion of 'temporariness'. For instance, urban theorist Ananya Roy (2005 pp. 147-149) explains "capacity to construct and reconstruct categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy" in urban areas lies with the planning and legal apparatus of the state and that it is the "planning modalities … [that] produce the 'unplannable'". The thesis investigates the many layers of legality and illegality in which these spaces are enmeshed and the intentions that these political actions have behind their sustenance. The apparent neat aligning of interests of all privileged state and non-state actors misses out on the opportunity to explore the possibility of fissures and alliances that may exist among members of the same or different socio-economic groups in processes involving informal urbanism.

Nonconforming spaces offer room to go beyond the master plan without compromising the formal integrity of the overall planned scheme. In doing so, they accommodate functions and needs that are unmet by the original plan. Mehrotra (2010) discusses these spaces under the umbrella of 'kinetic urbanism' for their often

temporal nature and ability to sustain the otherwise stagnant city by catering to the ephemeral needs. The Kinetic City forces the static city to re-engage itself in present conditions by dissolving its utopian project to fabricate multiple dialogues with its context. All in all, an examination of the functioning and everyday life of these unplanned places reveals that rather than being marginal dysfunctional phenomena, spaces that do not conform to formal architectural and planning protocols play a central role in the way abstract plans are operationalized, and planned cities are experienced.

In this research, spatial nonconformity emerges as an important feature of contemporary planning paradigms that is relevant to urban conditions found in modern cities everywhere. These spaces challenge the fiction of the plan-implementation as a sequential process and rethinks cities as an emblem of imagined ideals with insubordinate local realities. Instead these spaces have the power to make the plan-implementation process a reciprocal one. Modern urbanism that is often bounded by the Master Plan as an artefact that needs to be upheld under all conditions, overlooks the role these compromised spaces provide in the smooth running of the cities. While urban modernism maps the discord between the plan and reality as a critique of it, this research questions the other type of relations the two urban phenomena may enjoy. It also posits questions regarding the legal status of the spaces that lie in the geography between legal and illegal. Why some spaces tend to live for longer periods of time while others are removed and strictly dealt with by the municipality? How does the spaces outside of the plan sustain themselves in highly planned contexts and with the presence of extensive law enforcement departments? What are the intentions of those actors that mediate these spaces and how these intentions differ amongst the different state and non-state actors? All in all what is the relation between spaces that are formally and informally planned in an overall planned city? These question tug at the power and social structures of the cities that unfold themselves in the everyday realm and spatial order. Hence, understanding these ties becomes important in understanding the overall functioning of the cities. Additionally, the reality of living the great plans that are conceived on

papers can only be fully realized through the analysis of those inhabiting, changing and shaping these spaces every day, whether inside or outside the purview of law. This research also becomes significant by shunning the binary approach and divulging the territory between the legal and illegal divide. Such lens of analysis provides useful insights into the factors that affect the decisions of those that administer the spaces and the power of those who are being administered, which is vital to our understanding of the cities.

1.2   Scope of the Research

Islamabad is the capital city of Pakistan, designed by the Greek architect and urbanist C.A. Doxiadis. It is one of the prominent nation-state capitals built after the WWII and exposes the modernist tendencies at all levels from architecture to urban design and planning. The concept of modernism was implemented in the spirit of the Athens Charter and reflected modern, internationally debated approaches in architecture and urban planning. For these modernist notions and it being the first of the only two planned cities in the country it is of utmost importance.

Where other cities in Pakistan are characterized by winding roads, crowded bazaars, closely-knit housing lanes and a rarity of green spaces, Islamabad in first look, presents a stark contrast to it all. It has a wide lane orthogonal road network, tidily cushioned by green belts on the sides, neatly laid out housing lanes in defined *sectors* and commercial centers as opposed to the local bazaars. Though it was built in conjunction with the old city of Rawalpindi, and the two are known as the 'twin cities', the twins stand fraternal and there is no similarity between the two. So much so that Islamabad is known to be 12 miles away from 'Pakistan", hinting at its overall differences and aloofness from Pakistan while mentioning its distance from Rawalpindi. (Fig.1.1)

Figure 1.1 Aerial view of the adjacent cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad with a stark contrast in their urban fabric.

Source:https://www.reddit.com/r/UrbanHell/comments/f3ox2v/divide_between_two_cities_rawalpindi_and/

The author shifted to Islamabad in 2008 and could not help taking in all these differences. However, 10-12 years later, the observations were keener and there was more to scratch beneath the surface in Islamabad's much planned city. Certain activities looked anomalous in Islamabad's setting and stirred the initial chain of thoughts. That included the road side 'dhabas' (i.e. traditional eatery with semi-open outdoor sitting), the weekly sprouting up of bazaar, the street hawkers, street side vendors and some squatter settlements cocooned in planned contexts. The side by side presence of two opposite urban phenomena i.e. the formal and informal with their visual and spatial differences was jarring (Figure 1.1). Moreover, their presence over the years made it sure that they were a permanent part of the city structure and how it is experienced on day to day basis. These observations raised questions related

to the need of such spaces, their ownership and their overall participation in the overall functioning of the city that are discussed in this research.
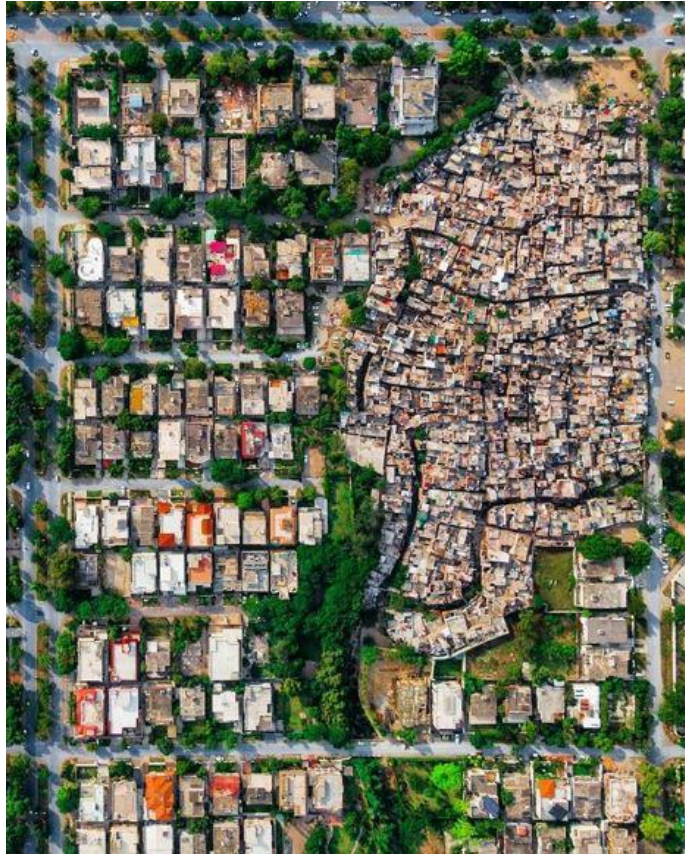
Figure 1.2. Sector F-7/4 showing the France Colony in vicinity of the planned housing lanes. Source: https://www.reddit.com/r/pakistan/comments/hlnkt7/this_is_sector_f74_in_islamabad_and_in_the_middle/

In the city of Islamabad, a wide spectrum of people is involved in creating non-conform spaces ranging from government officials, to affluent people and the under privileged, marginalized residents. This is done with the intention to gain access to those functions, spaces and necessities that are inaccessible within the framework of the original plan. Such a state of affairs is a challenge to the popular and common scholarship imagination of informality and illegality as the domain of the urban poor in the global south. While literature explains non-conform spaces usually sprouting up at the edges of the cities or in areas that have dubious ownership, what

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distinguishes Islamabad is the existence of such spaces within highly planned contexts. My thesis deliberates upon this phenomenon as a whole but particularly focuses on the pervasiveness of these within strictly planned zones; pushing the by-laws and surviving on negotiations. This research on Islamabad aims to show how the "informalization of the State" is accompanied by a "formalization of the Everyday" as ordinary citizens (both rich and poor) strategically mimic official planning procedures in order to create the effect of legitimacy to justify urban spaces that do not conform to official planning frameworks (Roy, 2004 ; Hull, 2012). Moreover, adding to the conception of these spaces as digressions to the plans, the research views them as entitlements that circulate within the city and assist in the smooth running of affairs. It discusses the reasons for their formation, tactics for sustenance and overall position within the existing Master plan of the city. It does so by elaborating the different range of non-conform spaces in the city, their history, and modalities. Examples of nonconforming spatial practices in Islamabad include: a) illicit residential constructions that range from overcrowded dwellings built along open drains to sprawling mansions set on expensive lakefront properties, b) encroachments on greenbelts and sidewalks by poor café owners, street hawkers, formal businesses, foreign diplomatic missions, and government organizations, and (c) unauthorized uses of residential buildings, and to name a few.

It then focuses on one squatter settlement existing in a highly planned area to consolidate the research and reach conclusions about all the apprehensions. The focus on one settlement allows to explore in detail those intricate instances that make us acknowledge the power of these spaces to institute changes and also the under-the -table negotiations that are a major component for survival.

The discussion becomes important in the current context where the master plan of Islamabad is being revised. One of the insights in the thesis is of studying a city by understanding its contemporary history. In case of a planned city, the question of whether to conserve it as an artifact or adapt to ever-changing requirements and needs is always there. The fiction of the plan-implementation as sequential processes is evident in the development of Islamabad over the years. The history of

development of Islamabad shows that the final master plan of the city is not an unchanging bounded artifact. Instead spaces that are not part of the official master plan routinely challenge, suspend, and sometimes replace planned spaces. The research via deliberating the contemporary history shows spaces adjusted in the plan, tolerated under the heading of temporary or granted permission, because they provided for needs uncatered for by the original plan. This opens gate for new discussions and ideas to keenly look into and further regulate spaces that support the plan but lie on the precipice of illegal and legal.

The thesis aims at understanding the formal informal divide with a fresh perspective where it puts both under the lens of complementarity instead of contradiction. The aims for the research are listed as follows:

- To investigate the relationship between the planned modern city of Islamabad and the non-conform spaces existing within the city
- To understand the planning practices and violations that give birth to these spaces
- To understand the intentions of state and non-state actors involved in the creation of these spaces
- To theorize the conception of these spaces as a whole, their existing modalities and legal standing
- To evaluate the contribution of the paralegal activities in the smooth running of the city via catering to needs the plan is handicapped in providing
- To understand spatial non-conformity as an important feature of planning paradigm
- To evaluate the contemporary history of Islamabad through the lens of the "unplanned" development as an attempt to better understand the 'plan'
- To understand the operationalization of modernist plans and their contemporary standings

Discussions around Islamabad have often been centered around its planning; the motives and intentions behind its creation. A recent publication (2015) is Markus Daechsel's account of Islamabad , *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan*. His work employs archival and theoretical information to analyze the notion of development in a post war international arena juxtaposed with a post-colonial one. This provides a new look into this period's historiography, albeit through a cultural lens. Of the numbered historic accounts that exist concerning Islamabad's urban design and architecture is Zahir-ud-din Khawaja's book, *Memoirs of an architect*. This book provides a biographical account and insight into the state of affairs at the time of the construction of Islamabad. Another author is Sten Nilsson whose published works remain inaccessible and largely out of print. His penmanship of 1978 includes, *The New capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, which is a comparative analysis of the three new capitals in South Asia.

In another take the book by Matthew Hull, *Governmentality of paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan,* published in 2012, explores the paper mediation concerning the urban bureaucracy during and after Islamabad was being built. In this analysis the material forms of files and papers result in a distinct politic. This is analyzed with reference to how the citizens are affected, inhabited and how the city is shaped and regulated. This work is a fresh take, as it highlights Foucault's approach to governance in a new manner, through an extension of colonial era practices, which sought to isolate government from mainstream society in a post-colonial setting.

While Islamabad may have been discussed via its developmental trajectory, there is a dearth of knowledge regarding the 'operationalization' of the city via the city managers and the residents. This thesis intends to focus on Islamabad's contemporary history, by focusing on the 'unplanned' Islamabad. By doing so, the research does not posit Islamabad as a 'development failure'(Daechsel,2013) since the city shifted to a different understanding of inclusiveness and class control; instead, the emphasis will be on the critical viewing of relationship between the planned and the unplanned. This research lies on the intersection of living the

modernist plans and contemporary urban issues modifying them. The research also draws parallels from Hull's findings as the material artefacts play an important role in the administrative regime of the relation between the official and unofficial spaces.

1.3   Research Methodology

Initial ideas were developed by author's personal experience of being a resident of the city, Islamabad. These ideas were further strengthened by archival research and existing literature to build insight and hypotheses for problem definition. Both exploratory and descriptive methods were used in this process. Simultaneously, through literature review, parameters to understand and analyze non-conformity were marked out. Drawing parallels from other modernist capitals such as Brasilia and Chandigarh, non-conformity was studied in terms of its relation with the original plan, the geographical locations where such spaces usually sprout and the reason for it. Subsequently the protagonists that lead these formations, or later facilitate their sustenance. These parameters gave useful insights in forming a framework to explore the aspects required to address the research aims. It was also of significance to particularly look into the state policy regarding these spaces, to reveal patterns between the legal and the illegal divide adhering to non-conformity.

The thesis aims to explore the relationship of non-conform urban spaces with the city as a whole and ultimately understand how they facilitate in the operationalization of the city. Thus, understanding the historical development, intentions (political and social) and power structure was necessary to comprehend the reasons for sprouting up of these spaces and the lack of functions they have been fulfilling. This has been carried out through accumulation and interpretation of archival and existing information regarding Islamabad and its construction through government and consultant documents, reports and correspondences between various individuals. The thesis utilized the Capital Development Authority (CDA) library in Islamabad, and the Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA) library in Rawalpindi (Islamabad's twin city). Furthermore, certain NGO's and the *Katchi Abadi Alliance*

resources have been utilized to gather information regarding the formation, demographics and land use situation of the squatter settlements in Islamabad.

The thesis then supports the narrative by focusing on one squatter settlement and deliberating in detail its history, modalities and materialities. The detailed research process is explained in Chapter 3, "Methodological Framework of the Research". Interviews were carried out, as a major source to supplement the research involving government officials, government employees, residents of the concerned sector and residents of the concerned non-conform space. The interviews were semi-structured and carried out with an intention to understand the role of state and non-state actors in the creation of these spaces that are enmeshed between legality and illegality.

As mentioned above, preliminary ideas were formed through being resident of the city and navigating through on almost daily basis. However, for the concerned study area, site visits were made to get more familiarity. Constant to and fro between information collected via interviews, photographic records and archives was done to synthesis the research and reach conclusions. The narratives of the interviews were backed up by the photographic records, material artefacts and the archival data. Overall, the data set used is comprised of opinions, descriptions of facts, narratives of practices, documents, and reports.

1.4   Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is split into six chapters apart from the introduction, the details of which are as follows:

Chapter 2 headed "Positing non-conformity" introduces non-conformity the concept and discusses it in planning practices conversing ideas like urban informality, temporality, and tactical urbanism. By finding examples and theories from literature, it concretizes the parameters around which non-conform spaces can be conceptualized and understood. It also elaborates the approaches that can used to evaluate the entanglement of such spaces with the legalities.

The chapter then discusses non-conform spaces in relation to planned cities which is the main theme of this thesis. Before this discussion though, it delves into the detail of the conception, organization, and intention behind planned modern cities. The chapter closes by putting out different views relating to how planned cities are dealt with over the years taking on the examples of Chandigarh and Brasilia.

Chapter 3 elaborates the research methodology for this thesis. The chapter details out the thought process to answer the research question and how the research has been designed accordingly. Furthermore, the scope and limitations and their effect on the design of the research has been mentioned. It highlights the criteria for choosing the specific case study, the details of data collection, analysis and how validity has been insured in the research.

Chapter 4, 'The planned city of Islamabad' puts into context the main subject area of the research that is the city of Islamabad. Through two parts, namely "*intentions and the initial development*" and *"subsequent years and contemporary developments"*, the chapter unfolds the history and development of Islamabad. It elaborates the intent for the new capital and the planning of it. The modernist lineage is discussed upon which forms the basis of further research. It then moves on to talk about the contemporary changes, the areas that have diverted from the plan and the reasons for their existence. The range of non-conform spaces in the city is discussed that have made noticeable changes in the plan and the lead actors involved. The correlation with the management of the city is also included to highlight how power structures are related to the existence of spaces outside of the plan.

Chapter 5, 'Conforming to non-conformity' discusses the main theme of this research that is the relation between the planned and unplanned spaces. It does so by talking about a particular urban informality within the city of Islamabad. The discussion revolves around the regularization process of the informality and the many aspects of illegality and legality attributed with it. The data collected via interviews, site visits and archival research is used to describe the different aspects of the squatter settlement; France Colony, that unfolds the sustenance tactics and its

overall legal standing. It also sheds light on the economic and social structure of the informality and its relation with its immediate context and the city.

The final chapter consolidates the findings. It relates the archival research and literature review with the recent discoveries made via on-ground research and form conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

POSITING NON-CONFORMITY

This chapter contextualizes the research based on non-conform spaces in a theoretical framework in general and in reference to modern planned cities in particular. Theorists have commented on the systems that give birth to these spaces, their genesis and locations, relation to the plan, actors involved in their sustenance and their usefulness or the lack of it, in the smooth running of cities, which is explored in detail in this chapter. The research analyses these parameters by going through examples of other modernist parallels of Islamabad such as Chandigarh and Brasilia and posits Islamabad's deviation or similarity from these in certain ways.

The chapter then divulges into the details of different connotations of non-conform spaces in the planning practices. The vast umbrella of 'urban informality' is touched upon to discuss various approaches to the urban phenomena. Furthermore, the material, political and spatial tactics that ground the unofficial spaces is highlighted, majorly in the context of South-Asian cities.[1] This included viewing the subject via the eyes of both the city administrators and the residents; poor and affluent alike.

After establishing the position of spatial non-conformity in contemporary urbanization processes, the chapter puts it into context with the planned cities in the second half. It unravels the motives and intentions behind planned modernist cities and goes on to elaborate their relation with politics and power. In doing so it becomes

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[1] The city discussed in this thesis is Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan which lies in South Asia. (Refer to map in appendix A). Hence relative discussions around politics and mode of urbanizations become significant.

possible to capture Islamabad's positionality in urban politics. It also becomes possible through this discussion to pave an avenue which generates an understanding of state power or the lack of it, through its governance and administration. The chapter's closing note deliberate upon the future of planned cities inhibiting non-conform spaces via viewing approaches that other contemporaries have engaged in, in deciding their future paths.

2.1   PART I-Theorizing Nonconformity

Describing a city's urban planning based on a 'Master-Plan' is usually envisaged holding a utopian imagination of the future. For Friedman (2002, p. 103) this "...is a way of breaking through the barriers of convention into the sphere of imagination where many things beyond our everyday experience become possible" . However, the reality differs from conception as various factors that are un-thought of and often beyond human conception sprout up to alter the conceived ideas. Synonymously ordering processes, urban design schemes or plans intended to bring a certain order to the society are met with various unintended elements as soon as they are operationalized and put into effect. Different theorists have commented on these unintended processes, violations and exclusions which help in theorizing how out of place entities are viewed, categorized, and dealt with. This research does not intend to criticize the idea of planned spaces or imagined utopias, rather explore the relation of the unanticipated phenomena with these concepts as an aim to better understand the reasons for their need, generation, and pervasiveness.

Nonconforming urban phenomena in planned modern cities of the twentieth century have mostly been conceptualized as contradictions to the ideal "plan" (Epstein, 1973; Sarin, 1982; Holston, 1989). Theorists view derivations to plan in context of the plan itself, where a certain framework demarks out-of-frame phenomena, that lie outside the purview of law. Anthropologist Mary Douglas in her book Purity and Danger (1980, 1966) explores concepts of pollution and taboo and the society's attitude towards these deviances. Douglas (1980, p. 35) defines dirt

(deviance) as "matter out of place," which implies two conditions: i) dirt is not an isolated occurrence: "Where there is dirt there is system. Dirt is a by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involved rejecting inappropriate elements;" ii) Our conception of dirt has a direct link to how we see "all the rejected elements of ordered systems" (such as the unplanned, anomalies, ambiguities, deviances, etc.) .This notion of dirt as matter out of place, Douglas (1980,p. 36) contends, can also be applied to the general response of society to "any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications" . Douglas' work reinforces the idea of the existence of the system/plan for the unplanned to exist. This brings into frame the planned modern cities to advance the discussion.

2.1.1 Geographical Bearing

Chandigarh, Brasilia, and Islamabad are contemporaries designed around the same time under modernist notions. The most prominent rendition of Brasilia and other planned cities, notably Le Corbusier's Chandigarh in India, is the emergence of the 'unplanned' squatters as the city urbanizes. The reason for the sprouting up of these settlements and their locations within these planned cities, give insights about the digressions from plan and how they are geographically placed. In designing Chandigarh (1960), Le Corbusier used the notion of an agricultural green belt to contain its urban growth and to distinguish the rural from the urban. However, soon the peripheral area was used for purposes that were not intended for it. The Masterplan, then, called for a city of limited population and inelastic proportions, even though it was envisioned to be the center for regional economic development. Thus, the negligence towards all social strata was innate to the Master Plan. The Master Plan envisaged a model city, prosperous, hygienic, and orderly, but failed to recognize that this construction could only be realized by the labors of large numbers of the working poor, for whom no provision had been made in the plans. Thus, the building of planned Chandigarh was mirrored in the simultaneous mushrooming of

unplanned Chandigarh and these opposite urban phenomena, in this context, have been discussed by theorists since then. Surveys reports confirm that the large number of migrants that arrived first at the city site were the construction workers[2]. Moreover, the tabula-rasa consideration for the area was wrong as it was already sporadically inhibited by villages. Earlier construction workers resided in the places existing in the middle of the city during the construction of city. But administration shifted them to peripheries of the city, the areas outside of the 'planned' Chandigarh. Geographical location of slum settlements displays that all the un-authorized slum colonies exist at the peripheral location (See figure2.1). Today, the periphery of Chandigarh is characterized by unregulated construction and rapid urbanization much in contrast to the planned iron-grid city.

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[2] A majority of the people to arrive first at the city site were construction workers The site was the scene of intense activity; with 30,000 workers-both men and women –working seven days a week with no provision of housing at all see Madhu Sarin, *Planning and the Urban Poor: The Chandigarh Experience, 1951-1975* (A Research Report sponsored by the Ministry of Overseas Development, London: the School of Environmental Studies, University College, 1975), p.175.
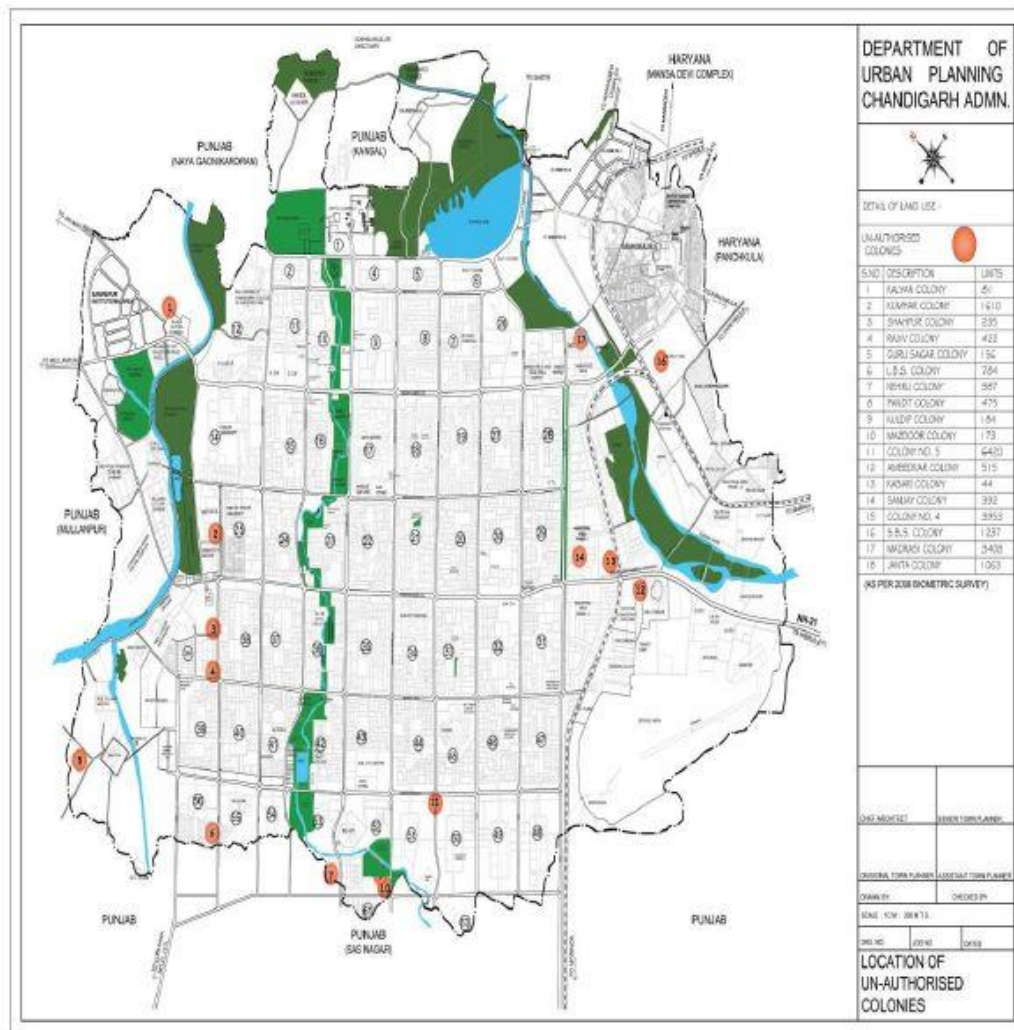
Figure 2.1.. Location of Unauthorized Colonies as Shown in Biometric Survey Report (2006) **Source:** Department of Urban planning Chandigarh Administration

The center-periphery dichotomy has been popularly employed in existing scholarship to describe political, economic, and spatial inequalities in society and across nations (Rabinow, 1989; Crinson, 2003; Ferraro, 2008; Holston, 2009). In these studies, the privileged economic or political group (the rich/ the colonizer) occupies a place in the center while the unprivileged (the poor/ the colonized) is relegated to a peripheral position. When speaking of technical urban planning, Lefebvre (1996, 1968) notes the way in which it fails to give every citizen the right to enjoy the *core* of the city.

This aspect is also captured by Holston (1989, p.290) who points out the socio-spatial exclusionary character of Brasilia, the planned modernist city, since its inception, whereby most of city's population which was deployed for the construction of the city, sought refuge in *peripheral satellite* cities around the (administrative) region Plano Piloto . Holston's seminal work "The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia" (1989, p. 289) employs a binary framework to explain the relationship between official plans and intentions, and unofficial spaces and practices .He uses two main theoretical frameworks: (i) a "center-periphery" dichotomy, and (ii) "premises and paradoxes" to explain the creation of spaces external to the original master plan of the planned capital .

According to the official master plan, Brasilia was meant to be a utopian class-free city where various government functionaries, irrespective of their rank, were housed in identical apartment blocks called 'super Quadra' (Holston, 1989, p.206). However, those not working for the government were not considered in this planning and this exclusion rendered the idea of 'social equity' as a failure. In this manner of selection of the future resident population of Brasilia, social and spatial stratification were built into the very "premise" of the modernist city, and constituted the "paradoxes" that it was meant to avoid (Holston, 1989, p. 292). Moreover, with the privatization of residential areas in Plano Piloto when the government decided to sell most of its housing in 1965, "market forces and real estate speculation" forced the lower income government employees out of their allotted housing (Holston, 1989, p. 291). This forced them to evacuate to the city boundaries where they started residing in the satellite cities. The gradual transformation can be seen in Figure 2.2. which shows the increase in satellite cities from 41% to 72% over the course of 20 years. Simultaneously the drop in the plano piloto is also obvious from 48% to a half of it as people could no longer afford and were forced to moved out.
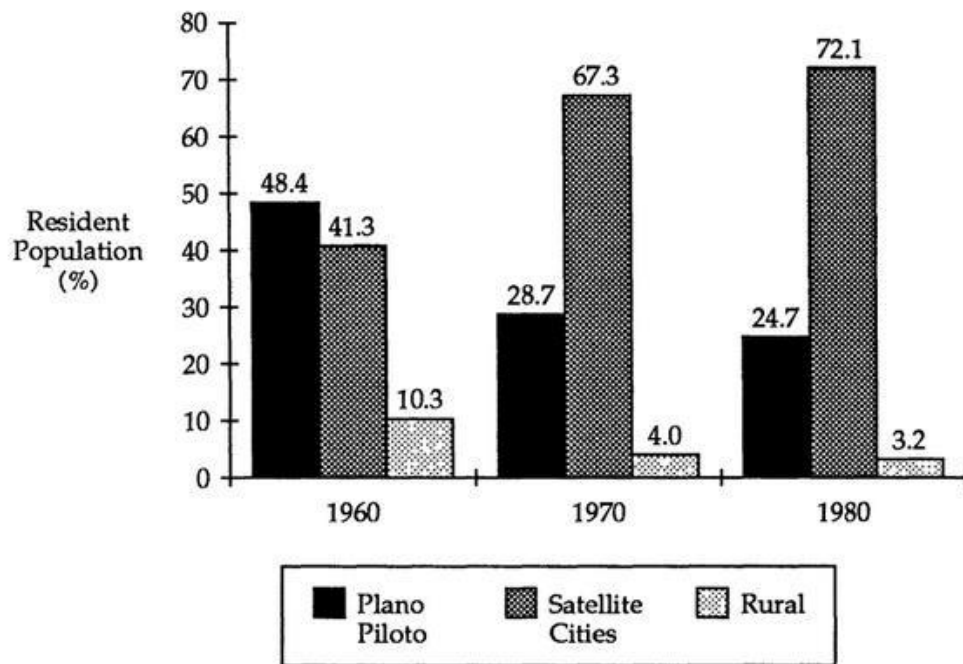
Figure 2.2. The change in the population of piloto, satellite cities and rural from years 1960-80 Source:

Thus, the city officials and privileged were granted plots in the "center" of the city while the marginalized communities, those that lacked the official status, were pushed to the 'peripheries".

The center-periphery conceptualization of the planned and the unplanned provides important insights into the differences in physical and metaphoric locations of various socio-economic groups. What departs Islamabad from its contemporaries within this frame of reference is the existence of non-conform spaces within highly planned contexts. This diminishes the idea of the core and periphery for Islamabad as the planned and unplanned spaces exist cohesively. To add do this, the city's outskirts are a favorable area for city elites, living there in high class housing societies. This turns away from the idea of the core for the powerful and the periphery for the powerless in the case of Islamabad and for these reasons, other frames of analysis are necessary to better explain those urban environments where the center and periphery are not on opposite extremes but instead exist side-by-side or have opposite meanings. The thesis aims to demonstrate the existence of non-conform spaces at locations other than the peripheries too. Where the geographical bearing of

a space does not necessarily qualifies its economic position or importance, it can be used as a tool to mark out those spaces which are deemed favorable by various actors due to different reasons. Choosing such locations within highly planned contexts, point at the mesh of actors that are involved in its sustenance which is discussed later.

2.1.2   Conception in Correlation to Plan

In his second frame of work, 'premises' and 'paradoxes', Holston (1989) explains the existence of the unplanned spaces in the city of Brasilia as being inherent to the Master plan and the whole planning process itself. He contends that the 'premises' are the beliefs and insights that the government and the planners envisioned for the city, though their intentions were not in sync. However, when the time came to realize these premises, the exclusion of the non-governmental citizens and the poor in general from the main scheme refrained them from being fulfilled. Rather it resulted in the development of the unplanned Brasilia, much to the despise of the planners. This development, which was at polar ends to the premises, yet existed because of those very premises, is the paradox on which Brasilia stands. Brasilia is, thus, conceptualized in this study as a city "founded on a paradox" as its basic "premise" was "a negation of the existing conditions in Brazil" (Holston, 1989, p. 5).

The negation of the existences of such spaces by *eliminating* or putting them in *contradiction* to the plan has been deliberated upon in literature. Mary Douglas (1966) elaborates that ordering processes deal with anomalies and ambiguities by ignoring them, by trying to create new patterns of reality in which the anomalies have place, by physically controlling the deviations in order to eliminate them, or by labeling them dangerous. Limiting non-conform spaces under the definitions of contradictions or side-effects of planning takes away the possibility of other kinds of relation that they may enjoy with the planned areas or plan itself. In Islamabad, a myriad of spaces exist that impregnate those functions which the planned city is

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unable to provide and for this reason, in spirit, they actually support and supplement, rather than contradict the plan. Examples include weekly open-air bazaar's[3] in various sectors that cater to the fresh fruit and vegetable supply of the citizens and other major utilities for the middle and lower middle-class inhabitants. Islamabad's non-conform spaces act as variants from the conceptualization provided by Holston and Douglas as they are not dealt with as oppositions or in contrast to the plan. They exist very much through the planning process and are in alliance as opposed to discord or contradiction to the plan. As elucidated in this research, exceptions to plans conceptualized as a deviation from an existing plan document inadequately grasps the complexity of the problem as it constructs *the plan* and *its violation* as oppositional categories. Such a conceptualization misses out on the politics within the very planning process itself or the possibility of appreciating other types of relationships between the two, such as, complementary, and co-constitutive alliances.

2.1.3 Determining Position in the Legal System and the Operationalization of the Cities

Viewing non-conform spaces under this lens, assist in acknowledging their roles in the way cities are operationalized and their contribution in the urbanization processes. This pattern of usefulness and complementarity between the two urban phenomena has also been noticed by the sociologist Amita Baviskar. She writes about the relations of complementarity between planned and unplanned spaces in the development of Delhi (India) in the later part of the twentieth century, when its first major master plan was prepared in 1962 (Baviskar, 2003, p. 90)[4]. The development

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[3] Bazaar: an open air local market existing weekly or bi-weekly, more specific to the south-Asian and middle-eastern regions

[4] At the time of independence and partition of British India into two independent states of Pakistan and India in 1947, Delhi comprised two main areas: 1) Shahjehanabad, which was founded in the

of the planned parts of the capital city, Baviskar (2003, p. 91). notes, was supplemented by the development of slums and shanty towns built by laborers and other workers who had been left out of the master plan but were needed for the construction of Delhi . The development of slums was, then, not a violation of the Plan; it was an *essential accompaniment* to it, its Siamese twin (Baviskr,2003, p. 91). This perception of the so-called unplanned as "an essential accompaniment" to the master plan, challenges the incompatibility of nonconforming spaces as contradictions to formally planned spaces. These spaces are not by-products of a system ordering or a paradox as contended by Holston but exist because their usefulness is recognized by the authorities. In Islamabad assortments to the master plan are not physically eliminated for the smooth running of the ordering process, rather they are put under 'temporary suspension' and tend to continue as being a part of the city. In doing so the sanctity of the plan is preserved while allowing room for functions necessary for the functioning of the planned city but are not an actual part of the original plan. Nonconforming spaces are thus officially recognized, tolerated, and regulated, and this acceptance of urban nonconformity, in turn, redefines the processes of urban planning and development.

This notion of 'temporality' for the informal processes or the non-conform spaces has also echoed in Mehrotra's research on the south-Asian cities. By using India as a proxy for the South Asia, Mehrotra (2010) coins the term 'kinetic urbanism' . The Kinetic City forces the static city to re-engage itself in present conditions by dissolving its utopian project to fabricate multiple dialogues with its context. He explains "What characterizes, for me, the kinetic state is that both the temporal as well as permanent articulations of space are equally important. In fact, the temporal landscapes become critical to the existence of the kinetic city." Where this definition of kinetic and static provides a new definition to the formal-informal divide, it also

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sixteenth century under the Mughal rule, and 2) New Delhi built in early twentieth century during the British colonial era. The 1962 master plan of Delhi encompassed both existing areas as well as new areas from surrounding villages.

opens a new discussion by putting the informal under the realm of the 'temporariness'. This temporariness points at two things in the case of Islamabad:

a) The notion of temporariness in administrative regime, where through a temporary action or 'regularization act' the spaces are sanctioned to exercise their activities

b) The nature of the most of the activities being carried out- these are activities that do not adhere to a permanent setup for their existence, they rely on temporary materials for their buildup and their presence is also time constraint as opposed to having a permanent presence.[5] Examples include the use of pavements for business extensions, street vendors and the bi-weekly markets.

In executing this scenario of temporariness; a geography where new possibilities can be crafted, a large range of actors are involved which breach the generic binary conception of the legal and the illegal. One of the main elements of the long-term sustenance and reconciliation of nonconforming spaces in modern cities is their entanglement with formal, legal and bureaucratic procedures.[6] Studies on informality from developing countries prominently argue that planning frameworks fail to plan for the urban poor and this result in illegality. Different versions of this debate present violations as resistance, subversion, politics of the subalterns against their exclusion, or even examples of the entrepreneurship of the poor (Benjamin 2000; Chatterjee 2004; Scott 1985; Sotto 1989, 2001). Within this approach that locates planning and the rule of law as the formal process against which the violations are conceptualized and theorized, insufficient attention have been paid to the *political process of governance* that becomes the context within which there is any possibility of informality. Moreover, such scholarship has been of little assistance when it comes to understanding how the planning process itself becomes entangled in its

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[5] Explained in detail chap 3 under the heading "sites of non-conformity in Islamabad"
[6] Explained in detail under the heading' "exceptions to plan| tolerated and sustained"

violation. Another approach uses 'implementation failure' as a frame of reference to explain the sprouting up of these spaces. Conceived within a framework of an expectation of how formal structures and processes of public administration should ideally operate, this framework, like the previous one, suffers from its naive approach towards everyday politics, and becomes analytically less helpful. In Islamabad, where a focus on the 'everyday' state practices illustrates that the city's bureaucratic politics and the settlements' residents symbiotically engage in a 'negotiation process', which affects the way the city is administered, there is a need to analyze the situation with a lens, that focus on the fissures within the planning regime.

2.1.4   Understanding the Range of Actors Involved

In Islamabad, encountering different forms of violations of the plan, directly or indirectly is part of everyday life, so much so that it is almost invisible and a large number of people have become in some way stakeholders to this order**.** The large number of stakeholders involved also means that planning irregularity has become a political question, beyond the simple enforcement of law and order. This research aims to explore the nuance understanding of alliances within the planning processes and the negotiations that breathe life into these spaces and sustain them.

Considering the exceptions to plan, as being crafted within the planning system and being very much planned by a number of actors, restricts this research for using the terms spontaneous, unplanned, paradox, and similar adjectives that attribute qualities of the unexpected or unstructured to spaces external to modern planning protocols (Epstein, 1973; Sarin, 1982; Holston,1989). The problem with using terms that imply spontaneity and disorder, as this dissertation demonstrates, is that spaces external to the official master plan of Islamabad are always consciously and deliberately planned, and often play a complementary role in the development and everyday experience of the planned city. Perhaps the reason why spaces outside of the official master plan and regulations are termed unplanned or spontaneous is because these

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are normatively associated with ordinary people, the non-specialists. This is at odds with this research in two ways; Urban theorist Ananya Roy's seminal work (2005, p. 147, 149) on elite informality or 'informality from above', for instance, mainly focuses on the engagement of elite state actors with urban informality in two critical ways: first, how the state produces informality by its 'capacity to construct and reconstruct categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy', and that it is the "planning modalities … [that] produce the 'unplannable'" and second, how the state now directly engages in informal land expropriations and extra-legal arrangements in the development of cities in the Global South (Roy, 2005, p.149; Roy and AlSayyad, 2004). Roy here not only introduces the state power in producing the unplannable, but also subliminally recognizes the role of ordinary citizens in the modern planning systems which are designed in a way as to condition human behavior and attain a sense of control and social order through the formal organization of the space.

Roy's conceptualization of legitimate and illegitimate spatial categories created by the planning and legal apparatus of the state also implies that that planned and unplannable spaces are associated with two different socio-technical groups, namely the specialists and the non-specialists or, more specifically, the domination of specialist techniques (such as master-planning) over those of non-specialists. The unplanned sites are the domains of the urban poor and planned sites and planning are the domains of others: the working class, the middle class, the rich and the elite. The poor accordingly live in the geography of unplanned and the non-poor live in the geography of the plan. The apparent neat aligning of interests of all privileged state and non-state actors misses out on the opportunity to explore the possibility of fissures and alliances that may exist among members of the same or different socio-economic groups in processes involving informal urbanism. Violations in Islamabad are also distributed across the urban geography and among various social groups where the ordinary citizens play a massive role in the negotiating processes and extending their rights over the city. In Islamabad, association of the planned with the specialists only, becomes blurred as local citizens channel their control over spaces

via court filings, contestations and everyday actions of resistance while remaining within the system.

In his seminal work, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* French scholar Michel de Certeau (1984) similarly analyzes the productive actions of ordinary people, whom society refers to as "users" or "consumers" of products and cultures developed by the dominant group of experts and elites. Rather than treating the users and consumers as "passive and docile" subjects, de Certeau (1984, p. xii) argues that their everyday practices are in fact productive acts of resistance against modes of regulation. These "everyday practices, 'ways of operating' or doing things" are subversive since they are marked by ambiguity and reappropriation of established rules (de Certeau ,1984, pp. xi-xiv). In other words, de Certeau (1984, pp. xii-xiii, xiv). argues that the consumption of "products imposed by a dominant economic order" is a type of secondary production, which "manipulate[s] the mechanisms of discipline and conform[s] to them only in order to evade them". De Certeau (1984, p. xiii) elaborates that the "procedures of consumption reveal the act of escaping a system without leaving it" . This means that acts of subversion and resistance of consumers of a system are located within the system; they evade the system while remaining within it. To make this point, De Certeau differentiates between the god-like top-down view of planners from a secret elevated vantage point, and the bottom-up experience of "the ordinary practitioners of the city" walking through the streets . Both experiences of the same space are wildly different. De Certeau (1984, pp. 91-105). argues that the actions of city planning professionals do not constrict the practices of ordinary citizens in their everyday actions. Since the everyday actions of citizens can neither be predicted nor definitively mapped, the city of the ordinary practitioners is "anthropological" and unmappable (De Certeau, 1984, p. 93). De Certeau explains that the "migrational" and "metaphorical" city of ordinary practitioners actually exists within the margins of the planned, readable and concept city of the professionals . Using de Certeau's conceptualization, it can be argued that spatial nonconformity sustains human agency as it helps evade formal planning without leaving it. It is in nonconforming spaces that ordinary practitioners of space

exert control in shaping their built environment or gain access to certain rights and privileges. De Certeau's work provides useful insights regarding the role of everyday users in the constitution of highly planned and regulated urban spaces by highlighting the agency of ordinary practitioners in making choices that are independent of those that are formally imposed on them by others. De Certeau's account is not about extreme acts of rebellion but instead of muted, untraceable yet effective acts of manipulation of established rules. Since these everyday acts of manipulation of established rules are unintelligible, they have the power to undermine a system without leaving it. De Certeau's study is positioned within a repression-resistance framework, which focuses only on those acts of ordinary people that enable them to evade systems of domination designed by professional practitioners. However, not every practice of the everyday is an act of resistance. What about those everyday spatial practices that help gain access to certain privileges within a system, rather than resist domination of an established order? For instance, encroachments by business people on officially planned public spaces, such as corridors, green belts, and footpaths, cannot be simply framed as acts of resistance against a planning framework that excludes them. These everyday practices are in fact driven by the desire of ordinary business people to accrue more space for personal use.

De Certeau's work is primarily concerned with the realm of everyday practices, and the ways of operating that "constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users reappropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production" . This conceptualization assumes the relation of everyday practices and formal spatial ordering with two different groups that is the ordinary people and the specialists. However, as mentioned before and discussed in detail in chapter 4 and 5, in Islamabad, non-conform spaces are tolerated, sanctioned, and regulated by the officials. Thus, the creation of these spaces goes beyond the realm of ordinary citizens as specialist and government officials also constitute a part in their making.

2.2   Non-conformity in Planning Practices

2.2.1   History; Initial Concepts and Development

Recent scholarship on urban informality has demonstrated the relevance of nonconformity in urban development processes around the world and highlighted the profusion of informal practices in governmental planning procedures (Roy, et. al., 2004). However, this practice dates back in history and is not particular to the South of the world only. Unauthorized booksellers, called *les bouquinistes*, for instance, carried out their trade on the banks of river Seine in Paris in the sixteenth century (Lydon, 2012, p. 5). Informal bookselling in Paris was banned in 1649; however, the popularity of the unauthorized booksellers forced the city to permit these book-hawkers in regulated and designated space for a fee along the Seine in 1859. The regulations also imposed restrictions on the temporality of riverside book trading by instructing the informal booksellers to collapse their businesses into a box at the end of the day. The practice of book selling continues even today along Seine in 3 kilometers of prime land that was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2007 (Lydon, 2012, p. 5).

Most of the themes relevant in this research on nonconformity also emerge in the closely related concept and practice of urban informality, irregularity, and illegality. Characterized by irregular and unmonitored economic processes, the informal sector was initially framed in opposition to the formal sector based on fixed-wages, labor rights, and regulated finances as part of the dualistic economic structure found in urban areas of the developing world (ILO, 1972). The urban poor was seen as the main protagonist of informal economies (ILO, 1972; Hart, 1973; Mazumdar,1976; Moser, 1978; Bromley,1978; Simone ,2004; Holston, 2008).The term "informal sector" later came to include unregulated and illegal housing and land markets in cities of the Global South.

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Looking particularly at cities in the global south, scholarship on urban informality has been dominated until recently by studies on the spaces and practices of the informals within the framework of poverty. These are mainly squatters, street vendors, slum residents and informal labor, usually represented as the informal sector (McFarlan, 2012; Roy and AlSayyad, 2004). This scholarship predominantly examines how the urban poor of developing countries manage to make a living through informal labor markets, settle in illegal squats and slums, and obtain services through informal political relationships, as well as examining how the state manages them. Many scholars working within and even critical of this development tradition continued to examine the sites and practices of planning violations by the urban poor. They have produced knowledge on, for example, the entrepreneurship of the poor (Hart, 1973; Sotto, 1989, 2001; Turner 1969, 1972, 1976), the exercise of state power on the poor (Bhaviskar 2003; Ghertner, 2010, 2011), the marginalization of the poor (Benjamin, 2000, 2004; Benjamin and Raman, 2001) the production of citizenship (Holtson ,1998), practices of resistance (Chatterjee, 2004; Scott, 1985), global solidarities of localities (Appadurai, 2000, 2001; Satterthwaite, 2001, 2008) and self-help (Turner, 1969, 1972, 1976). Such studies argue that planning documents and formal frameworks fail to plan for the urban poor and this result in violations and illegalities. They demonstrate how the urban poor manage to survive in cities by subverting the exclusionary state apparatus using their communal and political capital. Early scholarship on urban informality made important contributions towards highlighting the important role played by informal commerce and housing in providing livelihood and shelter to majority of urban dwellers around the world. The formal-informal dualistic economic model, however, was subsequently criticized because it failed to capture the complex social and economic processes that often straddle the two binaries (Mazumdar, 1976; Moser, 1978). In the case of Islamabad, this framework also renders incapacitated as the formation of these spaces extends beyond the marginalized and the state and wealthy citizens actively participate in facilitating and sustenance of the non-conform spaces.

2.2.2 Shift in Perspective and Consequential Developments

The second turn in informality studies emerged when the practice of informality, particularly in relation to planning violations, was also recognized as a domain of the lower middle class, the middle class as well as the rich people in developing countries (Ghertner, 2010, 2011; Hassan 2004; Holston, 1998, 2008; Roy, 2002; Roy and Alsayyad, 2004; Soliman, 2007, Ward, 2004). Drawing from Agamben (2005), Roy (2009) conceptualizes informality as occurring in spaces of exception. She argues that informality is not synonymous with poverty and it is a not a state of un-regulation; instead, it is a state of de-regulation. Contrary to the previous conceptualization where informality is conceived as a deviation from planning and located outside institutionalized regulation as Portes (et.al., 1989) argued, Roy (2009) posits that informality should be conceptualized as a characteristic style of planning in the global South. Many of these authors looked at the changing forms of production of informality in the developing South within the context of globalization and liberalization.

For Roy, it is the informality of the state from above; it is not just resistance or subversion; it is a strategy of the structural state power exercised based on the logic of the state of exception. It is argued that the neo-liberal state suspends its own rules and regulations in order to establish its sovereign authority upon the population. Using the Indian state as a proxy to the global South, she argues that the state establishes its sovereign capability not only through mapping (formality) but also through un-mapping (informality). Such *territorial flexibilities*, it is argued, allows the state to wield considerable power. Here, informality is considered as a strategy of the sovereign state power (Roy, 2005, 2009). Roy sees extra-legality as "inhering in the state" (2004, p.159). She challenges the notion of informality as within the ambit of marginalized communities alone and argues instead that engagement with informal housing and land markets includes the middle classes and even elites . Roy (2005, p.149) calls the parallel existence of squatter settlements and upscale informal

subdivisions in urban centers "different concretizations of legitimacy," which are found in many cities in the developing world .

In the case of Indian cities, Shubhra Gururani (2013) and Asher Ghertner (2015) have identified large private developers as elite informal actors who work in collusion with state officials such as city administrators and judges to legitimize their informally created spaces through favorable zoning exemptions and court decisions. Under the term "*Flexible planning*", Gururani (2013, p.121) explains "flexible planning encompasses a range of political techniques through which exemptions are routinely made, plans redrawn, compromises made, and brute force executed" .These exemptions are "sanctified acts" and "powerful passages that are written in every plan" and that put into question the "neat distinctions between legal and illegal, sanctioned and unsanctioned that have informed urban planning" (Gururani,2013, p. 122, 126). Desai (2012) also uses the notion of "*flexible governance*" to argue that through flexible governance regimes, the state devises strategies to evict the urban poor in Ahmedabad, India. This research similarly shows that spaces that develop outside of the official master plan or planning regulations of Islamabad are not strictly illegal. Islamabad also follows course in the regard that informal urban practices are pervasive among those with wealth and power, despite their ability to afford formally developed spaces.

Existing studies also highlight the complexity of conceptualizing spaces that exist at the junction of formal and informal practices in cities in the Global South. As early as 1989, Castells (Castells, et.al.,1989, p.12) argued that the informal economy is not a set of survival activities performed by destitute people on the margins of society; nor is it a euphemism for poverty, but rather a specific form of relationships of production . In this project also, urban informality is defined as a mode and governing tool of contemporary urbanization and "a series of transactions that

connect different economies and spaces to one another" (Roy, 2005, p.148[7]). Roy explains that "the informal sector will eventually be integrated into a modern and manageable economy". She views the idea of an informal sector as inadequate to fully capture the nature of economic and social processes that govern urban transformations. Rather than treating it as a "sector," Roy conceptualizes informality as "a mode of urbanization", "an organizing logic," and "a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another" (2005, p. 148). This notion of urban informality as a mode of urbanization is developed within the context of global economic liberalization.

2.2.3 Recent Developments

While individual or collective attempts to reclaim control over regulated urban space have enjoyed longer histories, a recent surge of informal urban practices to improve the livability of cities in North America and Europe indicates that architects and planners now recognize the importance of informality in the context of developed countries. Mike Lydon, Urban Planner and co-founder of the planning, research, and consulting firm called the Street Plans Collaborative, defines the term *Tactical Urbanism* and describes the spectrum and general ways in which it is used in the following excerpt from his book:

> "*Tactical Urbanism* is an approach to neighborhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies. Tactical Urbanism is used by a range of actors, including governments, business and nonprofits, citizen groups, and individuals…Tactical Urbanism is a learned response to the slow and siloed conventional city building process. For citizens, it allows the immediate reclamation, redesign, or reprogramming of public space. For developers or entrepreneurs, it provides a means of collecting design intelligence from the market they intend to serve. For advocacy organizations, it is a way to show what it possible to garner public

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[7] see also Daniels, 2004; Porter et.al., 2011; Portes, et.al., 1989; Roy, 2009

and political support. And for government, it is a way to put best practices into, well practice—and quickly!" (Lydon, 2015, p. 2-3).

In the United States, these DIY urban initiatives, variously known as, pop-up urbanism, guerilla urbanism, insurgent urbanism, etc., temporarily reclaim underused urban infrastructure sites (roads, parking lots, underpasses, etc.) to introduce spatial activities to improve the livability of cities. Examples of temporary DIY urban experiments include the appearance of guerilla gardens, pop-up stores, food trucks, and a range of other unanticipated activities in different cities in the United States and beyond (Lydon, 2015, p. 6).

Tactical urbanism proposes an alternate to centralized city planning approaches by advocating temporary, scalable interventions on a neighborhood level, which can be initiated by both government officials and ordinary people. While tactical urbanism offers many important insights into the kind of urban processes that exist outside of formal planning frameworks, and the roles played by both state and non-state actors in the constitution of such spaces, its scope is limited to short-term, low-cost approaches to neighborhood building that works for most people. In the case of Islamabad, tactical urbanism cannot be extended to explain those nonconforming spaces that do not necessarily improve the livability of a place but that have been initiated by ordinary citizens and business people to create spaces for immediate personal gains rather for larger public good.

By focusing on short-term practices instead of long-term plans, tactical urbanism aims to create "tactile proposals for change instead of plans or computer-generated renderings that remain abstract" (Lydon, 2015, p.6). City officials or urban developers can use tactical urbanism techniques to test new ideas on a small, low-cost provisional basis before making long-term investments in planned schemes (Lydon, 2015, p. 9-10). Because of the inclusion of government and city officials, tactical urbanism similarly consists of practices that are not always illegal but can include activities along a "spectrum of legality" (Lydon, 2015, p.8).

This research makes a similar point as well about nonconforming spaces in Islamabad, which are not always strictly illegal because many of them enjoy official support in the form of temporary licenses, certificates, and permissions.

The short-term or ephemeral nature of the tactical urbanism is in ways synonymous to the spirit of Mehrotra's kinetic city. The kinetic city as Mehrotra (2010) defines, evaluates informality in terms of space. It is a form of urbanism where the usual binaries of the formal and informal or the rich and poor and state and private enterprise and other such models used to explain urban conditions of flux collapse into singular entities in space. What characterizes the kinetic state is that both the temporal as well as permanent articulations of space are equally important. In fact, the temporal landscapes become critical to the existence of the kinetic city. Patterns of occupation determine its form and perception. It is not necessarily the city of the poor, as most images might suggest; rather, it is a temporal articulation and occupation of space that not only creates a richer sensibility of spatial occupation, but also suggests how spatial limits are expanded to include formally unimagined uses in dense urban conditions . It also challenges that "significance" is static as this notion fails to describe the processes where cultural memory is often an enacted process, or where meanings are fluid like the Kinetic City itself and often complicated in post-colonial conditions by the fact that the creators and custodians of historic environments in the static city are different cultures from those that created them.

The Kinetic City (Mehrotra,2010) presents a compelling vision that enables us to better understand the blurred lines of contemporary urbanism and the changing roles of people and spaces in urban society. The theoretical built up of kinetic city is insightful for this research as people in Islamabad extend their rights beyond their capacity by using temporal means and the distinction of rich and poor is blurred in this case too. It also provides a framework to understand those activities that are at odds with the plan yet exist on daily or weekly basis in the realm of temporariness.

2.3   Exceptions to Plan | Tolerated and Sustained

While non-conformity has been described as a planning practice, it is crucial to understand the parameters that can help us analyze its long-term sustenance. This section conceptualizes the different aspects which can assist in drafting a framework to study the narrative of non-conform spaces, that ground their position in legal systems in particular and in the city in general.

2.3.1   Legal Encounters and Associated Approaches

Existing studies highlight the complexity of conceptualizing spaces that exist at the junction of formal and informal practices in cities in the Global South. One of the main elements of the long-term sustenance of nonconforming spaces in modern planned cities is their entanglement with formal, legal, and bureaucratic procedures. This section takes examples from existing literature to bring forward some of the ways in which non-conform spaces extend themselves into the formal procedures and concretize their existence. The geography of these spaces is vast and can be understood as geography of confluence of everyday living, neighborhood mobilizations, planning, negotiations and governing.

James Holston's study of Brazilian land law shows that legal dystopias and juridical irresolution are internal to law in some societies, and that in such cases legal systems are exploited jointly by both upper and lower classes (Holston, 1991). Following James Holston, rather than conceptualizing nonconforming spaces in planned cities as a result of incompetence, corruption, and overall failure of planning and legal apparatuses, this research treat these as comprising political, social and material spaces where certain functions and privileges incompatible with the formal planning framework can be provided, either with or without official consent. Furthermore, in doing so, the distinction of social classes and the state or non-state officials is straddled.

In explaining the engagements of the lower classes that were relegated to urban peripheries, James Holston (2009) uses the term "insurgent citizenship" to highlight their struggles for rights to shelter and other basic human needs . Holston (2009, p. 246) identifies this struggle in the realm of the everyday and domestic life in the remote urban peripheries in Brazil . In order to explain *insurgent citizenship* practices of poor residents living in the peripheries of Sao Paulo since the 1960s on undeveloped lots sold by private land speculators, Holston (2009, pp. 250-51) identifies a transformation in the responses of poor residents towards court officials who served legal notices at two moments in time . In the 1970s, residents of one of the peripheral poor neighborhoods turned to physical violence to fight the threat of eviction. In 2003, when a resident of another peripheral poor neighborhood received a notice of cancellation of his land title, the concerned resident simply redirected the official to a representative of a neighborhood-based association to discuss the matter. The association representative used arguments grounded in law and legal history of similar land title cases to successfully convince the official that his claim had no basis. By using "law talk" instead of violence, the poor residents of the periphery were thus able to effectively make claims as *insurgent citizens* by "using rights strategically" (Holston, 2009, p. 251). Holston argues that the process of moving to the city and building the peripheries helped the urban poor gain an insurgent form of citizenship and political rights by establishing claims to property and rights to infrastructure, by making "law an asset through their struggle with eviction," and by achieving personal competence "through their experience of the city" (Holston,2009,p. 256). The peripheral spaces of Sao Paulo and the everyday practices of survival of the poor living there provided a space to challenge the hegemony of the mechanisms of power, and helped poor residents claim citizenship rights to property and infrastructure within a system designed to exclude them.

Furthering the discussion on the tactics used to claim rights by the marginalized groups James Scott (1990) elaborated **"…..most of the political life of subordinate groups is to be found neither in overt collective defiance of power holders nor**

in complete hegemonic compliance, but in the vast territory between these polar opposites." He points out towards the possibilities that lie between open retaliation and complete submission, negating the established concepts associated with the subordinate groups. The process of acclaiming rights to property and citizenship while evading illegality and processing through under the table means instead, is a procedure observed in Islamabad too. However, many of these exceptions are backed up by government officials or furthermore, have been regularized or officially 'recognized'. Hence this discussion is breached by new forms of transactions observed in the case of Islamabad, conversed in this research.

Anthropologist Ursula Rao (2013) uses the term 'tolerated encroachment' to explain the process of creating citizenship in government planned resettlement schemes for slum populations in urban India. Using the case of a large resettlement scheme in suburban Delhi, Rao argues that the transition from illegal to legal habitations for urban poor in government rehabilitation projects is not a straightforward process. In resettlement schemes, meeting government requirements and targets involves a series of illicit negotiations and resettlement practices (Rao, 2013, p. 769). For instance, Rao (2013, p. 766-67) shows how unofficial transactions and illegal lending were essential to a poor family's journey to upgrade their dwelling in a resettlement scheme in suburban Delhi. Dubious dealings enabled the poor family to improve their dilapidated leaky dwelling made of impermanent construction materials to a two- brick home in the resettlement colony. The family apparently had been allotted two plots in two different government resettlement schemes. To generate money for their new house, the family illegally sold their second plot. They also took out a private loan for the construction of their new house by handing over as security to the lender the allotment paper of the very plot on which they plan to build their home (Rao,2013, p. 767). Without any documentary evidence, this family had compensated their legal rights to both the plots, on the one hand, while cash transactions gave the lender a share in this property without any legal rights, on the other. Using similar examples of messy legalities, Rao (2013, p. 767) shows how

urban poor in India gain access to resettlement schemes using illicit yet "crafty deals" such as the illegal transaction of property, and money lending. "Breaking the law", Rao contends, "is a function of creating new planned labor-class settlements" . While on the surface the notions of legality and illegality are perpetuated by the government but a closer examination reveals scope for negotiations and subversions to secure right over the city. As discussed in the case of France colony, a squatter settlement in Islamabad, extending rights over contested space and further extending them through fabricated legal documents, is common practice by the inhabitants.

2.3.2   State Policy

While analyzing the deliberate process of territorialized flexibility of Calcutta's fringes as an important mechanism for top-down informal urban development, Urbanist Ananya Roy uses the concept of 'informalization of the state', where the state is in the center of 'extra-legal systems' and where extra-legality is 'inhering in the state' functions (Roy and AlSayyad, 2004, p.158-159). Roy uses the example of ambiguous legal expropriations of land on the fringes of the city of Calcutta (India) using extra-legal strategies that demonstrate how the State operates within the realm of informality. She shows how suburban land holdings were expropriated by the State using informal strategies (such as land grabbing by mobilized sharecroppers, ambiguous and missing records for peripheral land) for various political and economic ends. The expropriated land was initially developed as resettlement colonies for urban squatters in order to gain popular support, and later on sold for private developments after evicting the poor from their neighborhoods (Roy, 2004, pp. 158-9). Roy terms this process of territorialized flexibility of Calcutta's fringes an example of an "informalization of the state" (Roy,2004, 158-9). "Here, informality is not simply a sphere of unregulated activities, but a realm of regulation where ownership and user rights are established, maintained, and overturned through elaborate 'extra-legal systems'" (Roy, 2004, p.159). Following Roy, this research builds upon a conceptual shift from the state-society dualism and attempt to develop

a framework for analysis that conceptualizes the space of the formal state itself as a space of multiple negotiations and contest embedded in local social relations. However, in Roy's explanation, despite the active involvement of the State, the notion of illegality is still associated with out-of-plan spaces and these are being conceptualized at odds with the planning. This does not explain those spatial practices that have been given official exemptions despite being at odds with official planning protocols. For example, provisions exist in the municipal byelaws of Islamabad for "licensed encroachments" to allow certain illegal commercial enterprises, such as street hawking or alterations in building codes. These provisions do not constitute the extralegal activities of the State but are very much part of the legal system.

2.3.3   Formalization of Everyday and Legal Standing

Extending Roy's discussion in the context of Islamabad, the "Informalization of the State" is accompanied by a "Formalization of the Everyday" as ordinary citizens (both rich and poor) strategically mimic official planning procedures in order to create the effect of legitimacy to justify urban spaces that do not conform to official planning frameworks (Roy, 2004, p. 159; Hull, 2012). Mimicking the official procedures is one of the instruments of fusing spaces outside of the planning framework into the plan. Anthropologist Matthew Hull (2012) in his work on Islamabad, argues that the "graphic artifacts "of bureaucratic practice—the maps, files, lists, and surveys central to modern governance—are not only extensions of government or techniques of rule but are also jointly produced with the people and landscapes they purportedly control .This is exemplified by seeing CDA's[8] role as mediated by and dependent on various material artifacts circulating in the city (Hull 2012). Additionally, it is not just the CDA which holds these key documents - such

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[8] Capital Development Authority

as those on land distribution, but also the villagers. Hence, forgery, misplacement and fraud further open up opportunities for the sustenance of such spatial practices.

In the Calcutta study by Roy (2004), informal practices were seen to penetrate state functions, but in Islamabad, formal procedures are carefully deployed to legitimize elite-driven informal practices. This is observed in the case of establishing an illicit housing society on the periphery of the city by its residents[9]. The use of bureaucratic devices to create an effect of legitimacy is not unusual in informally built housing as poor squatters in South Asia (and beyond) are routinely involved in collecting and preserving official forms of documentation, such as ration cards, electricity bills, affidavits, etc., as evidence to prove the legitimacy of their otherwise precarious claims to space. The state in these situations often recognizes the dossier of documents collected by the residents of informal communities as it itself actively participates in creating ambiguities embodied in official records, files, and other forms of paper documents (Hull, 2012). As Emma Tarlo's (2001) work on slum resettlement schemes during the Indian Emergency of 1975–1977 has shown, official records and documents created 'paper-truths' that were meant to manipulate and pacify the reality of draconian government policies. This process of entanglement with official procedures mediated through paper and similar forms is not only restricted to the poor as mentioned above too. Informal urbanism involving elite citizens other than simply involving a bold evasion of formal planning procedures also necessitates an active engagement with bureaucratic devices to create a dossier of 'proofs' similar to that collected by the urban poor living in informal spatial arrangements.

Elite and Ordinary Informalities thus asserts the centrality of formal-informal relations--particularly through an examination of material practices and aesthetics--

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[9] Details in Chap 4 under the heading "spaces of non-conformity in Islamabad

in the development and functioning of contemporary cities like Islamabad. Mathew Hull (2012) further elaborates on this in the case of illegal mosques erected in Islamabad . Hull (2012)argues that planning ironically facilitates squatting tactics used by various interested groups and individuals to take illegal possession of land in areas that have been planned yet undeveloped in Islamabad .For instance, religious groups interested in erecting mosques for their respective sects use *official maps* created by Islamabad's planning authority for undeveloped areas of the city in order to identify the exact location of mosque sites. Once the site is identified with the help of land surveyors, these mosque groups "squat according to plan," that is, "they literally honor the plans in the breach" (Hull, 2012, p. 241). These material tactics that the official planning is aware of are consequently accompanied by lengthy measures involving filing of petitions and employing pressure tactics from high-level people to aid the legalization efforts of the concerned mosque group**.** To discourage these clandestine squatting tactics, planning officials in Islamabad often disguise sites for mosques as schools and parks on official planning drawings for newly planned yet undeveloped areas of the city (Hull, 2012, p. 243). Hull's analysis further elaborates the use of material tactics in initiating and planning the squatting procedure and then implying pressure via these to legitimize the act. In Islamabad, Hull shows that these groups are not working outside of or on the margins of the planned city—they depend on working precisely through its various organizational mechanisms.

Elite and Ordinary Informalities shows that both the entitled and impoverished communities in Islamabad use bureaucratic devices and architectural strategies that balance formal and informal activities to maintain impressions of legality. In addition to citizens, city officials also engage in informal planning practices to allow important functions that cannot be accommodated formally. Conversing further, this research shows that spaces external to official plans and regulations in planned cities like Islamabad are not marginal urban phenomena but often possess the power to institute major structural adjustments in official planning protocols. Within these

spaces exist the possibility to accommodate certain concessions to official plans and regulations that can be revoked or readjusted.

2.4 PART II-Planned Modern Cities as Demonstration of Design Paradigms

In the context of this research which is based on the planned city of Islamabad it is significant to understand the roots of urban modernism and the cities designed with this notion, to gain insights in the overall ideology and ordering processes.

The planning of cities is a practice that dates back to ancient civilizations in eastern and western history – where in the West, the Hippodamian layout for Miletus set the precedent for gridiron planning; the East witnessed orthogonal and rectilinear arrangement of forms in Mohenjo-Daro (built between 2,600 and 1,900 BC), and Taxila (built approximately 700 BC). There is also a long history of imagining cities as ideal spaces populated by ideal people, for example Plato's ideal city. Later Sir Thomas More's Utopia epitomized the Renaissance notion of ideal communities, including descriptions of the planned towns in which those communities would live (Akkerman,2000, p. 276).

During the course of the 19th century, however, a particular notion of shaping human behavior through shaping urban space emerged, and by the beginning of the 20th century a number of architects had begun to design entire urban settlements with the aim of producing, through their designs, balanced and ordered populations living within those urban spaces. This surge or the "Modern planning" developed primarily as a response to the "increase in the tempo of change" that was experienced in urban areas at the onset of capitalist industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Benevolo, 1967, p. 12). Both histories and critiques of modern planning concur that this enhanced pace of change in political and economic spheres became a defining feature of modernity and that the city became a critical site for these transformations (Benevolo, 1967; Choay, 1969; Sutcliffe, 1981; Berman, 1988; Hall, 1988). Urban areas during and after the Industrial Revolution underwent extensive

fast paced transformations mostly at the cost of worsening existing living and working conditions of the urban poor. Growing concerns over the inadequacy of existing cities to meet the demands of industrial development, thus, formed the basis for experiments in new urban forms in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Urban historian Leonardo Benevolo (1967) argues that the eighteenth and nineteenth century Industrial Revolution set into motion new attitudes towards viewing social problems that had a major influence on town-planning theory .Rather than treating poverty as an inescapable social reality, nineteenth century social theorists, philosophers, philanthropists, and writers began to visualize innovative urban built environments, which could alleviate and even eradicate social inequalities (Benevolo, 1967, p. 32). In contrast and parallel to these reform efforts, another development was seen at the time in which modern city planning was seen as a tool for social control - a view that was popularized and exercised by administrators, colonial officials, official planners, and other technicians of the state. In keeping with the general shift to governing through knowing populations and promoting welfare and "social hygiene", the idea was that urban architecture and layout could play a central role in maintaining order and civility. Or, as Shannon Jackson(2005, p.39[10]) puts it, architecture became seen as a part of "governance without the sting of coercion" . Although the ideal city was one in which its residents acted appropriately of their own accord (though structured to do so by their surroundings), a key feature of modernist, planned cities was their amenability to the very kind of control they were supposed to avoid.

The ideas of these architects and planners were summed up in the 1941 "Athens Charter", a publication based on principles laid out in meetings of the Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), an organization that was started in

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[10] see also Lefebvre 1991

1928 and met regularly until the mid-1960s, and which saw architecture as a key tool for improving the world. Nevertheless, these alliances between social reform or social control, and spatial organization were critical developments in the nineteenth century, which paved the way for the development of various urban planning schemes during the course of the twentieth century.

Another feature that was novel to this approach was the idea of the city as a unified whole that could be planned entirely in advance to attain certain desirable affects in the future was a unique feature of planned modern cities. The city-as-a unified-whole approach was based on two premises: firstly, urban and social problems of nineteenth century industrial cities were considered too complex to be left to small-scale interventions and thus demanded new urban forms to meet the challenges of the time; and secondly, the way to arrive at these new forms was seen in achieving optimal interrelationships between different functions and processes within a city, possible only through the comprehensive planning approach unhindered by the problems of existing cities (Fishman, 1977). Although most modernist urban planning took place in existing cities, for many the ideal situation was a new city, one unfettered by the mistakes of the past. Haussmann's redesign of Paris in the mid-1911 century, which was an important inspiration for the CIAM ideal, for example, although in an existing city, was supposed to be seen as a radical break with the past, intending to show that ".. . what went before was irrelevant" (Harvey, 2003).

In many ways, Doxiadis' plans for Islamabad fit into the genre of modernist urban planning that have been outlined above. Out of the various ideological and temporal characteristics defining modern city planning mentioned above, this dissertation is mainly concerned with the theorization of the modern city as a unified whole, and the related development of newly planned modern cities as a distinct urban form. In particular, this research is mainly interested in developing a better understanding of the process of operationalizing the master plans of planned modernist schemes developed in the second half of the twentieth century.

2.5   Planned cities as capitals; instruments of identity and power

In modern urban design and planning, where the Hausmannization of Paris is often referred to as an example of governmental power instilled in the city's urban space and fabric; panopticon by Jeremey Bentham is an institutional and architectural example in concrete of power assertion by governmentality. In Foucault's understanding, institutions as tools of power also help form specific notions of identity. This further facilitates systematic subjugation and exercise of power over people. When localized in spatiality it helps to limit movement between fixed parameters. Power and identity are two notions that have been implied via planned modernist cities, especially in the case of capitals. Planned modern capital cities serve as important cases to investigate how political power and national identity were materially translated in both colonial and post-colonial eras.

As discussed above the nineteenth century marked by Industrial Revolution coupled with the breakdown of imperial power led to a world of nation-states. A series of cities appeared after WWII, which produced new cities Political visions combined with the architect's vision to produce national centers and cities. One of the fundamental changes amongst these was the increase in the number of capital cities from forty in number to two hundred (Gordon, 2006). In many instances, specifically in the areas colonized a reaction or harkening to the past was seen as affirmation of an existing or lost identity. Chandigarh (1951), Brasilia (1957), Dhaka and Islamabad (1960), Dodoma (1976), Abuja (1979), Putrajaya (1995) and Astana (1997), all form part of an extensive list. The action of constructing a new space, offered the countries a space for "focused" expression of their new found or reclaimed independence. This building of a new *identity* is reflected by the urban plans and architecture of the institutional buildings (Vale, 2014). Countries were additionally steered on by the economic possibilities offered by these new spaces. Of the many examples are Pakistan and India, which embraced the provision of new cities in their first five-year development plans.

The implied symbolism and role of planned capital cities in identity, formation has been explored more fully in studies on post-colonial nationalism and politics (Anderson, 1983, p.6). These studies reveal political histories and "personal, subnational and supranational interests" of particular nations by focusing on different decision making processes involved in the creation of planned capital cities in new nation states as well as analyzing the roles, ideologies, and hidden agendas of important actors, such as, political leaders, architects, and planners (Vale, 1992, p. 293).

Scholars of modern cities have also explored architecture's role in the exercise and preservation of power (Foucault, 1975). For instance, scholars have argued that cities planned under British, French and Italian colonial regimes were organized according to two main principles, namely: 1) the desire for increased legibility of native populations and their environments for efficient colonial control, and 2) segregation of native and colonial populations in physically separated quarters to avoid unnecessary mixing of both races, and to provide protection from native populations in times of political insurrection (King, 1976; Wright, 1987; Fuller, 1988; Rabinow, 1989; Hosagrahar, 2005). In addition to colonial empires, post-colonial nation-states and authoritarian regimes of the twentieth century similarly employed modern planning techniques to fulfill their desire for creating docile and industrious subjects. For national governments of newly independent post-colonial states, planning new modern cities was viewed an attractive means of modeling human behavior and accelerating economic development of these new nation states (Epstein, 1973, pp.1-2).

The confluence of modernism and colonialism in identity building becomes relevant in this discussion as South-Asia was under colonial rule and its deep rootedness is evident in the cities today. Although associated with European architects and cities, modernist urban planning has roots in colonialism, where influencing behavior and maintaining order through shaping space had long been practiced, and the authoritarian nature of the endeavor much more obvious in this case. A key difference between modernist urban planning of the 20th century and colonial urban

planning was the focus of the latter on segregation This notion of separating Europeans from Indians, particularly uneducated, poor Indians, was a key feature of urban settlements in colonial India, with elite, mostly European areas set apart from what were seen as dangerously disordered (and unhygienic) indigenous areas.

The research on Islamabad furthers scholarship on the relationship between power and modern planning by conversely investigating how certain spaces within planned cities provide a material and political space for populations to exert influence over their built environments. It shows that the power to shape planned cities not only resides with State functionaries and planning professionals but is routinely challenged and sometimes exercised by those populations who live and work in these places.

2.6   Modern plans | artifacts or subjects in process

Brasilia's inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List took place on December 7, 1987 roughly 27 years after its conception. The ICOMOS report pertinent to the inscription defended the protection of a modern, unique and singular city, built in the 20th century from scratch, in the middle of nowhere, to become not just the capital of a country but also a magnificent historical example (UNESCO). This step by UNESCO resonates with the general desire to preserve modernist cities as historic monuments. However, what remains under the table in this discussion are the events that shaped the city between these years, the exceptions to the original plan and the reinventions.

Many other modern cities planned after the WWII are now in a phase of reconstruction and introspection. The legacy of planned modernism will always dominate how these cities are imagined, however, the development of these grand schemes brings to light other spaces peripheral to their modernist master plans that warrant equal attention due to the importance they hold in the everyday functioning and lived experiences of these planned places.

In 1999, *Celebrating Chandigarh- 50 Years of the Idea* conference was held in Chandigarh to

50th mark the birth anniversary of the conception of the new capital. Attended by reputed international and local architects, the conference was organized in panels that, broadly speaking, were dedicated to the past, present, and future of the city and lessons learnt thus far for the architecture profession. During the conference proceedings, the developmental history of Chandigarh was discussed in terms of two particular moments; one in the past (frozen at the master planning phase in late 50s) and the second one in the present (at time of the conference in 1999) of the city (Takhar, 2002). These discussions treated the original master plan of Chandigarh, conceived 50 years earlier by Le- Corbusier and his team as a *complete whole*, as an *artifact* that had to be either preserved or reinvented in the present. In the conference proceedings very little was actually said about the city itself as most of the discussions sought to find connections between the two historic moments mentioned above, and were not so much concerned with examining the in between years and events that actually shaped the present-day state of the city.

This thesis stems from the school of thought, where reading the unplanned spaces; narrate the operationalization of the city. These spaces provide room for functions for which the plan is impotent and have the power to influence and make major institutional and legal changes to it. These spaces are not a marginalized urban phenomenon rather complements the plan and are a very vital part of the city's workings forming a cohesive whole. In deliberating upon Islamabad's non-conform spaces, the thesis attempts to trace a contemporary history of the city and its plight from the modernist notions it was built upon. As apparent from the references made above, discussions around the plan are always there with the hanging responsibility of considering the plans as 'complete wholes' since this is what the idea of modernism suggest.   As the Master plan of Islamabad is under renewal phase nowadays, this thesis becomes relevant in taking this opportunity to shed light on

those areas which were overlooked in the overall plan but at the moment exist as important components of the plan.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

3.1   Research Question and Problem Definition

This research discusses spatial non-conformity as a significant feature of contemporary planned cities. As elaborated upon in the previous chapter, considering non-conform spaces as dysfunctional urban phenomena restricts the understanding of their character in the urban realm and their role in the overall smooth operationalization of the cities. Literature has also revealed this genre of urban form going beyond the marginalized communities and extending to well-to do citizens and often the state officials themselves. Islamabad, the planned capital of Pakistan designed under modernist notions in the 1960, is an emblematic case of these concepts. The major aim of this research is to explore

- the relationship between spaces that are planned formally and informally in the case of a comprehensively planned city
- the intentions and range of state and non-state actors enmeshed in the creation of these spaces and their sustenance

Within the ambit of these major aims, as an underline understanding, the following aspects will also be explored:

a) To understand the planning practices and violations that give birth to these spaces

b) To theorize the conception of these spaces as a whole, their existing modalities and legal standing

c) To explore actions that force us to acknowledge the pervasiveness of non-conforming spaces in highly planned contexts

d) To understand why some of these spaces are tolerated for longer periods of time than others

e) To evaluate the contribution of the paralegal activities in the smooth running of the city via catering to needs the plan is handicapped in providing

The major focus is on exploring the discourse and practices of both the official urban administration of Islamabad and the residents of the city, in their efforts to create, sustain and tolerate non-conform spaces. As a whole, the research tends to understand the contemporary history of Islamabad through the lens of the "unplanned" development as an attempt to better understand the 'plan'. This also assists in re-conceptualizing the operationalization of modernist plans and their contemporary standings.

3.2   Motivations and situated-ness

The author has been a resident of Islamabad for the past 12 years. Furthremore, as an architect who had worked in Islamabad in the professional field , the author had to some extent witnessed the institutional framework, practice protocols, instruments and procedures of the planning system in general as well as its everyday practices in the city of Islamabad. Dealings with the planning department and implementation procedures were not totally new. This research is therefore influenced by this situated-ness and the author's experiences of the various ways in which everyday politics operate through the practice of planning in Islamabad.

Hence, rather than a neutral observer , this research process, from the beginning recognized the strength of this situated-ness as a resourceful intervention in producing knowledge about planning and the lack of it in Islamabad. The tacit understanding embedded in the researcher is an important resource that can contribute immensely to, rather than impede, the production of locally relevant

knowledge. Being related to the planning practice, also proved useful in accessing the officials related to the planning department.

3.3   Research Process and Method

Initial ideas were developed by author's personal experience of being a resident of the city.The conceptual approaches developed as a result of constant interaction between the realities encountered during living and working in the city, initial research phase, the tacit and intuitive reflexivity of the author and critical engagement with various theoretical approaches in planning, modern urbanism and governance, particular to South Asia.

The next step involved unfolding the major aims of the research, methodologically which comprised of:

1. Identification of the range of non-conform spaces existing in the city;
2. Examination of how and under what conditions these spaces are produced and sustained;
3. Defining the scope of the study and consequently identifying an appropriate neighbourhood where in-depth research can be conducted
4. Examining the way the actions of all participants are connected to the sustenance of the chosen space in particular

The generic landscape of the non-conform spaces in Islamabad is vital to the understanding of the subject and formation of perspective in relation to the research question. The initial phase consisted of looking at the broad canvas of non-conform spaces by studying the development of Islamabad and the changes that the sequential formation of the sectors brought. Simultaneously critical examining of data gathered within the theoretical framework was also done. Moreover, analyzing the data and identifying conceptual and theoretical parameters that can be used to give optimum insight about the overall landscape of the non-conform spaces.

The following factors were listed for the non-conform spaces, to use as a lens for analyzing:

- The position in Master Plan or geographical location
- The relation with the original planned area
- The position in the legal system and contribution in the operationalization of the cities
- The leading actors involved in the creation of the particular space

Within the scope of this thesis the time and resources limited the possibility of studying each space in detail. However, not giving a holistic view inhibits a deeper understanding of the role of non-conform spaces in the smooth running of the city and restricts the understanding of the variety of state and non-state actors involved in the process. While this was necessary, for a deeper research of the process of creation and sustenance of non-conform spaces, a case was selected.

The second phase of research focused on finding the specific case for the in-depth comprehension of practices of planning, violations, and negotiations. One of the key debates around the case study method is the possibility to generalize from a single case, i.e. '*what is the research a case of*?' It is argued by many that single cases are limited in their ability to develop any generalization. Mukhija (2010), while addressing this question proposes what he calls *N of one plus some* case study method. In this method he proposes the detailed examination of one case while also following up other similar cases, albeit in lesser depth. This, he argues, could give more grounding to the detailed case. As an example, he discusses the experience of studying a slum rehabilitation program in Mumbai. Due to lack of time and data access issues, he decided to study one case in detail and follow up the other three in lesser depth. In this process, he notes that his understanding of the main case improved considerably due to the wider understanding provided by the secondary cases. This research draws parallels from this frame of thought where a case study is further backed up by other cases studied in lesser depth, to understand a phenomenon.

The next step was to formulate the parameters that can be used to investigae the selected case. The sustenance of a non-conform space is a confluence of complex interactions between a wide set of actors working with legal, illegal and extra-legal methods engaging constantly with the planning system. Hence, tracking the operation of this complex network required an open and eclectic data collection method and deciding such parameters that can help coax optimum information. The major parameters devised from the literature review, around which the research is centred in the second phase are:

- State Policy regarding the non-conform spaces
- Formalization of everyday processes and legal standing
- Legal encounters and associated approaches of the residents

3.4   Selection Criteria of Case Study

The types of non-conform spaces in Islamabad include:

- Squatter settlemets
- İllicit housing schemes
- Street hawking and other commercial activities

Squatting in Islamabad goes back as far as the city itself. The unfolding and expansion of the phenomenon over the years provided a rich ground for research. Also it has been a major part of discussions around the city and regularizations done in the Master Plan. Thus this category was chosen for the study.

The focus on a single site of squatter settlement, observed and recorded in depth, contrasts with the generalized accounts of alternative urban practices that typically arise from existing emphasis on macro-level, multi-site, comparative studies. The study aims to gather "deep" insights regarding privileges of support from social ties and political networks in everyday life in appropriating the use of their rights and space. Such an approach helps to explore the everyday and taken-for–granted

experiences of informal urbanism and to uncover respondents' motivations and actions (Lester, 1999).

The locations of the six settlements that emerged in 1979, when thousands of people had to be evicted from a large labor colony in sub-sector G-8/3 are in sub-sectors of F-6/2, F-7/4, F-9, G-7/1, G-7/2, and G-8/1. As of now, there are 10 recognized squatter settlements. (Details to be find in Appendices A)

The case study was selected on basis of three factors: **location, status of tenure, age of settlement**

3.4.1   Status of tenure

CDA's attitude towards the informal settlements can be categorized as follows:

1. *Relocation:* Shifting the whole settlement to another site
2. *Regeneration*: Through the participation of the residents, the settelements were upgraded on site
3. *Up gradation/Suspended decisions*: The third policy that the CDA has adopted over the years is 'temporal settlement' or what can be named as 'no policy'. These are areas which are unresolved and stay as they are until further notice. These become very important for the purpose of this thesis as they perverse in these contexts under the notion of temporariness.

Based on these approaches, the third approach serves the purpose of this research, where the settlement is still located on its original site. As opposed to regeneration where the settlemet has been exempted from further action, the suspension of decision creates space for negotiations as elaborated in Chapter 5. Thus, France Colony which comes in the third category provides an important case. (details in Appendix A)

3.4.2   Location and age of settlement

As explained in Chapter 4, the sector in Islamabad is reflective of the socio-economic condition of the area. Where sector G is mostly inhabited by middle class workers, sectors in lane F are lived in by the elite, posh people. The cheek by jowl presence of high- and low-income neighborhoods developed on a provisional basis within the fixed geometric grid of the planned modernist city of Islamabad, thus, makes these an ideal candidate to study exchanges and the relationship between two distinct urban spaces inhabited by different socio-economic groups. It also offers opportunities to understand the modalities of creating and sustaining spaces outside of official planning frameworks in highly planned contexts.

Hence F-6/2 and F-7/4 were the choices to be studied. The age of the site (settlement) was an important variable. The aim was to select a settlement between 35-40 years old, in order to research enduring social networks and associations. Literature suggests that occupying a piece of land for forty years is long enough time for inhabitants to have developed local social ties and networks (Dempsey et.al., 2011; Villarreal and Silva, 2006) A forty-year period is likely to accommodate two generations of the initial occupiers. F-6/2 still lacks provision of facilities as per the government data and basic information such as the number of households was also not found by the concerned department (refer to Appendix A). Hence France Colony F-7/4 was chosen as the case study.

France Colony which has gradually been able to subvert the master planning and secure their locationality by adopting various means presents an interesting case. varying strategies to counter the administration's resettlement schemes. It offers a vivid and interesting interplay of local politics and the urban poor working class, providing insights into the strategies and tactics at play at the ground level leading to gradual transformation.

3.5 Implementation of Research: Data identification, access, collection and analysis

Initial ideas were developed by author's personal experience of being a resident of the city, Islamabad. And then strengthen by archival research and existing literature to build insight and hypotheses for problem definition. Both exploratory and descriptive methods were used in this process.

The thesis aims to explore the relationship of non-conform urban spaces with the city as a whole and ultimately understand how they facilitate in the operationalization of the city. Thus in the first phase, understanding the historical development, intentions (political and social) and administrative structure was necessary to comprehend the reasons for sprouting up of these spaces and the lack of functions they have been fulfilling.

This has been carried out through accumulation and interpretation of archival and existing information regarding Islamabad and its construction through government and consultant documents, reports and correspondences between various individuals. Policy documents, government reports and various documents were obtained through Right to Information requests and other formal as well as informal means. The historical text was re-purposed to develop new knowledge about the relation of the unplanned Islamabad with the planned Islamabad.

The thesis utilized the Capital Development Authority (CDA) library in Islamabad, and the Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA) library in Rawalpindi (Islamabad's twin city). Reports on **the Revisions in the Master Plan**, generated by the Master Plan Cell of CDA under the provision of government, were a primary source to analyse the overall changes in the Master Plan and understand the development of the spaces that were not part of the original plan.

Furthermore the Katch Abadi Cell at CDA, certain NGO's, Rural Support Programmes Network Pakistan and the *Katchi Abadi Alliance* resources have been utilized to gather information regarding the formation, demographics and land use

situation of the squatter settlements in Islamabad and stimulate the second phase of the research.

The research used the environment of one squatter settlement as an analytical lens.The case study is descriptive and exploratory. It explores the formation and sustenance of non-conform space in a higly planned context and describe its history and existing modalities and materialities.

After accumulating basic information about the settlement and the relevant planning department, interviews were used as primary means to interact with different actors related to the whole scenario. A wide range of actors meant that the approach had to be improvised and changed situationally. Hence, as means of engagement, a mix of semi-structured and narrative interviews was used. A total of 15 interviews were carried out (3 were follow up interviews). All interviews lasted from 20-35 minutes[11]. In addition to this, some informal coversations also provided insights. The medium of coversation was mostly the local language; urdu and later translated to english while transcribing.

The interviwees were mainly divided into two categories and selected through purposeful sampling;

- Those inhabiting the space (within this a conscious effort was made to include people whose occupation if of the nature that deals with the planning institutions; the government or private sector)
- Those related to the planning of the space

Many people who were interviewed have more than one role; for example, as a planner and a resident, or as an activist and a resident. This opened up the oppurtunity to gather insight about being a generic citizen of the city other than the professional

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[11] All interviews attached in Appendices B

opinion. Details of people interviewed are as follows where as the transcriptions can be found in Appendices B.

	Time of Interview	Occupation and status*
Interviewee 1	September 2019	Ex- CDA official and resident of Islamabad of over 30 years
	October 2019	
Interviewee 2	October 2019	Director of Master plan cell, CDA and resident of Islamabad
	November 2019	
Interviewee 3	October 2019	Officer at the Katchi abadi cell, CDA and resident of Rawalpindi
	November 2019	
Interviewee 4	October 2019	Govt. counselor(elected) and resident of France Colony
Interviewee 5	October 2019	Govt. Polio health worker and resident of France colony
Interviewee 6	October 2019	Chairman of PAK U.C.A (private organization) and resident of France Colony
Interviewee 7	October 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 8	October 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 9	November 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 10	November 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 11	November 2019	Resident of France colony

Interviewee 12	November 2019	Architect and Resident of Islamabad (f-7) for 40 years

*Names have been removed for privacy purposes

The literature review and general understanding developed from the initial research of phase assisted in demarking the themes for the interview. The interviews were based around the following themes majorly, though the discussions were more organic and the order and text of questions varied from person to person. (exact questions can be seen in Appendices B)

• **State Policy regarding the non-conform spaces**

-the regularization processes

-provision of services

-future developments

-plan implementation

• **Formalization of everyday processes and legal standing**

-ownership of land (selling and buying processes)

-identities and relation to space (material artefacts)

• **Legal encounters and associated approaches of the residents**

-everyday activities (access to the city)

-community leadership

-involvement of private sector

-future aspirations

Other questions from the residents included basic information like the location of the house, their tenure of living or the narrative of migrating to the settlement.The interviews were then transcribed, organized and analyzed via reading data vertically and horizontally. Main themes were grouped together by accumulating the answers to similar questions. Deviant or unique ideas were also noted. Based on these, the headings and ideas were structured to be written for the chapter 'conforming to non-conformity'. Overall, the data set used is comprised of opinions, descriptions of facts, narratives of practices, documents, and reports.

As mentioned above, preliminary ideas were formed through being resident of the city and navigating through on almost daily basis. However, for the concerned study area, site visits were made to get more familiarity. This included taking photographs and observing general activties which have been used in combination with the interview data. Finally, constant to and fro between information collected via interviews, photographic records and archives was done to synthesis the research and reach conclusions.

3.6   Validity and Reliability of the Data

The research process was inductive and multifactorial, where multiple sources of information were accessed to advance a dynamic research design that added layers of richness to collected data. All interviews were recorded on phone by the permission of the interviewee in addition to taking notes. The audio later helped to ensure that no details are missed. The author personally visited the CDA office and archives for the collection of data. All other references and evidences collected have been cited and are authentic.

3.7   Ethics

The identity as a researcher was made clear to all interviewees and to all the people met otherwise. In order to reduce ethical and access problems, all of the specific

cases conversed about generally and the one in detail are ones that have been or were already in the public domain, that is, in the media and/or before a court of law. Since a number of conversations around the specific problems as well as practices of government, politics in master planning, implementation and neighbourhood activism required anonymity, direct quotes using real names have been minimized and psuedo names used where necessary. The list of interviews in Appendix 1 contains only the professional position or general identity of the individuals involved.

CHAPTER 4

THE PLANNED CITY OF ISLAMABAD

This chapter illustrates the city of Islamabad its development. The chapter is divided in two parts; Intentions and Intial Development and Subsequent years and Contemporary Developments. The first part details out the reasons and concept behind the construction of Pakistan's new captial. It also describes Islamabad's modernist lineage and the planning factors it stands on. This creates a basis for the research to understand Islamabad as a planned city and the role of its administration in determining so.

The second part intends to show the unplanned Islamabad, namely the sites of non-conformity in Islamabad. It reveals the major revisions that the Master Plan has underwent of the years and relates it to different instances that were the causes for these changes. This part describes the range of non-conform spaces that are a part of Islamabad and the relation they enjoy with the planned city. In doing so, an intention has been made to mark out the reason for their conception and the protagonists, who orchestrated these spaces. The parameters decided upon in Chapter 3 bound the discussion around non-conform spaces and provide a holistic view.

4.1   PART I: Intentions and Initial Development

The episode of partition of the Sub-Continent in 1947 and the subsequent challenges and state of affairs, is crucial to the understanding of the creation of Pakistan. This is discussed below:

4.2 Emergence of Pakistan

Pakistan and India gained independence in mid-August 1947. At that time, Pakistan consisted of two spatially separated provinces: West Pakistan and East Pakistan, today's Bangladesh, in which predominantly Muslims lived(Fig.4.1). Pakistan declares 14th august, 1947 as its independence day. M. A. Jinnah becomes the first Governor General of Pakistan and Karachi is declared the capital of the new state. India declares itself independent on 15th august, 1947 and J. Nehru becomes first Indian Prime Minister. India makes Delhi, the previous capital of British India, its capital.

Figure 4.1. Migrations of Hindus and Muslims around 1947 (Prakash , 2002, p.8)

Initially developed as a port city in the early eighteenth century, Karachi was chosen due to its standing as a vibrant metropolis with an active commercial and political life (Hasan, 1992, p.1). However, these distinctions proved to be inadequate to maintain Karachi as a national capital city in the face of various political and historical forces of late 1950s in Pakistan. Establishing the state and administration was much more difficult in Pakistan than in India. In Delhi one could fall back on the old colonial administrative apparatus and thus set up the ministries and administrations more quickly. In Karachi these structures have to be created from scratch. In addition, the political conflict among Muslims was polarizing in Pakistan.

One of the aftereffects of the 1947 partition was that large populations of people wishing to settle in Pakistan migrated from India and vice versa. In Pakistan, Karachi received a massive influx of refugees, which more than doubled its existing population.[12]

Because of the extraordinary nature of events after the 1947 partition, displaced populations were allowed temporary refuge in existing public buildings, parks and other open land in the city. Karachi's infrastructure was overburdened due to this sudden increase in population. In an effort to formulate a permanent solution to the city's dire problems, the Karachi Improvement Trust (KIT) was established in 1950, which was later replaced by the Karachi Development Authority (KDA) in 1957 (Hasan, 1992, p. 3). These institutions were given the mandate to develop a new administrative area and rehabilitate 1947 partition refugees in Karachi. Various attempts were made in 1950s in this regard but without any meaningful outcome. One of these the services of a Swedish consultancy firm, Merz Rendel Vatten (MRV) to prepare a master plan for Karachi known as the Greater Karachi Plan.

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[12] The population of Karachi in 1947 was a little over 400,000. From 1947 to 1951, more than 600,000 refugees migrated to Karachi. An additional 5% of the total population influx comprised civil servant and migrants from within Pakistan. (Hasan, 1992, p. 3).

The deteriorating political situation in Pakistan in the 1950s, along with the assassination of the sitting Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1951, and the military coup of General Ayub Khan in 1958, made it difficult to reach a decision on the implementation of the MRV plan, which was eventually shelved (Hasan, 1992, p. 4). In 1958, the future Greek planner and architect of Islamabad, Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis (1913-1975), was asked to prepare another scheme for Karachi, known as the Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan (Hasan, 1992, p. 6). The Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan, thus, coincidentally marked the entry of the future architect of Islamabad in the local planning and architectural design scene. As an architect-engineer, planner, activist, business entrepreneur, educator, and theorist, Doxiadis was a self-proclaimed generalist, who sought solutions to the urban crisis in the twentieth century through an interdisciplinary scientific analysis of human settlements. Doxiadis' involvement in housing and urban development projects in Pakistan was made possible because of his association with Ford Foundation, which was established in 1936 by the heir of the American based Ford Motor Company as a public welfare organization with global philanthropic projects aimed at advancing human welfare and was involved with Pakistan for the resettlement of refugees. (Zahir-ud Deen, 1998, p. 70).

4.3   Intent for a new Capitol

After a series of failed attempts to accommodate new administrative facilities in Karachi, a decision to plan a new purpose built capital city in a new location was eventually made by Pakistan's first military dictator, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, who first served as the head of state during the military martial law rule of 1958-62, and was later elected as the President of the country until he was ousted in 1969. Shortly after resuming power, Khan gave his approval to build a new capital city near Rawalpindi, the military headquarters of Pakistan Army.

4.3.1   Site Selection

Ayub decided to form a committee called the Federal Capital Commission (FCC) in 1959 to ensure a "scientific and rational" decision for an alternate site. General Yahya Khan was appointed chairman by General Azam Khan who served under General Ayub. Of its fourteen sub-committees comprising of 100 Pakistani specialists, four were put under charge of ranked army personnel. These were the committee on Geographic and Climatic Factors, Social and Cultural Factors, International Relations and Defense Factors. C. A. Doxiadis was appointed as "advisor" to the special commission to investigate the problem for the new capital's site in March 1959.

Islamabad was planned as the new capital of Pakistan from 1959 to 1963 while the implementation of the master plan commenced in 1961 (Doxiadis, 1965, p.1). The final site selected for the new capital city was about 20 km north of Rawalpindi, which functioned as the interim capital of the country during the initial construction years of Islamabad. A distinct feature of the initial master plan of Islamabad was the inclusion of Rawalpindi in the overall scheme for the new capital city.

By locating the new capital near Rawalpindi, Ayub got his wish to isolate the capital away from the existing urban centers of the country in order to segregate, control and capitalize the country's federal center and "legitimize his rule to a global audience" (Kalia, 2012, p. 67). An area was reserved for military purposes with an adjacent 2000 hectares for their residence which is double the area of the two industrial areas put together (Hardoy, 1964, p. 322; Nilsson, 1975, p. 146). Rawalpindi was made the interim capital and was to be used for its services with its existing colonial legacy for the federal capital.
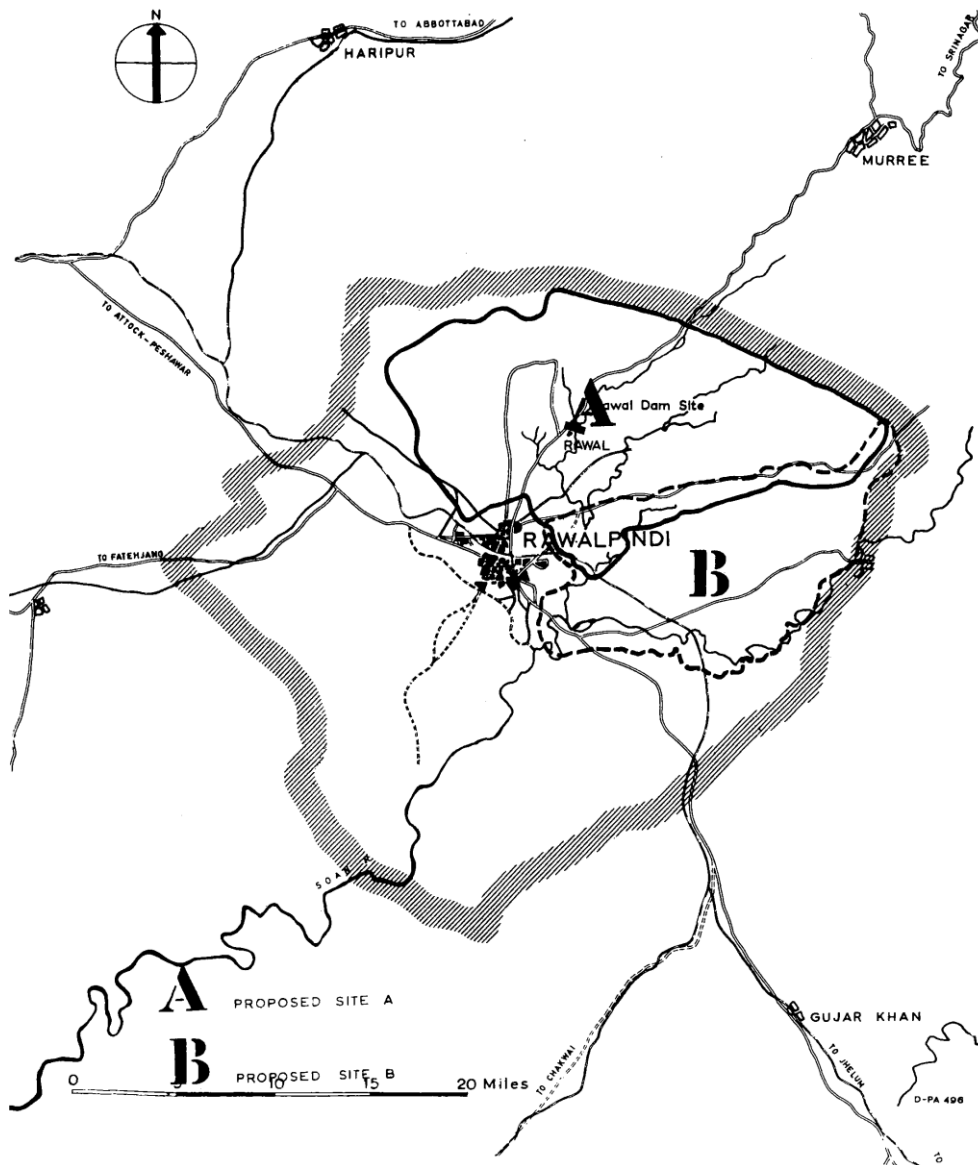
Figure 4.2. Proposed capital site (1960).
DOX –PA 77, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.73

Figure 4.3 Bird's eye view of the selected site (CDA)

4.3.2   Planning as Twin Cities

Doxiadis proposed the development of new areas of Rawalpindi using the same planning module and organization principle that he developed for Islamabad (Fig.4.3). However, unlike the MRV plan for Karachi, Doxiadis wanted to avoid the danger of Islamabad becoming an annex to Rawalpindi by the "physical intermingling of the two cities" (Doxiadis Associates, DOX PA 88, 1960a, p. 46). Distance had to be maintained in a way that the residents of Islamabad could make use of the "services" offered by the existing city while avoiding the "disadvantages" of the invasion of the new capital by the urban patterns existing in the old city.Rawalpindi served as a good support system to the new capital city by fulfilling its basic needs of infrastructure, roads, airfields, and labor. This arrangement helped cut the initial costs of establishing these facilities anew in Islamabad. However, since Rawalpindi had developed over a course of centuries, its existing urban fabric presented many challenges to accommodate modern technologies, and lacked the organizational clarity that modernist architects sought and associated with an

efficiently planned city. A type of *cordon sanitaire* comprising a generous green belt, a highway, and light industries was thus planned between Rawalpindi and Islamabad.[13] Despite the physical proximity and close association between Rawalpindi and Islamabad, Doxiadis maintained difference between the old and the new by introduced entirely new patterns of urban development in Islamabad including the configuration of its neighborhoods, its grid plan, and the designation and separation of different functions in clearly defined zones.
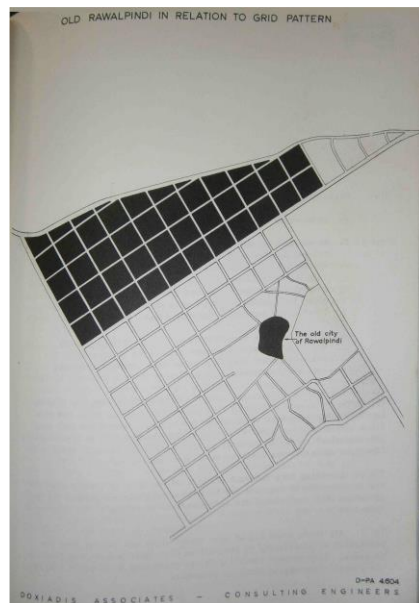
Figure 4.4. "Old Rawalpindi in Relation to Grid Pattern." Source: Doxiadis Report, DOX- PA 168, p. 30.

4.4   Islamabad's Modernist Notion

Doxiadis claimed to develop Islamabad using planning principles he formulated under the discipline of Ekistics. However, the new capital of Pakistan shares many features with other newly planned capital cities, including Brasilia (Brazil) and

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[13] The development of Islamabad and Rawalpindi as twin-cities also marks a point of departure from the modernist cities of Brasilia and Chandigarh, which were developed as complete wholes in themselves, in isolation from other existing cities.

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Chandigarh (India) built in the post- World War II era. Like its contemporaries, Islamabad was planned according to the dominant discourses of twentieth century architecture and urbanism, in particular, those advocated by Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM) – a consortium of influential modern western architects from early- to mid- 1900s. Modern urban environments planned during this period were influenced by "the Functional City" concept formulated by one of CIAM's most notable protagonists, Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier. According to "the Functional City" concept, urbanism was conceptualized in terms of four functions, namely, dwelling, work, leisure and circulation, and a strict separation between these was considered an essential element for the efficient functioning of a modern city (Mumford, 2000, p. 73).

The official master plan for Islamabad conceived by Doxiadis, is similarly characterized by the compartmentalization of various functions of the city in clearly defined zones connected by an efficient circulation network. According to Doxiadis' master plan for Islamabad, the metropolitan area for the new capital is subdivided into three regions, namely, (i) Islamabad proper, (ii) Rawalpindi Town and Cantonments, and (iii) the National Park (figure 4.4) (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 127, 1961, p. 18). Man-made elements and existing natural features delineate the divisions within and boundaries of the metropolitan area (figure 4.4). A system of four highways is used to generate the three subdivisions in the metropolitan area, which is bounded on its North-North West by the Margalla hills, and on its South46 East by the Soan River (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 159, 1962b, p. 2; Doxiadis,1965).

Figure 4.5 Dynapolis. Islamabad: Programme and Plan. Report 32. DOX-PA 88. P 383

One of Doxiadis' main planning innovations was that he planned Islamabad as a robust city of the future, or as a *Dynapolis* (dynamic *polis*/city), which in contrast to the static *polis* (city) of the past offered the potential of dynamic development. As opposed to the cities of the past, Doxiadis envisioned the city of the future to be able to develop freely and naturally along a planned and predetermined course (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 88, 1960a, p. 108). One of the ways of achieving this was by allowing the center of the *dynapolis* to grow simultaneously with the city, thus, diminishing the danger of the center from being constricted by the overall growth of the city, as experienced in the static cities of the past(Figure 4.5).
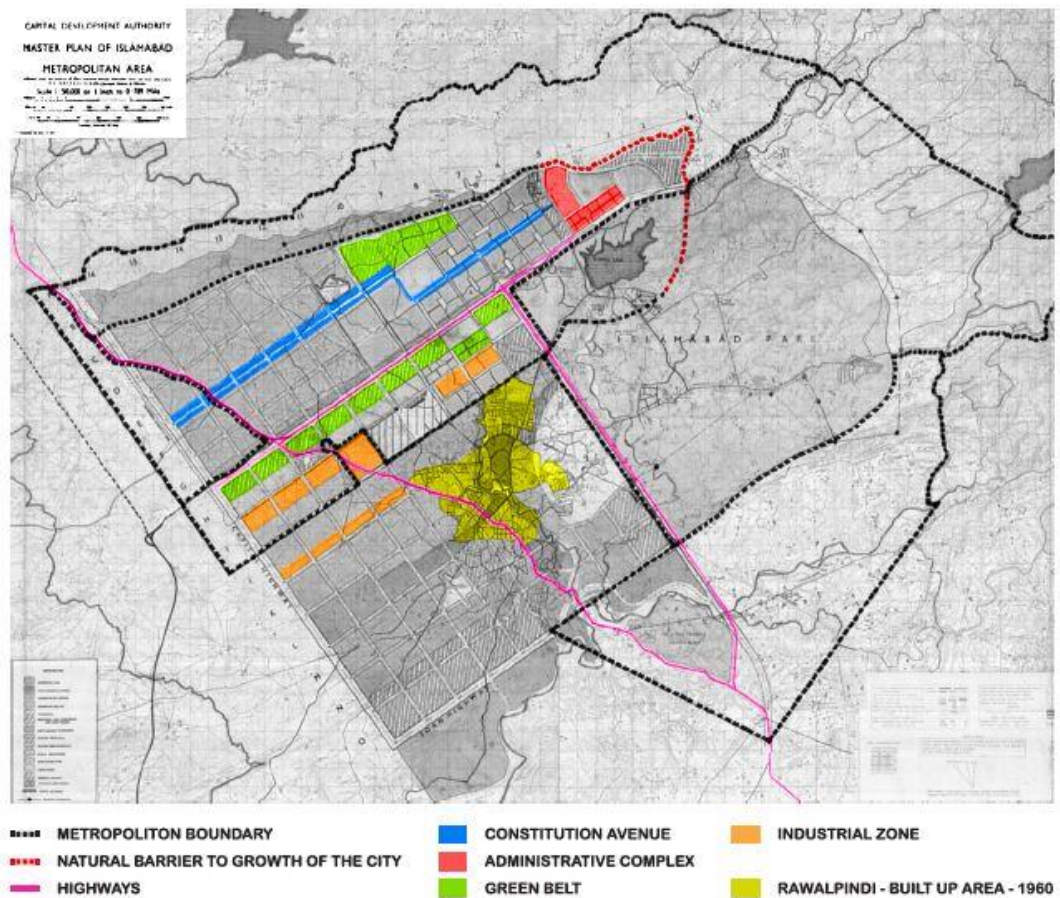
Figure 4.6 Spatial articulation, the grid demarcation and placement (1960).

Source: Map courtesy of the Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA), Rawalpindi, Pakistan, edited.

Doxiadis' scheme included both the cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, which were imagined to grow dynamically in the South-West direction. The center in the *dynapolis* was planned not as a single entity but as a system of centers made up of the commercial and institutional cores present in the basic planning modules of Islamabad called 'sectors,' explained shortly below. The many zones of Islamabad serving various functions have been planned to allow for future expansion. The administrative sector is placed at the heart of Islamabad, from which it spreads first towards and then along the hills. The civic center is developed in a strip running south-west, which is the main direction of the town's growth. The residential and the light-industrial zones follow the same trend(Figure 4.5).

Doxiadis' proposal for the capital region was only implemented to the extent of the new capital city as Rawalpindi was left out from the overall scheme of development. While Islamabad continues to expand in the South-West direction, this is not the only direction in which the city is experiencing growth. Islamabad is also expanding in an area South of Rawalpindi, which was included in the capital territory at a later stage. The newly urbanized areas of the capital city are now being developed using organizing principles other than those prescribed by Doxiadis. However, as a basic unit of organization developed by Doxiadis, the sector is an important planning feature of Islamabad, which distinguishes it from other cities of Pakistan. The following section presents a description of the sector, which constitutes one of the main sites of investigation where spaces external to the official master plan of Islamabad commonly exist.

4.4.1 Sector Formation

Even though Doxiadis conceived Islamabad as a dynamically growing city, its basic structural element , the sector, was designed as a self-contained fixed unit with little room for variation. Islamabad's sectors are 1 ¼ mile x 1 ¼ mile square, arranged in a grid generated by placing principal roads 2200 yards apart. Doxiadis designed the sector as a self-contained community where the basic needs of its resident population could be met locally. The residential areas in sectors in Islamabad are therefore equipped with generous green areas, schools of different levels and a central civic, and commercial center called "markaz" located in the middle of each sector. The organization of the sector in Islamabad is moreover based on a hierarchy of communities of various sizes or classes. Each sector is also known as a Community Class V with a population ranging from 20,000 to 40,000 people organized according to different income groups. A sector or Community Class V is composed of about four smaller Class IV communities (approximately 10,000 people each), which are also repeated in a square grid. Each Community Class IV comprises four Class III communities (around 2500 people each). Each Class III community is further

subdivided into several Class II communities (100 or more people each). Finally, the subdivision continues down to Community Class II, which is composed of multiple Class I communities (a family or a group of two or more individuals). Each sector, called class V community, was designed to with its own center, municipal offices, shopping area, cinema, police station, post office, dispensary, a large mosque, a secondary school, a dhobi ghat (laundry area), and a sport center.

Planned sectors in Islamabad are assigned an alpha-numeral designation in the master plan corresponding to their placement on the square grid. The X-axis is numbered while the Y-axis is assigned a letter (Figure 4.6). Since each planned sector is further subdivided into 4 sub-sectors (Community Class IV), they are numbered from I through IV in a clock-wise manner starting from the bottom left corner. Subsectors of Community Class IV are similarly assigned number 1 through 4, using the same system. Thus, a sector with coordinates of letter F along Y-axis and number 6 on X-axis is named F-6. The location within sector F-6 can be further narrowed down according to where it falls within Community Class IV to F-6/1, F-6/2, F-6/3 or F-6/4 or to Community Class III to F-6/1-I, F-6/1-II, F-6/1-III or F-6/1-IV (Figure 4.7). Streets in residential areas are similarly numbered. The only exceptions are the highways and main roads, which bear names of important places from various provinces of Pakistan.

Figure 4.7 Naming of Sectors. Islamabad: Programme and Plan. Report 32. DOX-PA 88. P. 381.
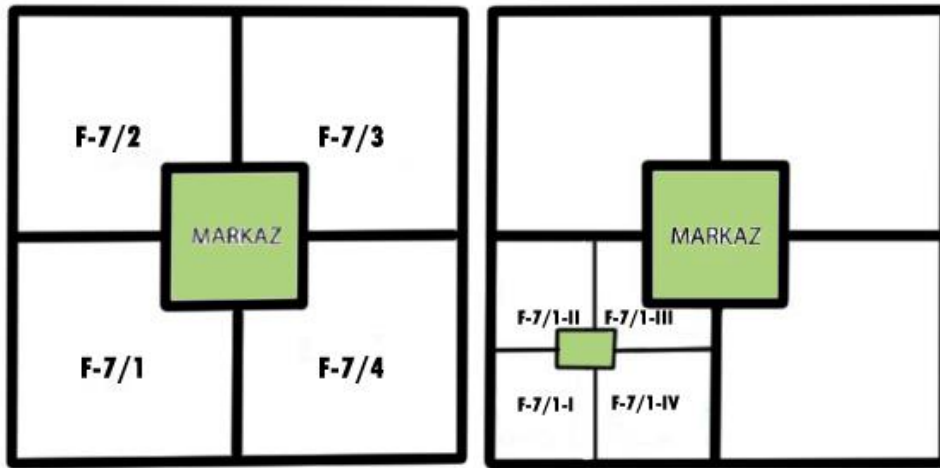
Figure 4.8 Naming of sector F-7 and sub-sector F-7/1 in Islamabad

The design and naming of sectors in Islamabad constitute an important feature of the way the city is experienced and contrasts with the existing neighborhood structure found elsewhere in Pakistan.

Doxiadis organized various income groups in different sectors in Islamabad in an attempt to create social harmony and dissipate conflict among members of different classes. People belonging to compatible income brackets were grouped together and assigned plots or apartments according to their income.

However, this rational division of sectors in Islamabad according to various socio-economic statuses as conceived on paper did not result in socially harmonious spaces in the development of the city. In Islamabad, for instance, it is not uncommon to find squatter settlements right in the middle of an elite sector. This cheek-by-jowl situation of extremely high and low income housing in expensive sectors in Islamabad is investigated in this research in order to understand the exchanges that take place between disparate spaces and their inhabitants in close spatial proximity.

In addition to dedicated spaces of leisure such as parks, hiking trails and nature reserves, Islamabad is planned with generous green belts and slopes adjacent major streets and highways. Greenery and generous open spaces distinguish Islamabad from other urban areas of the country. A distinct landscape feature of the area selected for Islamabad is a series of natural ravines, which cut across the entire site of the new capital from north to south in multiple locations. Doxiadis incorporated these existing ravines as important landscape elements while designing detailed schemes for various sectors. Parks, gardens, playgrounds, schools, and pedestrian paths were planned next to these ravines in order to create green spaces of respite in each sector.

The presence of vast expanses of open public areas in planned sectors of Islamabad present opportune conditions for spaces external to the official master plan of the city to thrive. For instance, most of the squatter settlements in Islamabad exist adjacent low-lying spaces next to natural ravines designated as lungs of the city. The low lying undulating geography of these spaces with reduced visibility from their adjacent planned residential areas further makes them attractive out of sight options where informal housing can be tolerated. Generous roadside greenbelts in Islamabad similarly serve as spaces where both licensed and unlicensed commercial activities

take place in non- or semi-permanent structures. These sites are discussed under sites of non-conformity later in this chapter to describe the modalities on which these spaces thrive.

4.4.2   Urban Park

According to Doxiadis' master plan, the metropolitan area of Islamabad is composed of three main subdivisions, including, the National park area, the urban areas of Islamabad, and the city of Rawalpindi. The proposal to develop Rawalpindi as part of the regional plan of Islamabad was abandoned in the eventual implementation of the master plan of the new capital region, which now consists of the region comprising the urban areas of Islamabad and the National Park area. Doxiadis designed the National park area as a large open green space accommodating low density public facilities, including a sports complex, exhibition center, botanical and zoological gardens, educational and research institutions, land and water recreational sports, agriculture and other special functions that do not generate heavy vehicular traffic (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 93, 1960b, p. 10). An important feature of the National Park area is Rawal Lake, an artificial reservoir built next to Rawal Dam in early 1960s to provide water to the residents of Rawalpindi, and which now partially fulfills the water needs of Islamabad. Since Rawal Lake is an important water source, a concern for its pollution was the main reason why Doxiadis decided to place the National Park in a location surrounding the lake toward the periphery of the city, away from the main urban areas of the city (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 20, 1962a, p. 2). Moreover, in order avoid pollution due to excessive development in the catchment area of Rawal Lake, Doxiadis proposed to limit construction in the National Park area to minor low-density buildings. A history of development of the National Park area, as presented later, reveals that this area developed in a substantially different manner from the way it was conceived in the official master plan of Islamabad. The National Park area constituted a vast area of undeveloped rural land at the time of preparation of the master plan of Islamabad. Most of this

area belonged to local villagers who sold it off to influential people interested in building homes there. This created a conflicting situation between new land owners in the National Park area who wanted to make their houses there and the city managers who wanted to preserve this area according to the non-residential, low density land use specified in Doxiadis' master plan. This research focuses on the National Park area as a site of non-conformity and thus of investigation of some of the challenges encountered by the city's planning and development authority in the implementation process of the official master plan. These challenges are critical to the understanding of the politics of creating a planned modern space in Islamabad where residents of an elite neighborhood were not only able to directly subvert the official master plan but also institute major structural changes in the official zoning regulations of Islamabad.

4.5 Islamabad and Bureaucracy| The City Managers

The development of Islamabad as a planned modern city in Pakistan was not only an exercise in physical planning and design but necessitated the institution of an administrative body to carry out the development and management of the new capital. In 1960, an executive order laid the basis of Islamabad's municipal corporate body, Capital Development Authority (CDA). CDA is a powerful organization with a structure that is distinct from other municipal bodies in urban Islamabad. Some of its key features are discussed below.

Islamabad is a federally administered area and as such, its administrative structure is different from most other cities in Pakistan. Pakistan has four provinces, administered by a multi-tier administrative structure. Each province is sub-divided

into divisions, divisions into districts, districts into tehsils, and tehsils into union councils for better administrative control.[14]

Even though Islamabad geographically falls within Punjab province, as a federally administered area it remains independent of the provincial government, and enjoys the same powers and roles as that of a provincial government. The President of Pakistan or his/her appointed official called the Administrator (now Chief Commissioner) oversees the administration of the capital city (Islamabad Capital Territory Administration, 2007; Dar, 2010, p. 348). Islamabad was initially a part of the Rawalpindi District but in 1981 Islamabad District was created to give independent status to the city (Islamabad Capital Territory Administration, 2007). Islamabad District comprising the entire capital region, referred to as the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT), is further subdivided into two areas, urban and rural, each with its own governing body. Urban areas are governed by Capital Development Authority (CDA), a municipal corporate body formed in 1960 to oversee the development and administration of the new capital city. All residential, commercial, industrial, and institutional areas within the urban sectors of Islamabad are included under CDA's jurisdiction. These are the areas that were developed according to Doxiadis's master plan.

The administration of rural areas comes under a second administrative authority called Islamabad Capital Territory Administration (ICTA). ICTA administers the rural areas through various 'union councils,' comprising elected councilors and a nominated Chairman. In rural areas, a union council is the basic administrative unit, which administers a group of 5 to 23 villages (Islamabad Capital Territory Administration, 2007). ICTA (2007) is administratively subdivided into 12 union councils governing about 133 villages located in suburban Islamabad. According to

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[14] The administrative reforms of 2000 abolished divisions as an administrative unit between province and district were abolished. In the new system, provinces were subdivided into districts, districts into tehsils, and tehsils into union councils. Since 2008, divisions have been restored as an administrative tier between provinces and districts in some provinces of Pakistan.

Doxiadis' master plan, the rural areas of Islamabad were earmarked for low-density functions. The National Park area, for instance, is mainly comprised of rural areas that come under ICTA jurisdiction. Officials of both CDA and ICTA are government representatives either on deputation from the Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS) of the Central Superior Services (CSS) or as in the case of CDA hired directly against various positions within the organization. At the top of ICTA hierarchy is the Chief Commissioner succeeded by Deputy Commissioner, and other members belonging to the Central Superior Services of Pakistan (Islamabad Capital Territory Administration, 2007). The administration of CDA comes under a Board comprising a Chairman and various members appointed by the Federal Government of Pakistan (Capital Development Authority, 2007). CDA has six departments including Finance, Administration, Engineering, Planning and Design, Estate, and Environment, and a relevant Board member heads each department. Even though the Chief Commissioner as a representative of the President of Pakistan holds the highest authority in Islamabad, yet in practice, the powers of Chairman CDA as overseeing affairs of urban areas of the capital city are significant.

The administration of urban and rural areas in Islamabad by two different government organizations provides conditions that sometimes favor the development of nonconforming spaces in the planned city. The residents of an elite illegal neighborhood in Islamabad's National Park area took advantage of the fact that the jurisdiction of this area fell under ICTA and concerned union council instead of CDA. These people challenged CDA's authority in exercising control over the residential use of this area, reserved in the official master plan as an open natural park, which administratively fell under a union council. Some illegal mobile hawkers similarly take advantage of the jurisdictional divisions of public areas in and around existing commercial markets in Islamabad. Unlicensed mobile hawkers avoid public areas in commercial markets such as, verandas and footpaths, which come under CDA's administration. Instead they operate in streets and roads adjacent commercial markets that come under the jurisdiction of Islamabad Police but are not monitored as closely.
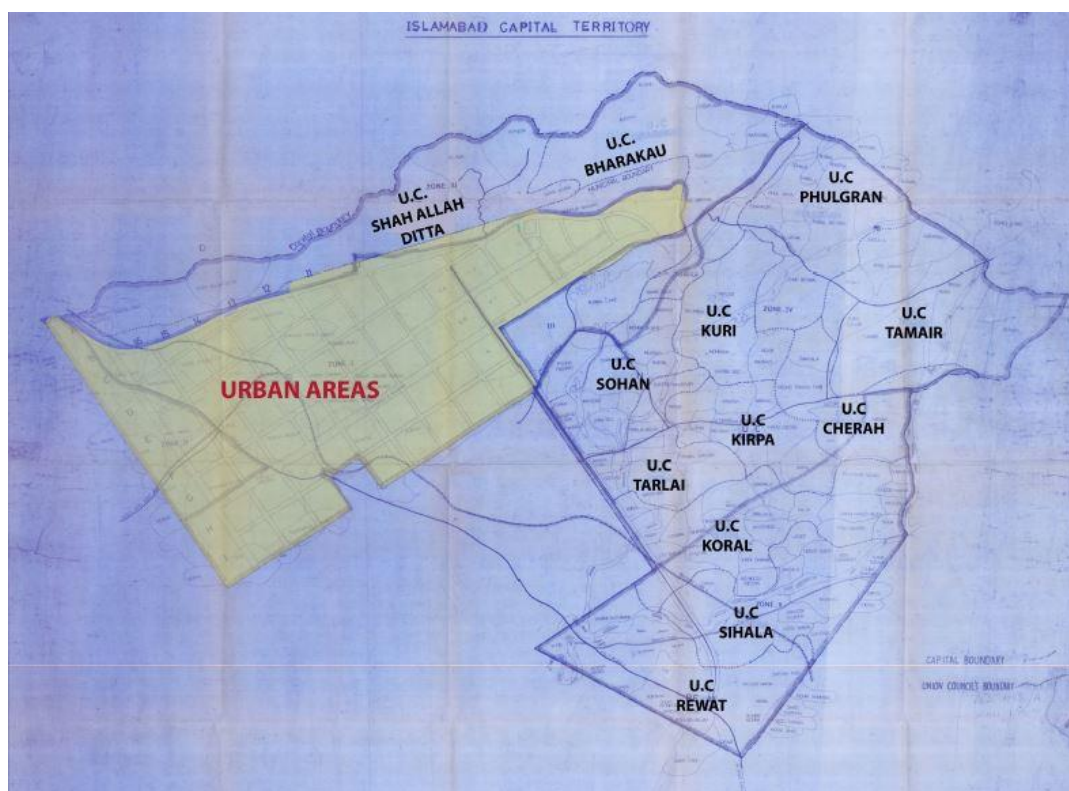
Figure 4.9 Union councils in rural areas of Islamabad under ICTA jurisdiction. Urban Areas of Islamabad under CDA jurisdiction shown in yellow. Adapted from a CDA map.

In a new turn of events, The Islamabad Capital Territory Local Government Act 2014 was launched, that dissolved the urban and rural areas into a cohesive network of Union Councils. It also meant that the authority of CDA has been devolved. In the words of the Minister for Interior and Narcotics Control;

> "There is a strong realization that urban and rural areas of Islamabad Capital Territory have been receiving disproportionate financial resources in disregard to the local needs. This inequitable allocation of resources has led to inefficiencies in local governance and effective delivery of services. Moreover delivery of municipal services, both in urban and rural areas of ICT, requires targeted focus to identify local needs and to meet them in accordance with inviolable rights guaranteed to the people by the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. In line with the manifesto of the government, it has been decided to devolve political power and decentralize administrative and financial authority to accountable local

government in ICT for effective delivery of public services at grass roots level" (The Islamabad Capital Territory Local Government Act 2014).

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This is the first time in Islamabad's history that it has been granted a local government system for the whole city. The overlap with CDA has been removed by transferring functions and staff to MCI and subsequently appointing the Mayor as the Chairperson of CDA. This has caused hue and cry with the long-standing CDA department.Nearly 75% of CDA staff has been transferred officially to the MCI. CDA's staff union has filed a court case since the labour rights and entitlements that CDA staff had gradually won over the years from the CDA management have not been protected in the new legislation. However, another view point is that CDA officials are triggering these cases, to upturn the exchange of powers and regain it back.
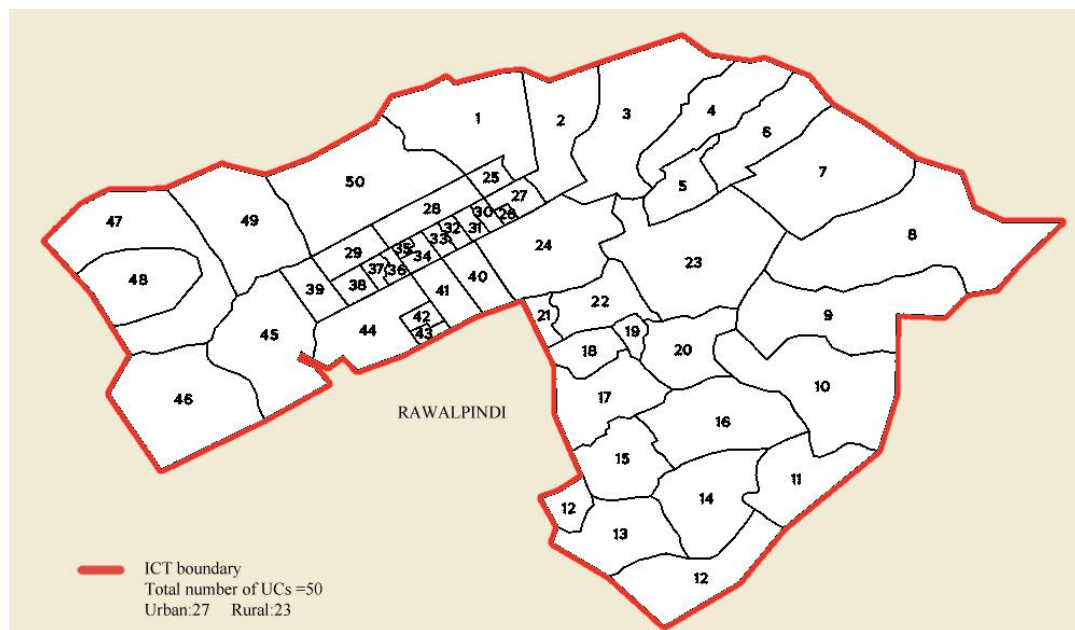
Figure 4.10 UCs according to The Islamabad Capital Territory Local Government Act 2014. Source(ICTLG 2014)

Since, the implementation of this Act is still under process, where a framework for power at lower levels is missing and transfer of authorities is in transition, this

development is out of the scope of this thesis. However, the effect it will have on the future of Islamabad has been discussed in conclusion.

4.6   PART II: Subsequent Years and Contemporary Developments

"In October 1963, the CDA terminated its contract with Doxiadis Associates, two years before the end of the scheduled five years(Hull ,2012). Doxiadis original plan for a gradually integrated city stretched not further than his designs for F-6 and G-6. Even F-7 contains few smaller plots and no government housing. Over the last twenty years there has been a complete separation of income groups" (Hull 2012).

The Master Plan was then put under discussion many times that included government formed committees and privately sourced consultants. Some of the major revisions that took effect are listed below:

- Review of Islamabad Master Plan 1987
- Revision Master plan 1991
- Review Master plan revision 1991
- Revision Master Plan Zone IV land use and urban regeneration 2005

These time to time revisions were reviewed by the Master planning cell of the CDA and Doxiadis associates and reports were published. However, the master plan Zone IV and urban regeneration project which had major lands use revision of zone IV made by the CDA in the year 2005 got final approval from the cabinet in the year 2008 without any review by the original planning consultants who were invited for the award of work on the basis of being the original planners of the area. However, the correspondence went too far but the change of government and hence the administration left the project unfinished and in the hands of CDA alone.
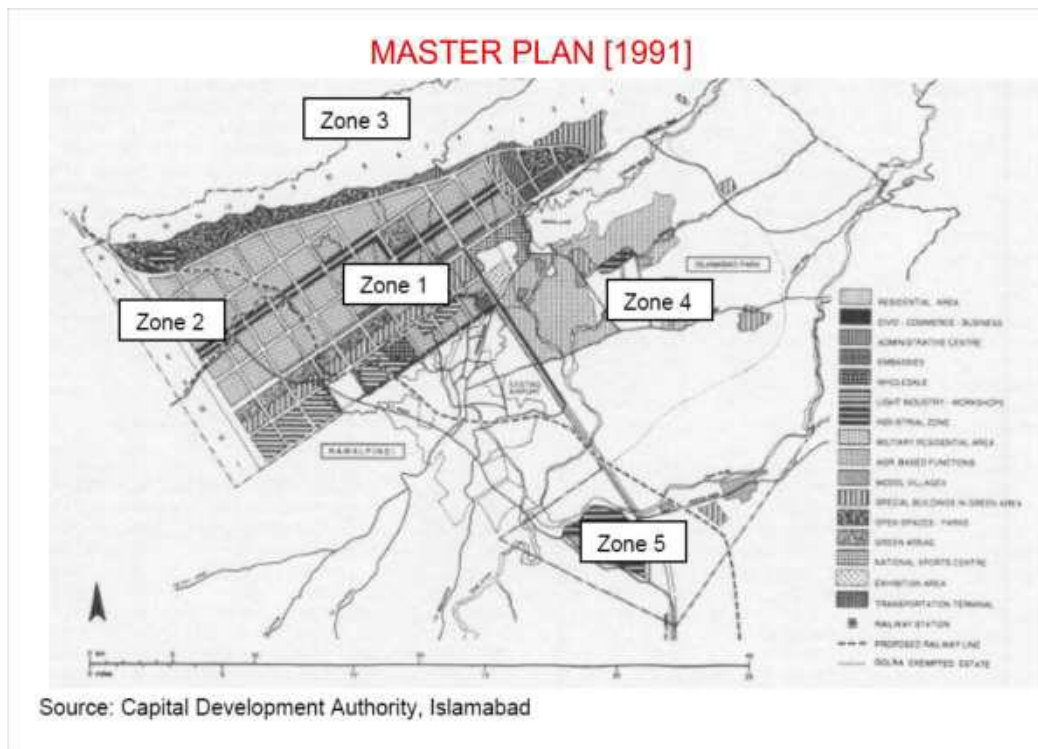
Figure 4.11 The first zonal plan of Islamabad-1991

Islamabad Zones:

Zone I consists mainly of all the developed residential sectors while Zone II consists of the under-developed residential sectors. Each residential sector is identified by a letter of the alphabet and a number and covers an area of approximately 2 km × 2 km (1 1/4 mi × 1 1/4 mi). The sectors are lettered from A to I, and each sector is divided into four numbered subsectors. Zone III consist primarily the green zone with the Margalla Hills and Margalla Hills National Park. Zone IV and V consist of Islamabad Park, and rural areas of the city.
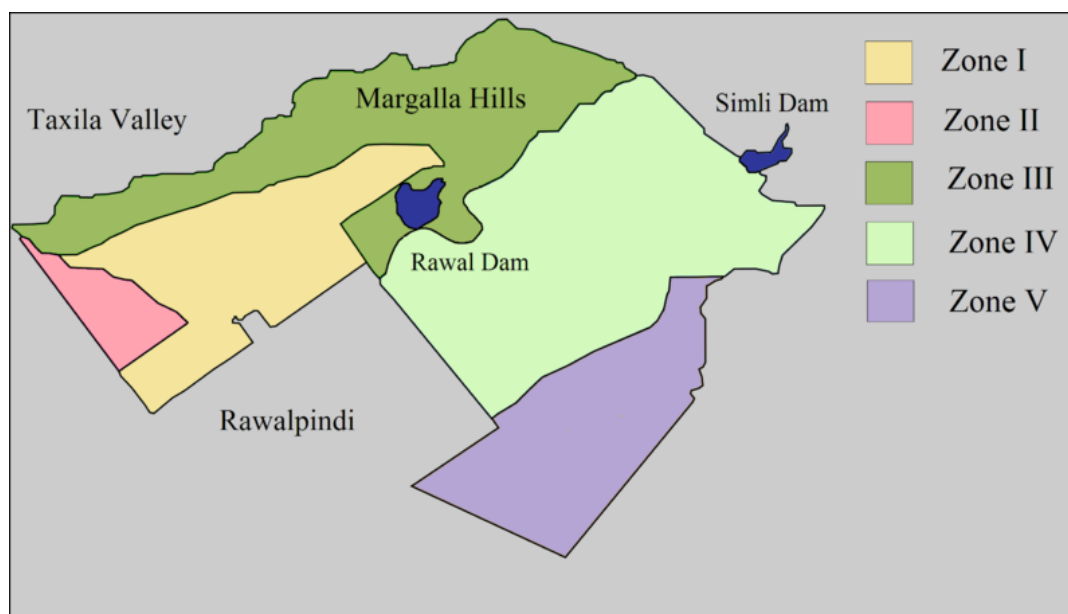
Figure 4.12 Master Plan with Zones of Islamabad Present Day, source: CDA

The zone IV is the largest and zone I which is fully developed zone is the second largest. The zone III, the third largest is primarily the green zone with recreational areas some of which are being considered to be maintained as the model villages. The small urban villages form a part of the city's reality to be maintained and retained as part of the city's cultural heritage.

The Master Plan of Islamabad has underwent major changes since the time of its inception. Some of the changes were result of change in administrative structure, while others occurred to accommodate unanticipated spaces that have been created over the years. Despite the compartmentalization of various activities in distinct zones, and attention to the elimination of social dissent in a newly planned modern city, both "violations" of zoning laws and extreme situations of social and spatial stratification can be found in Islamabad. While it is not possible to identify and present all those spaces where spatial exceptions to the official master plan prevail in the city, however, the above account of the spatial arrangement of Islamabad is an attempt to introduce the context in which some of these spaces external to the official master plan of Islamabad normally exist.

4.7   Sites of Non-Conformity in Islamabad

By definition, nonconforming spaces replace spaces that are planned for other purposes in the official master plan and planning regulations. That's the first level of displacement of planned spaces by nonconforming spaces. A second, more profound level of displacement occurs when nonconforming spaces take the place of officially planned spaces by becoming official themselves. This section discusses these spaces from the point of view of these definitions. It marks those spaces that have infiltrated in the master plan, though being lawfully outside of it and have persisted over the years.

4.7.1   Squatter Settlements

Even though the population of Islamabad has nearly doubled in the last fifteen years new sectors in the city offering housing and other civic amenities have not expanded proportionately. According to the last official census conducted in 1998, there were only approximately 128,000 housing units in the Islamabad district (comprising both urban and rural areas) for a population of 800,000, and nearly 44% of these units had no piped water and/or gas for cooking (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics). The housing crisis in Islamabad has led to an increase in land prices making it nearly impossible for even middle-income families to afford housing in the planned capital. The situation is even worse for those with low-incomes who wish to live and work within the city's limits as the only viable housing options available to them are illegal and under-serviced areas, including squatter settlements, and unauthorized subdivisions of low-income government houses. As a result, squatting is a thriving phenomenon in Islamabad and low-income settlements have occupied numerous marginal areas in both the developed and undeveloped sectors of the city. The exact number of squatters in the planned city remains undetermined due to the absence of recent and reliable census data; however, according to estimates by non-profit research and community development organizations, about 30-38% of the total population in

Islamabad resides in squatter settlements (Plan Pakistan; Akhter Hameed Khan Resource Center, 2010; Jadoon.A, 2006).

Development History and Lead Actors

While new informal settlements in Islamabad continue to mushroom all over the city mostly in low-lying open public land near natural ravines, a history of the earliest informal settlements in Islamabad reveals important insights about the central role of the city's municipal corporate body, Capital Development Authority (CDA), in the constitution of these nonconforming spaces. During the nascent years of Islamabad's development as a planned modern city, neighborhoods like France Colony were established with official consent as exceptions to the official master plan.

As discussed in Chapter 2 via the examples of Brasilia and Chandigarh, the informal schemes are consequently accommodated formally or informally either within or outside the boundaries of these planned cities turning them into spatially and socially segregated places. For this designer is blamed for not taking into consideration the lower or marginalized classes. However, Doxiadis made it a point to include all classes in the city .He was aware of the problems of labor housing in newly planned capital cities like Brasilia and Chandigarh and wanted to avoid repeating the same mistakes in the case of Islamabad. A report prepared by the Islamabad office of Doxiadis associates in June, 1962, entitled "Plots and Houses for Labour Force," makes direct reference to other planned modernist cities without any housing provision to workers and their families (Doxiadis Associates, 1962c, DOX-PI 28). It states,

> "We should be guided by the experience gained in the recent completion of two similar projects of Chandigarh and Brazil where this problem [labor housing] was not foreseen and no provision was made for the same. In both these projects labourers built their own houses in an unauthorized and uncontrolled way "

Doxiadis' proposal for low-income housing for laborers and other poor citizens of Islamabad was, however, never implemented. CDA did build a few modest quarters in open spaces near existing *nullahs* (ravines) in three locations in sectors F-6 and

G-7. Other low-income government workers built their own dwellings in vacant areas around these quarters to give birth to larger squatter settlements, which are now known as 100- quarters (F-6/2), 66-quarters (G-7/2), and 48-quarters (G-7/3) based on the numbers of quarters built by CDA in each location.

Investigating the attitudes and policies of government officials and architects towards the financially under-privileged population at the time of preparation of the master plan of the planned modernist city of Islamabad reveals interesting insights about the origins of the housing crisis for low income residents of Islamabad.

Planning reports and official correspondence between the architects of Islamabad and the Pakistani government reveals contradictory evidence to one of the normative post-modernist narratives that holds the modernist planners and their ideologies accountable for the creation of unplanned settlements in planned modernist cities. The above account shows that Doxiadis Associates were not only aware of the squatting issue in other planned modernist cities but also wanted to avoid it by providing plots and housing for the financially underprivileged population. This shows that assigning all responsibility to modernist architects and planning principles ignores the role of other important actors that might have contributed to the development and perpetuation of the exceptional urban phenomena in a planned city.

Close inspection reveals that informal housing in Islamabad did not develop in the same squatting patterns typically found elsewhere in Pakistan, which involves the illegal subdivision of public land by land mafia. In Islamabad many existing squatter settlements enjoy the support of CDA as they function to supplement the master plan by fulfilling the need for housing a population (mainly low-income government employees) that otherwise does not meet the minimum income criteria to afford a spot in the planned city.

The history of squatting in Islamabad can be traced to the early development of the city itself. In their initial incarnation, squatter settlements emerged as colonies housing laborers and construction workers who had migrated from other places of Pakistan to participate in this massive city building project beginning in early 1960s.

While other smaller settlements existed near different construction sites, there were two large labor camps, set up next to the existing settlement of *Bari Imam* and the site reserved for sub-sector G-8/3 (Akhter Hameed Khan Resource Center, 2010). Predominantly meant to house laborers and low-income CDA staff, not all those who settled in these labor colonies were laborers, as landless farmers (primarily from rural Punjab and NWFP) also moved into these camps in search of work and residence in the new capital city.

Towards the end of 1970s when the construction of a large-scale medical complex in sub-sector G-8/3 (Pakistan Institute of Medical Sciences) was scheduled to start according to the master plan, CDA issued notices to residents of the labor colony to vacate the site (CDA,1979). There were large scale protests by the dwellers but CDA was eventually able to clear the site for the construction of the hospital and relocate the 'genuine' affectees of the G-8/3 labor colony to other places in and around Islamabad. The selection of affected people that will be relocated, point towards another important aspect of CDA's intention i.e. the recognition of the useful residents.

In contrast to the Muslim daily wage workers which had gathered for construction, preference was given to those who can be of benefit to the city in the future. The decision to house Christian sanitation workers within Islamabad was prompted by the need for their services in the daily maintenance of the city. Because of their employment in CDA, Christian workers were well represented by the CDA Union, which negotiated aggressively with higher officials to get their demands of staying within Islamabad met. France Colony is one of the settlements that can into being via this eviction process and is comprised majorly of Christian population.

Legal standing and contribution in the operationalization of the city

This approach of rehabilitation of the labor colony affectees based on their usefulness to the city is also reflected in CDA's policy developed in late 1980s of favoring those

evicted squatter settlement dwellers who fulfilled "any function of development, civic or municipal maintenance" (Capital Development Authority, 1988) According to this policy, "unskilled labour and all other encroachers" were to be "removed permanently in an organized and planned manner" An important feature of this relocation process was the formal permission granted to the ex-labor colony residents by CDA in the form of relocation certificates. These certificates were issued by the Director of Enforcement (Directorate), which is a CDA department in charge of taking actions against encroachments in Islamabad. The inclusion of the word 'temporary' in the certificate underscores the transitory nature of the relocation in official discourse even if these settlements now have a history of more than thirty years. However, the environment during the interviews revealed that the residents are assured of their permanent status. Many of them claimed to have verbal assurances by the CDA officials and were aware of their sound position.

Labeling something *temporary* creates the effect of tolerance, of allowing certain concessions for activities or phenomenon that otherwise cannot be allowed on a permanent basis. Exceptions are thus sanctioned allowances that are tolerated over a long term if framed within the realm of the temporary.

Rather than being marginal dysfunctional phenomena, nonconforming spaces like France Colony function as supplements to the official master plan of Islamabad by providing a material, legal, and political space for those activities that otherwise cannot be subsumed by the modernist plan. In the case of France Colony, housing for low income sanitation workers could not be accommodated within the city's formal housing framework due to the ineffectiveness and incompatibility of government policies and master planning program to meet the shelter needs of those with minimum incomes.

Geographical Bearing

The six relocation sites for the labor colony evictees within the city eventually developed into expensive and popular sectors in Islamabad (Figure 4.11). Although

they utilize the area reserved as green belts around ravines, the overall presence within planned sectors is at odds with the normal phenomenon of peripheral existence(Figure 4.12). This points at the digression from illegality as they are well within the planned area, and sanctioned by CDA to dwell there. In this situation, the generic legal-illegal divide is blurred as CDA officials by claiming them 'temporary' does not give them the full legal status that other residents of the same sector enjoy. However on the other hand they can not be termed as strictly illegal either.
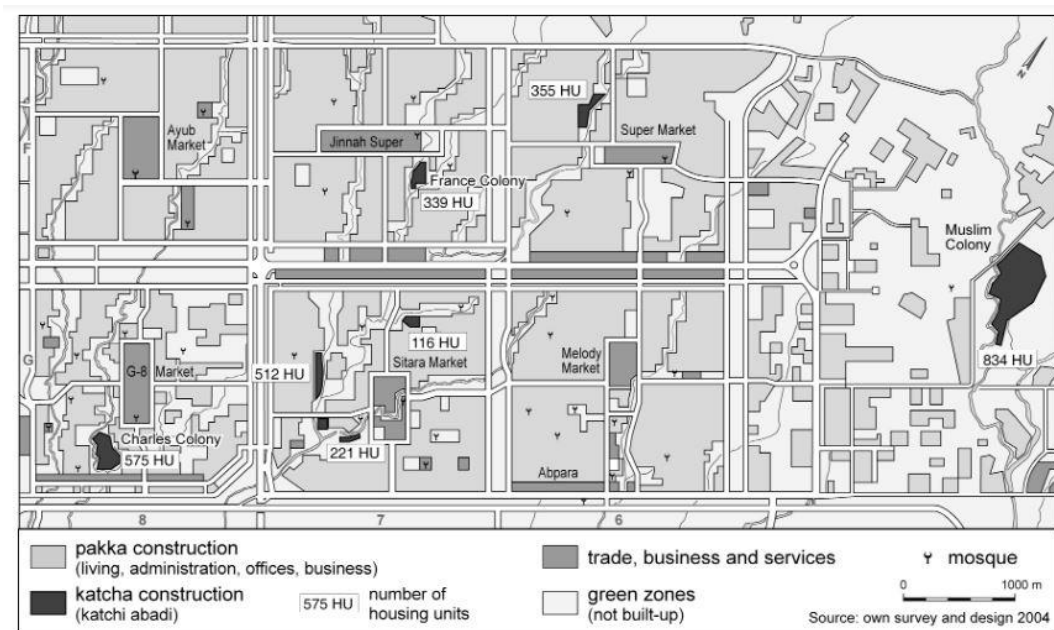
Figure 4.13 The location of the resettled squatter settlements
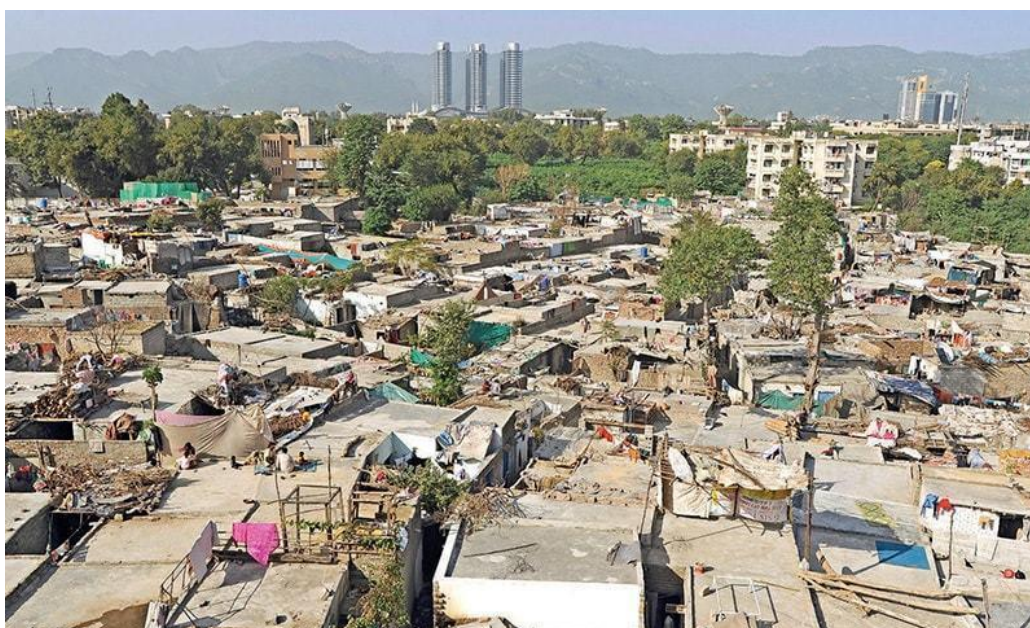
Figure 4.14 An aerial view of the settlement, the trees can be seen marking the periphery

4.7.2   Street Hawking and Islamabad's Foodscapes

Development History and Lead Actors

Like squatting, hawking is a form of informal spatial practice, which includes various forms of mobile or stationary trading carried out largely in public spaces such as parks, streets, green belts, foot paths, corridors and passages in existing planned commercial markets. The history of hawking in Islamabad goes back to the 1960s when there were no markets in the city, and the only places to shop were in the existing villages of Bari Imam, and Saidpur. At the time, CDA encouraged people to set up food facilities to meet the needs of laborers and other workers involved in the construction of the new capital. CDA encouraged and instigated this activity as in the case of squatter settlements. However, later CDA takes a back foot and resume to other methods to let these activities continue while upholding the notion of legality in the city.

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The early khokha (kiosk) owners recall great difficulties of doing business in the yet to be developed city as they had to carry goods from the neighboring city of Rawalpindi on their heads, and bring drinking water from natural springs from far-flung places. Meant as temporary provisions for temporary needs, these small-scale shops continued to do business beyond the initial construction years of Islamabad as newly constructed commercial areas were coming up. They used to set up near construction sites of new sectors for easy provision of daily stuff for laborers, and then prolong their stay for the new residents once the construction was complete. (Ex-CDA member, Personal Communication, October 2019).

Legal standing and contribution in the operationalization of the city

In the modernist master plan of Islamabad there is no room for small-scale businesses like kiosks and tea-stalls operating in open public spaces like parks and green belts. These commercial enterprises at odds with the official master plan however enjoy various levels of legitimacy due to special provisions that exist in official regulations. Issuing licenses to *khokhas* (kiosks), for instance, indicates the provision for these activities at odds with the modernist master plan and planning ideology to exist legally under existing regulations.

According to *Islamabad Capital Territory Municipal Bye-Laws of 1968-69*, encroachment, defined as erecting "an immovable structure, hut or *khokha* or over hanging structure" on government land or obstructing "pedestrian traffic in circulation verandahs of all the markets of Islamabad" is illegal "under any circumstances" (Dar, 2010, p. 188). Special concessions, however, are written into these bye-laws for encroachments that have been issued monthly "licenses." For example, in "Chapter VIII – Encroachments," of the bye-laws, the conditions for issuing licenses for "roofless movable stalls" is that they should be no more than 16 sq. ft. (0.093 sq. m.), and that "the license shall be revocable by a 12 hours notice" (Dar, 2010, p. 188).

Figure 4.15 A road side stall using the green belt area along major arteries of the city

Over the last few years, small-scale commercial enterprises, including dhabas (cafés), khokhas (kiosks), and rehris (pushcarts) have flourished, and now proliferate in public spaces in planned sectors of Islamabad despite the provision of dedicated spaces in the master plan for commercial activities.

The practice of issuing licenses to hawkers in urban areas everywhere follows the logic of creating a planned economy in which every aspect of trading is monitored and sanctioned by the state. In historically evolved cities, mechanisms of state control like trading licenses impose a formal structure of regulation on indigenous modes of economy like hawking. In the case of Islamabad, licensing informal businesses functions in reverse by legitimizing and introducing 'unplanned' elements of economy into the planned framework of the city and its regulations.

The owners of these licensed and unlicensed kiosks and tea stalls use logics of temporariness in their everyday operations as well. For instance, it is very rare to

find a tea stall owner confining his business to the space approved by CDA. The licensed stalls and kiosks are mostly allotted space in roadside green belts, which allow for these businesses to spill over into adjacent open areas. Dhabas (cafes and tea-stalls) commonly use outdoor areas for cooking and seating and end up taking much more space than is allotted by CDA.

However, despite CDA themselves issuing licenses to these vendors, have carried out eviction without notice or cancelled the license. The reason for this is the change in CDA's interest. CDA has the authority to auction plots in the public land which is one of the ways it generates revenue for itself. If a stall falls ina location which has been sold, it automatically becomes illegal, because it is of no use to CDA anymore, who has find a better opportunity in terms of cost. Temporary allowances (for informal commerce) in this case had to give way to more permanent functions (formal commercial buildings).Since roadside licensed kiosks in the planned city of Islamabad were allowed as spatial exceptions, their existence was provisional, and hence, easily rendered illegal.

However, another more constituted component of the temporal commercial setting is the weekly *bazaars,* the foodscapes of Islamabad. In terms of food provision, farmland was allocated on the periphery of Islamabad (in Chak Shahzad and the H-9 sector) with the intention of providing food for the city. This did not pan out as the original planners hoped for, as much of the land in Chak Shahzad is being used for luxury accommodation and private farms for the privileged members of society, with H-9 allocated to educational institutes, orchards, and nurseries. Thus it created a void for the availability of fresh fruit and vegetable for the residents of Islamabad. Thus weekly or tri-weekly bazaar were setup. Although these are formalized in that prices are regulated by the government, and permits must be obtained to get a stall spot, they overall fall outside of the Master Plan of Islamabad. The tri-weekly bazaar provides Islamabadi residents an extensive (seasonal) array of fruits and vegetables, poultry, meat, fish, home goods, textiles, pets, and a flea market.

The markets are particularly notable in that they attract all socio-economic classes and employment groups in the city. In all the interviews conducted it was a popular choice for the residents of France Colony too for its appropriate rates of items.

Figure 4.16 A local bazaar, fruit shops can be seen

This formation of a new type of non-conform space was carved out of economic and cultural necessity. Though Islamabad may be a planned city, the population is used to a certain way of living where selling and buying of fresh fruits, vegetables and poultry is rampant in all other cities. It fulfills a deep rooted cultural association of directly inspecting the food and the choice to choose, which is restricted in the other formal 'shops' or 'super markets'. The bazaar has changed radically in recent years, in the cleanliness, formalization of stalls, and official pricing lists put up in multiple locations which shows the intervention of the municipal authorities. Here again CDA licensed a space based on its functional value to the city and regularized it, to make it look more 'planned' such as defining stall sizes and demarking boundaries of the bazaar.

This chapter touched upon a range of non-conform spaces to give an overview of the type of spaces that exist in Islamabad. It also discusses the role of lead actors or other needs that necessitated the creation of these. *Temporality* emerged as a major notion

under the disguise of which spaces can stay for longer periods of time. The role of the CDA managers in shifting the spaces between legal and illegal pertaining to its own advantage was also highlighted. The following chapter, takes this forward to highlight the existence of a squatter settlement in a highly planned context for around 40 years. This detailed study will show in depth the tactics used by residents to formulate pseudo-legalities and extend their rights over the city, claiming their full citizenship.

CHAPTER 5

CONFORMING TO NON-CONFORMING| THE CASE OF FRANCE COLONY

Previous chapter have explained in detail the history of squatting in Islamabad, and how they occupy a major chunk of those spaces that are at odds with the original plan. France Colony due to its strategic location, tenure status and duration of the establishment was an optimum case to study the relation between formal and informal spaces. This chapter elucidates how this space moved between legal and illegal, how it is affected by practices of officials and its residents, and what are the conditions that assist its pervasiveness. It uses the following parameters to consolidate findings collected via interviews and site-visits.

- State Policy regarding the non-conform spaces- The regularization processes and state policies reveal the intention of the city managers, which are a lead role in the existence of these spaces
- Formalization of everyday processes and legal standing- How everyday living is legitimized via various tactics by the resident to increase their rights and services
- Legal encounters and associated approaches of the residents- The enmeshed network of residents with state and non-state actors in legal situations that help strengthen their position.

The chapter is largely divided into two sections, where the first one deals with relation of the unplanned colony and its immediate planned context.

The later part discusses the internal dynamics of the Colony and its relation with the city managers.

5.1 Geographical Bearing and Relation with Plan

5.1.1 Context

One of the features of Doxiadis Master Plan was the 'sectors'. Franc Colony is located in sector F-7 of Islamabad. As the primary unit of organization in Doxiadis' scheme for Islamabad, neighborhood 'sectors' were conceived as self-contained communities with their own civic, commercial, institutional and residential areas, all within easy access to each other.
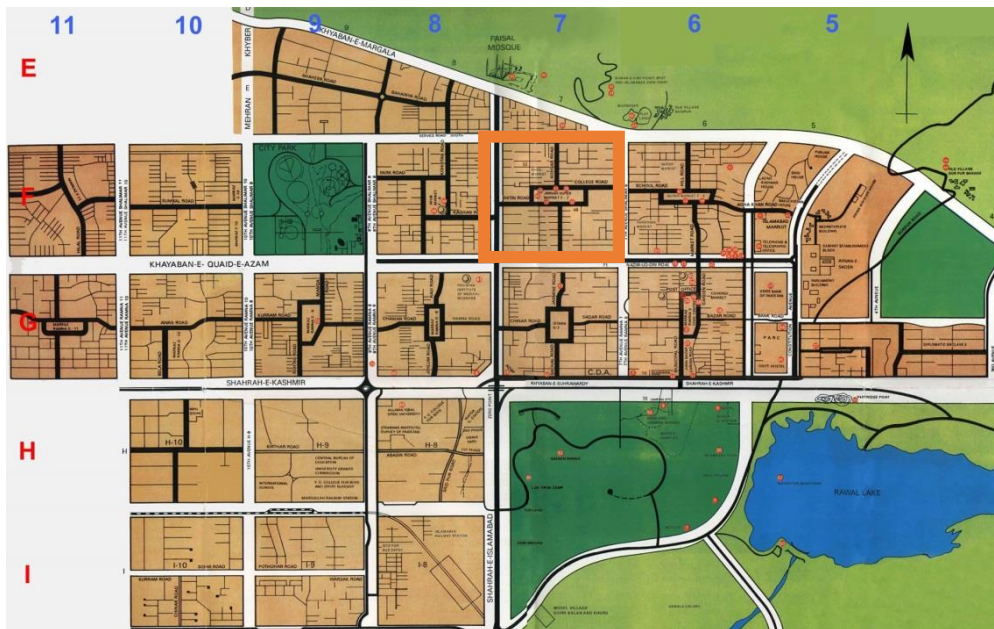
Figure 5.1 The Master Plan of Islamabad with sector F-7 marked

Following the typical layout of a sector described in detail in Chapter 4, sector F-7 comprises four residential communities, also called sub-sectors F-7/1, F-7/2, F-7/3, and F-7/4. In the middle of the sector F-7 is its popular civic and commercial markaz (Urdu for center) called Jinnah Super. The southern edge of F-7 forms a part of the commercial strip for the entire city, called the Blue Area. F-7 and its markaz (called Jinnah Super) enjoy the reputation of expensive and popular residential and commercial areas respectively in Islamabad.
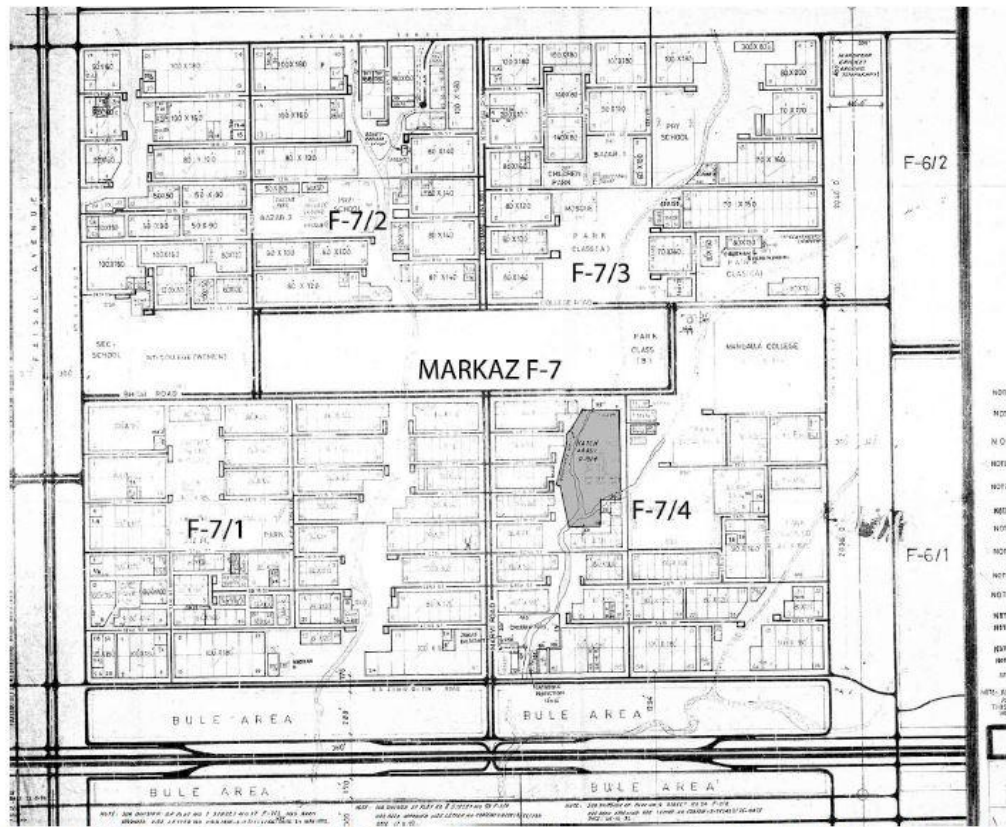
Figure 5.2 Master plan of sector F-7, France colony is shown in grey in sub-sector F-7/4. Adapted from a map of F-7 by CDA.

When architect-planner C. A. Doxiadis planned F-7, he envisioned its residential areas to be occupied by the middle and upper income groups. The development of a low-income neighborhood in the form of France Colony (shaded grey in figure 5.2) has thus disturbed the socio-economic uniformity sought by Doxiadis in this sector. The density and scale of France Colony also contrasts with that of the residential community of F-7/4. Since Doxiadis planned Sector F-7 as a community for families of middle and higher income government employees the plots meant for housing are considerably larger, and range in size from 390 sq.m. to 2340 sq.m. In sub-sector F-7/4, the smallest plot size is 390 sq.m. while the majority of plots measure 1670 sq.m. In contrast to the generous sized rectangular plots of F-7/4, plots in France Colony come in all shapes and sizes, which fall within the range of 60- 100 sq.m. Due to the small sizes of the plots, houses in France Colony are built edge to edge while houses in F-7/4 have offsets on all four sides.

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Despite its location next to a low-lying ravine, France Colony stands out conspicuously as a spatial and social exception within the planned sector of F-7. France Colony is located in the northwestern corner of sub-sector F-7/4, and on its north side, shares one of the main-roads with Jinnah Super markaz. An aerial view of sector F-7/-4 illuminates the spatial differences between the two urban phenomena. As seen in figure 5.3, France Colony is a densely packed, organic settlement wrapped around a natural ravine within the planned geometric grid of sub-sector F-7/4.

Figure 5.3 Aerial view of France colony amidst the grid planning of sector F-7. Source: CDA website

The sloping terrain of Islamabad is most pronounced in areas that have eroded next to the natural nullahs (ravines). In sector F-7, there are two main and one minor nullah crossing the sector from North to South. Two tributaries merge into one of the main nullahs, which flows right next to France Colony. As a result, there is a sharp

level difference between the site for France Colony and its immediate planned environs, especially the northern side of the neighborhood. While a wall serves to physically separate France Colony from its setting, as described below, the sharp level difference visually connects the two disparate urban phenomena from certain vantage points.

Figure 5.4 The level difference between France Colony and the main road

Level differences within France Colony also play an important role in the designation of the status of its residents. The initial settlers of the neighborhood are mostly located on higher grounds in relatively regular shaped plots with regular streets. The nullah (ravine) running through the neighborhood serves as a secondary boundary within France Colony separating the older residents with official recognition and associated benefits, as elaborated in this chapter, from the late arrivals without any legal status.
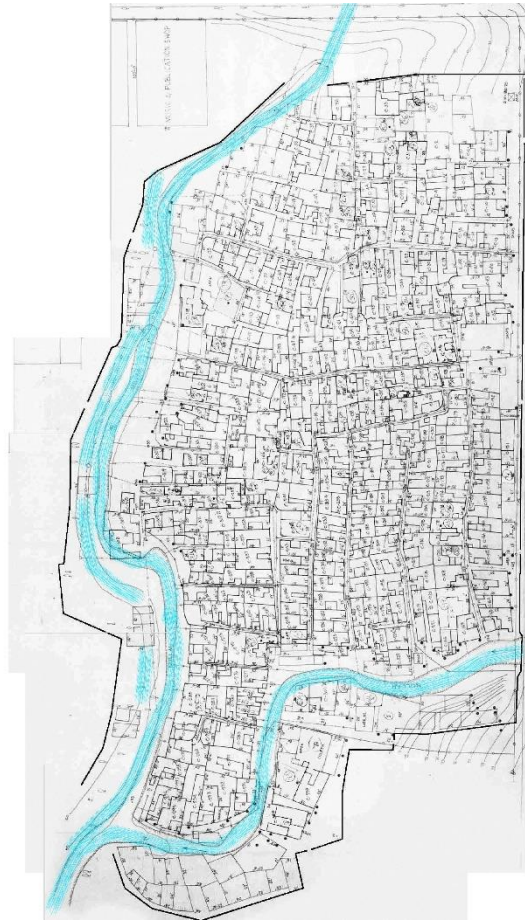
Figure 5.5 The map of France Colony with the ravines marked

Figure 5.6 The minor ravine in the colony, cordoned off by temporal means. Source: author

5.1.2 Spatial Timeline and History

"The foundation stone of Basti-e-Karkunan (worker's settlement) was laid by Chairman CDA, Brig. (r) Jan Nadir Khan, on 30 April 1985," reads a white plaque set in a freestanding wall, in France Colony in Islamabad (Fig.5.6). This stone which is a testament to the Colony's legal status, is used by the residents as a security of their tenure. The name of a prominent officer, inaugurating the settlement, points towards its acceptability in the official networks.
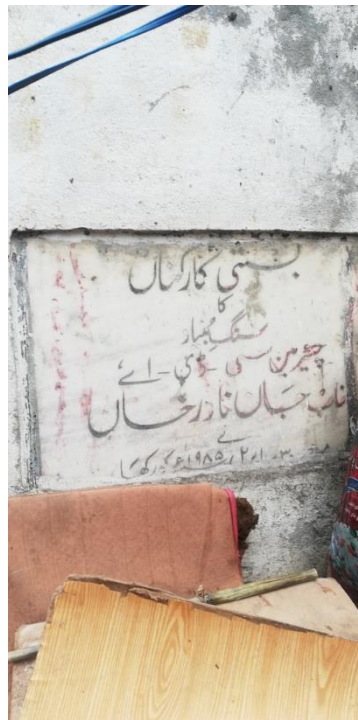
Figure 5.7 The inaugural stone near the entrance in France Colony, bearing the year 1985

France Colony is one of the six "squatter settlements" that emerged in the planned sectors in Islamabad around 1979 when thousands of people had to be evicted from a large labor colony in sub-sector G-8/3.[16] While these neighborhoods are labeled as

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[16] Eviction year reported in Labour Colony Demolition: CDA States its Case, 1979.

squatter settlements both in everyday and official discourses, this term does not accurately describe the nature of some of these early settlements, which were granted permission by the CDA, and hence cannot be considered strictly illegal. The locations of the six settlements are in sub-sectors of F-6/2, F-7/4, F-9, G-7/1, G-7/2, and G-8/1.

In a Nation wide Act, after the cut-off date of 23 March 1985, all katchi abadi had the chance of regularization if they had at least 40 housing units. The procedure as formulated in the 1985 Ghulam Haider Wyne-Report was incorporated into the 2001 'National Katchi Abadi Policy' on which all further procedure is based(Qaiser,2004). According to the 1985 directive issued by the then Prime Minister M. Khan Junejo, the existing katchi abadi were to be regularized, i.e., the housing shortage provided the chance to legalize informal settlements, improve their infrastructure, and claim basic amenities. However, further growth was to be prevented if possible, and the CDA did not want this legislation to apply to the new capital. Consequently in 1995 CDA had to give in to political pressure and it recognized 11 katchi abadis in the city of Islamabad, amongst which is France Colony.

5.1.3   Neighborhood Relationships

-ID cards

The address printed on the business card of a community activist residing in France Colony makes reference to geographical markers that do not physically correspond to the location of his home-office within this neighborhood. Street No. 54 is not one of the streets within France Colony as implied by the mailing address on the card, but it belongs to the officially planned sub-sector F-7/4, within which France Colony is located. The bordering planned streets of 48, 49, and 54 in sector F-7/4, which provide access to different sections of France Colony, function as markers for different locations within the neighborhood (figure 5.7). Officially recognized

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houses in France Colony, i.e., those allotted numbers by the CDA as discussed in the second part of this chapter, use the number of the closest planned street as part of their address even though their dwellings do not have any form of direct access to the street. Important citizenship documents like government identity cards issued to the residents of the recognized dwellings of France Colony bear addresses formulated using the same system (Resident France Colony, personal communication October 2019)

Figure 5.8: Business Card of a community worker. Source:author

This reference of planned coordinates in the master plan to fulfill a very basic need of address for houses within France Colony points towards a kind of complementarity between otherwise incompatible urban phenomena. Another example of the symbiotic relationship between France Colony and the planned sector can be found in the naming of this neighborhood. France Colony not only depends on the planned grid to mark its location within the city, but also got its name from an important landmark in its planned neighborhood, that is, the Embassy of France in Islamabad, which was initially set up in Sector F-7 but now has relocated to the Diplomatic Enclave - a space dedicated in the master plan for the offices and residences of foreign diplomatic missions in Islamabad. During the early years of development of sector F-7, people used to refer to this neighborhood of low-income residents as the colony near the Embassy of France, hence the name France Colony. The naming and referencing examples given above are similar to the ways of naming in old South Asian cities where streets had no names or numbers, and localities were

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often designated on the basis of proximity to a known landmark, such as a place, person, or trade.

Figure 5.9: The streets in red in the planned areas of subsector F-7/4 provide access to various parts of France Colony

-selective exchanges/ complementarity in functions/bordering practice

In Islamabad, the edge condition between France Colony and the planned areas of F-7/4 functions as a *border*, which allows selective exchanges between the Colony and the planned areas of F-7/4 and beyond. The border-edge is an "active zone of exchange" (Sennett, 2008) which is porous and allows exchange. The relationship between the residents of France Colony and the sector F-7 is of similar nature. On the one hand, the planned city and its residents need the services of the residents living in France Colony. On the other hand, the residents of France Colony need the planned areas of Islamabad for work, education, health, and leisure. In the interviews conducted, it was discovered that almost all residents step out of the Colony daily

for their needs and requirements, be it related to work or home. On the other hand it was also revealed, the houses in the vicinity majorly relied on the residents of this colony for household work, especially cleanliness. This serves both wells in terms of proximity and saving of time and transportation cost.

While the border between the plan and the exception is an active zone of exchange, it is nevertheless restrictive. The selectivity in exchanges between the plan and the exception is based on the fulfillment of only certain needs, and functions. This means that while the residents of France Colony are needed to fulfill important vocational requirements, further analysis reveals that their presence in the city is not always welcome or unrestricted.

-complaints

Despite this complementarity, there are moments of friction. One of the major reasons as revealed by a resident of the F-7 (personal communication November, 2019), is the indulgence in drug dealing and alcohol. While the local sale of alcohol is prohibited in Pakistan being a Muslim country and can be bought only under certain circumstances, the majority of Christian population in the colony take advantage of their religious status. As they are lawfully allowed to consume it, they buy and illegally sell it. These kind of shady activities has associated a further negative connotation with the Colony. Complaints are filed by residents of the vicinity in CDA to stop these activities. CDA thus as a restrictive measure, cordoned off the area, which is now bounded by a wall, to minimize contact with surroundings.

Figure 5.10 Boundary wall of France Colony. Source: Author

5.2   State Policy and Legal Standing

The burgeoning crisis of low-income housing in the 1980s and 1990s, and a corresponding increase in squatter settlement population in Islamabad, made it impossible for CDA to ignore these neighborhoods. Despite their initial reluctance, CDA officers eventually developed the following policy for 'squatter' settlements in Islamabad: "the katchi abadis (squatter settlements) existing in sensitive areas or in right of way of roads or encroaching planned plots should be demolished whereas other katchi abadis may be upgraded at their existing locations. Only the houses surveyed up to 1995 should be regularized" (Capital Development Authority, 1999-2000, p. 9). Out of the eleven recognized squatter settlements, CDA decided to upgrade and rehabilitate six settlements in sectors F-6/2, F-7/4 (France Colony), G-7/1, G-7/2, G-7/3, and G-8/1 on their existing locations, while the remaining five settlements in sectors I-9, I-10/4, I-11/1, I-11/4, and Muslim Colony were to be relocated to alternate sites.

According to KAC (Katchi Abadi Cell), there were 163 households in France Colony in 1984-85. In 1995, the number increased to about 321 housing units as documented by Pakistan Institute for Environment-Development Action Research (PIEDAR).

According to the survey conducted by KAC staff around 1999-2000, this number was updated to include those units whose residents were able to provide irrefutable proof that they had been living in France Colony before 1995, and for some reason missed PIEDAR's census. KAC allocated these pre-1995 housing units in the recognized squatter settlements in Islamabad a CDA-number, or commonly referred to as a C-number or katcha (temporary) number. According to KAC survey, 339 C-numbers were allotted in France Colony while a total of 86 housing units remained unnumbered since they were believed to be built after 1995(Katchi Abadi Cell).

Figure 5.11 A house with a C-number

5.2.1 Regularization Process; Services and Government Ownership

In the previous chapters, it has been argued that despite existing outside of the formal planning framework, spaces external to official planning protocols in Islamabad are not entirely illegal. France Colony is not an illegal 'squatter' settlement since the initial residents of this neighborhood were given formal permission from CDA to settle in their present location in the planned sector of F-7 in the late 1970s. Close analysis of legal encounters in France Colony, including bureaucratic procedures to

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regularize this settlement according to government policies, and pseudo-legal transactions of space within the neighborhood, reveals that legitimacy associated with these processes is often nuanced, and variegated. This discussion contributes to our understanding of the modalities of nonconforming spatial practices by challenging the notion of nonconformity in planned places as being illegal.

Services and Government Ownership

The C-number holds various privileges for its possessor, as explained to me during my interviews of the residents of France Colony. A community activist living in France Colony explained it as a form of a Non-Objection Certificate (NOC), issued by CDA giving legal housing rights to its allottee. It is a type of recognition from the government that gives certain rights to its holder. For instance, C-number holders are eligible to apply for legal door-to-door electricity and gas connections, a privilege not enjoyed by those without C-numbers. The general consensus among residents of France Colony is that the CDA staff would not disturb holders of C-number until a proper resettlement plan, in keeping with government and CDA policies, could be prepared in either the existing or an alternate location. The second in priority are the S-number houses, which were regularized in the second round of survey done in 2002. The status of S-residents is lower than that of the C-residents but as the people communicated, they are more secure than those with no number.

As the series of pictures (Appendice C), taken from the official file of a resident of France Colony from the Katchi Abadi Cell, shows the documentation that reveals the timeline of regulation. The resident applied in 2008 for a gas connection that follows his name in the list of officially recognized residents. The electricity, water and supply requests are seen next in the file. The final entry is of a non-objection certificate which dates at 2017. This file of almost 9 years shows the constant effort exerted on the resident's part to get his connections for the basic amenities. This record keeping on the other hand reveals the CDA attempt to keep things official and under check (Appendix C). It further reveals the documentation system in the government designated cell, which has assigned the house numbers according to

'across the nullah' (ravine) or on the "other side of the nullah" (ravine). Furthermore, the document showing the list of residents mark some houses as 'purchased' or 'on rent'. Whereas CDA claims to be the sole owner of the land (Personal Communication, Director Master Plan Cell, 2019), these statutes show that the selling, buying and renting out of land is well within CDA notice. This not only shows the ownership that the residents exert over their land but also CDA's no action policy, and let things be.

Allotment of C-number marks the first step in the rehabilitation process of an existing dwelling unit in a recognized squatter settlement in Islamabad. The final step in this process is the allocation of ownership rights of one plot (either in existing or new location) per C-number. However, except for a few residents of one recognized settlement in Islamabad, the majority of squatter settlement dwellers have yet to pass the final stage of rehabilitation.

Alternate systems are also in place in France Colony to provide access to services like electricity and water to those housing units not on the KAC-lists. For instance, almost all numbered and unnumbered housing units in France Colony have electricity connections, none of which are illegal. How can this be explained?

The promise for provision of electricity by CDA was first made in the late 90s as a compensation act. The wall around the colony was first made of bricks only which fell as a result of gusty winds, injuring many. (Committee member, Personal Communication, October 2019). The news was soon caught by media and spread everywhere bringing bad name to CDA. As a damage control, CDA provided compensatory monetary money to the affected people and also promised the provision of electricity in the Colony (Committee member, Personal Communication, October 2019). Since this decision was done as a negotiation act, rather than a planning one, the means used to achieve it were also compromised.

The "unlisted" households acquire electricity from a contractor - a system common in other squatter settlements in Pakistan as well - who provides the amenity for a flat rate monthly fee. In Islamabad the sole supplier, distributor, and seller of electricity

is the Islamabad Electric Supply Company (IESCO), a government approved corporate entity. In the early 2000s, residents of France Colony were given electricity via a thekedari (literally contractor-based) system, which preceded the door-to-door connections in the neighborhood. IESCO installed two big-commercial meters for France Colony as a result of political pressure and financial support by elected representatives from a political party. Since this was a "temporary" arrangement before door-to-door connections could be given to the residents of France Colony, it required bureaucratic innovation to fulfill an official protocol. According to IESCO rules, electricity connections could only be issued in the name of an individual. To meet this requirement, a 21-member residents committee nominated one resident in whose name the electricity meters were issued for the entire Colony. This person is responsible for laying out networks of connections to others in France Colony, collecting monthly fixed rents, and paying a collective bill for the entire neighborhood. In this way, IESCO in knowledge with CDA concocted a system that fulfilled certain official requirements yet worked along very different principles than those intended. This is a case of the undermining of bureaucracy by a government-approved body.

The provision of electricity to the residents of France Colony was possible because of their association with important state actors like political leaders, and CDA officials, who are willing to bend the rules they are meant to uphold. Rules in these instances are drained of their meaning and followed only to give the illusion of being followed. By the late 2000s, residents of France Colony with numbers were given independent door-to-door connections for gas and electricity. The process of individual electricity and gas connections involved an NOC accompanied by a list of residents with official numbers issued by CDA to the concerned electricity or gas Supply Company (Appendix C). The less desirable contractor-supplied electricity is now mostly availed of by unlisted residents who are not eligible for door-to-door connections (Nizamani, 1991).

A system of sharing of electricity is still intact in the colony as understood by the interviews. Legal users of electricity have taken upon themselves to provide it to those who are not eligible. As one of the interviewees stated

> "We take/share electricity from another house. The owner of that house (providing electricity) has also rented out his rooms to three other people. Totally, four people are taking electricity from him. But we have never seen the electricity bill to pay the exact amount, they never show us. And if we ask they threaten to take away the electricity connection. We give whatever they ask since we have no choice. (around 5000-6000 Rs.-80-100$). For gas we use portable cylinder and water we fill in pots/containers from someone's house. (Personal Communication, October 2019)"

This point at the para-legal tactics adopted by the residents, to facilitate themselves and their neighbors (Fig 5.11). As no survey was done after 2002, all remaining houses uses different means to fulfill their daily necessities. The sharing is also observed in water where a collective water pump is used by many residents. Though CDA claims to provide these facilities to the residents, all interviewees negated this and claimed that all services have been achieved through self-help and collective funds.

Figure 5.12: Precarious wires hanging from the main connection showing the extra wires added for temporal supply

Creativity in terms of extending entitlement is also observed in spatial practices in France Colony as discussed below.

5.2.2   Existing Modalities; A Formalization of Everyday

Spatial Modifications

While none of the residents of France Colony have legal titles to their houses or the land on which they are built, this does not discourage them from selling, buying and renting units or makaans (literally houses) within this neighborhood. Related to the concept of chardewari is the notion of makaan. In France Colony, the term makaan is mostly used to refer to describe the space (mostly rental) occupied by a single (tenant) individual or family. The manner in which this usage differs from the concept of a house in general is that a single chardewari can have more than one

makaan. For instance, within the confines of a housing unit, it is possible for the owner to live in one makaan, and rent the second one. Another example is that of two or more brothers and their families living in separate makaans within a single chardewari. This single-family space primarily consists of a multi-purpose room plus a space either open or enclosed designated as kitchen for a family. The makaan may have an independent bathroom although it's more common to find bathrooms being shared by different families living in separate makaans in the case of a multi-family chardewari. These multi-family living arrangements in different makaans within the confines of a single chardewari raise contentious situations especially in the allocation of C numbers. The concept of makaan in the context of France Colony is important to understand the way independence and boundaries are maintained within densely inhabited spaces. The unit of makaan is also important to understand the nature of rental property. Rental spaces can either form a part of the landlord's chardewari or independently built units.

CDA's rules for home construction within France Colony restrict its residents to single story structures. This is the most violated rule in the neighborhood since most housing units have at least two floors; indeed, some even have three. The residents extend their spaces by going vertically and often by hovering over the streets. The rooftop in nearly every unit constitutes an open or partially covered usable space for cooking, sleeping, etc. Despite CDA notices, almost all houses have made modifications over the years. Their sheer trust to invest in the house, shows how secure the residents are of their position. This investment also points at being a permanent state of residency. It was noticeable point in all the interviews that only those affiliated with the government department used the term temporary for France colony. On the other hand, none of the residents used this term, nor did they show any such inclination. Their daily lifestyle also reflect their at-peace attitude and security of position.

Figure 5.13: Extrusions and levels added to extend the living areas, often hovering over street spaces

Spatial Negotiations

France Colony is a thriving low-income neighborhood, which has grown to house those residents who have either built houses in vacant areas or are renting existing units. There are many ways of getting access to vacant land in an existing nonconforming neighborhood like France Colony where claims to space that does not belong to anyone but the State are made in various ways. In general, claims are made using the criteria of temporal association with space. Early settlers of France Colony mostly stake claims on vacant parcels of land saved either for future personal use, i.e., building dwellings for their children, or for purely speculative purpose, i.e., selling land to prospective home builders.

One of the interviewee is a 39-year-old single mother who works as a domestic servant in Islamabad, F-7. She lives with her 2 children in a two-storey *makaan* without a number across the *nullah.* She grew up in France Colony in her parents' house on the other side of *nullah* but moved to the neighboring city of Rawalpindi

in an area near Zia Masjid after getting married. During the early 2000s her father insisted that she shits back to France Colony as it is more secured and she can find better work. Her father was a sweeper by profession working for CDA, and was one of the residents of the G-8 Labor Colony whom CDA gave permission to settle in France Colony in the late 1970s, as discussed in Chapter 3. During the early days of development of France Colony, her father along with other affected people were given permission to make their houses on a 3 *marla* (1 *marla* is approximately 272 sf/ 30sq yds) plot. The house was allotted a C-number in the first survey conducted by KAC. When she decided to move back to France Colony in the early 2000s, her family started to look for an alternate site in France Colony where she could build her house. But by that time, spaces were almost full so she bought a house, which is unnumbered. She has 4 sisters and 1 brother.

As the family grew with the marriage of elder son, her family decided to make another home to accommodate their growing spatial needs. The family once again took possession of a plot next to her *makaan* across the *nullah* where her brother moved with his family. There were other claimants to this open and unclaimed land too but in the end it was her father who prevailed due to his long term affiliation with CDA as their employ. The story of this resident sheds light on various aspects:

- Residents feel more secure in France colony as opposed to other squatter settlements of the twin cities because of its legal status
- Space was taken on first come first serve basis in France Colony, giving its first generation the most advantage
- Connections with CDA or anyone in the government office makes you a powerful resident

For most people who moved to France Colony at a later stage of its development land was acquired from existing residents who had taken control of vacant spaces using a process of land occupation called *qabza* (literally possession). *Qabza* or land-grabbing is a common land transaction process in Pakistan and involves the

acquisition of land taken over by someone who doesn't legally own land yet claims rights over it based on its physical possession. In France Colony, late arrivals claim to have acquired their plots by getting *qabza* from those who came before them, mostly for a price. All this is done on *stamp paper* (an official paper used from the British times for legal transactions). This illusion of legality is maintained in all selling and buying activities happening in the colony.

France Colony is now fully developed with almost no vacant spaces left. The modalities of sale-purchase of built up property in France Colony in the absence of legal titles and documents reveals a desire on the part of individuals involved in spatial transactions to legalize their illegal dealings.

5.3   Right to the City and Future Aspirations

The social life of the residents of the France Colony in their elitist neighborhood is restricted. However implicit means are used to extend their right over the city. This includes using the peripheral areas as their parking lots, temporal settlements for festivities and make-shift shops/ street vendors that surround the area and rely on the commercial activity of the nearby markaz (commercial center).

Figure 5.14: A make-shift festival with rides for children in an empty plot outside the colony

Another important aspect noted during the research was the social relations of different squatter settlements amongst themselves. It was observed that it is common practice to marry off people in other settlements and shift between the areas. This reveal a social pattern and structure that the existence of these settlements has formed over the years. Although social mixing was not achieved in the way Doxiaids desired, Islamabad inhabits people from all economic classes, legaly or illegaly.

France Colony as an official spatial exception makes access to employment and residential opportunities to its residents possible; however, it offers more than the fulfillment of a basic human need of shelter and economic sustenance. The desire to become a part of the planned and hence legal framework and to hold proprietary rights to a property in a good location in the capital city exists among the residents of France Colony. The significance of the plan to those living in the exception can be gauged by a statement made by a local community activist in France Colony. Speaking of the government policy to upgrade 'squatter' settlements on existing locations, the activist argued that unless these settlements are planned like the rest of the sectors in Islamabad according to a baazabta (comprehensive) programme, the residents of these 'squatter' settlements could not be considered equal citizens of Islamabad. He also said that while the residents of France Colony feel secure that they will not be evicted from Government land, they are currently negotiating with CDA to get ownership rights to plots within France Colony (Community activist France Colony, personal communications, October, 2019). He explained that getting ownership right is important because even though they have "everything in France Colony right now including school, telephone, etc.," but they have no "malkiyat" (ownership). The activist explained that this is important because without malkiyat, they do not have anything to give to their children as inheritance. Without hesitation, he added, "it is up to us whether we would like to keep it (plot) or sell it afterwards." For people like the resident community activist, malkiyat is more about getting security of tenure.

It is about the desire to own property, which could be either passed on or sold rather than fulfill a basic human need of shelter. The desire to own property in a good location often gets overlooked in analyses of why slums' and squatter settlements' dwellers choose to live in these localities. Informal housing is often framed as meeting basic housing requirements for marginalized communities whose only motivation is essential survival. In France Colony where its residents enjoy no imminent threat of eviction, the aspiration to own property in a good location as future investment - often associated with middle and high-income groups - also exists.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This research initiated with the observance of contrasting urban phenomena existing parallelly in the planned capital city of Pakistan i.e. Islamabad. As Islamabad enjoys the reputation of being the first, and one of the only two planned cities in the country, its orthogonal roads and unique spatial layout in the form of *sectors*, stands out. Within this picturesque scenario, the proliferation of road-side stalls, street hawking and squatter settlements catches the eye. Many peculiarities can be seen by the naked eye but some can only be identified upon close inspection and with reference to the planning laws and the Master Plan regulations. However, the presence of these spaces was a permanent part of how the city was experienced on day to day basis.

This research focuses on the unofficial informal planned parts of the city as a way of learning more about the "plan;" of understanding the processes involved in operationalizing an abstract scheme on paper in real-life conditions. In places of violations or exceptions, one can analyze the culture of planning practice and the factors that divide the everyday actions from those that are conceived by the plan. The aim was to understand the connection between spaces that are planned according to the official master plan of Islamabad and those outside of it. In particular, the research wanted to understand the affects, if any, of nonconforming spaces on officially planned spaces and their overall relationship.

Islamabad's modernist notion was the initial frame of reference that stimulated the research. Literature on urban modernism maps the discord between the plan and the reality as a critique or failure of it. In doing so, the flow of plan-implementation is assumed. However, the fiction of the plan-implementation as a sequential process is evident in the development of Islamabad over the years. The development history of Islamabad showed that the final master plan of the city is not an unchanging bounded artifact. Instead the plan and its implementation are a reciprocal process. The spaces

that are not part of the official master plan routinely challenge, suspend, and sometimes replace planned spaces. For the most part, these nonconforming spaces are perceived as temporary in nature. In certain situations, however, they can institute permanent changes in the overall planned scheme. The successive revisions in the Master Plan, one of which is under process, is a proof to this. These revisions not only address future concerns but also mostly are based on analyzing and regularizing present situations.

As conversed above the major aim of the thesis was to investigate the different dimensions of the relation between spaces that are officially planned and those that are unplanned. The second significant objective was to understand the intentions and range of state and non-state actors enmeshed in the creation of these spaces and their sustenance. This was pursued with an intention to understand the power structure which directly influences the operationalization of the city. Thus, the research findings were consolidated within these two frames of references;

- **Relation between the planned and unplanned**
- **The power nexus and its effects**

Relation between planned and unplanned

Studying the landscape of non-conforming spaces in Islamabad brought forward multiple aspects via which the plan and the unplanned interact. Studying the wider perspective first, gave an opportunity to critically analyze the phenomenon holistically in terms of theory, policy and spatial form. The major findings are elaborated below:

Geographical Location

The research pinpointed some significant types of non-conform spaces to address the range of these that the city is comprised of. In doing so one important learning was that spatial exceptions do not always exist along the margins of a planned city. The

geographical location of unplanned spaces as deduced from the literature, describes the peripheries as a favorable location (Brasilia and Chandigarh).However, in Islamabad we have seen unplanned spaces existing in highly planned contexts(e.g. the case of France Colony amidst high profile residential sector of F-7). This means that these spaces of nonconformity can also completely take over planned spaces in official planning protocols. By definition, nonconforming spaces replace spaces that are planned for other purposes in the official master plan and planning regulations. That's the first level of displacement of planned spaces by nonconforming spaces. A second, more profound level of displacement occurs when nonconforming spaces take the place of officially planned spaces by becoming official themselves. This hints at the inclusion of new zoning laws in the Master Plan to accommodate these spaces as in the Bani Gala example, in which the legalization process of the nonconforming residential use of the National Park area ended up displacing the official function of the region as a natural park. It can also be used to describe the taking over of green belts as allotted in the original Master Plan by Doxiadis, by the squatter settlements and the roadside commercial practices that are explained via licensed encroachments in Chapter 4. This does not necessarily alter the overall functional zoning, yet still institute changes in the plan. Thus the relation between plan and the unplanned does not always follow the center-periphery dichotomy and the spaces in the overall planning are relative where one may become legal or illegal over time.

Complementarity/Functional compatibility

The presence and proliferation of nonconforming spaces in Islamabad can be seen as signs of its failure as a planned city; as evidence of its flawed modernist ideology. This research attempts to look beyond the negative characterization of nonconforming spaces in modern planned schemes as failures or flaws by focusing on the ways in which these spaces directly influence and support the development of a newly planned city. For instance, low-income nonconforming neighborhoods such as France Colony and businesses in open public areas in Islamabad function to serve

the residential and commercial needs of people with modest incomes living and working in a city where formal housing and shopping areas are beyond their economic means. The absence of these spatial exceptions in Islamabad would simultaneously mean the absence of low-income populations and their services from the city. Official planners and administrators of the city recognize the importance of nonconforming spaces for the functioning of a planned city and hence, create official and unofficial concessions to allow such spatial exceptions to continue. Nonconforming spaces thus offer room to go beyond the master plan without compromising the formal integrity of the overall planned scheme.

This positive role creates space to look beyond the binary relation of the plan and the unplanned and points out the opportunities for co-constitutive alliances which can form the basis for policy making. The acknowledgment of the interdependent relation of these two urban phenomenon is the key to inclusive design and the smooth running of the city.

Amidst legal and illegal

Another important aspect that the research revealed was that the spaces that are obviously in violation of the master plan and planning regulations of Islamabad are not entirely illegal. For instance, "*compounding area*" is a term used in the Building Control Department of CDA to refer to an area in an existing building, which is in violation of building bye-laws but that can be regularized after paying a fine. This term can be seen in the glossary of all CDAs by-laws. By using this provision, areas in excess of the permissible total covered area of existing houses can be regularized after the payment of a fine. Some violations are compoundable while others are non-compoundable. Here we can see that there exists room for spatial exceptions to flourish within official planning protocols. In other words, the official planning framework is not entirely working against the so-called unplanned spaces. Another facet to the same factor is the difference between the 'working drawings' and the 'submission drawings'. All constructions done on CDA land need to be approved by it twice, once via the submission of 'submission drawing', prior to the start of the

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construction and second after the building is constructed. The drawing set in first submission shows adherence to the by-laws set by CDA such as offset clearance, building height, plinth level etc. The 'working drawings' on the other hand is the drawing set that is used for construction guidelines on the site. However, in many instances, the working drawings differ from the submission drawings in details such as the extension of a balcony or using the area in the plot offsets for construction of security or servant rooms. Once the second submission is done, to get the required NOC (No objection certificate) from CDA, these differences are negotiated by paying a penalization fee. Hence the planning framework provides windows of negotiation and make compromised decisions that are in favor of the 'unplanned'. This is perpetuated from building to urban level. In my communication with officer at the KAC, he openly admitted to the CDA's authority of 'adding plots' or 'parks' as they wish or to avoid a dispute (KAC officer, personal communication, October 2019). Hence the planning framework, deliberately plan the 'unplanned' to give a holistic illusion of the 'plan'.

Range of Actors

The association of the 'planned' with the legal department and the 'unplanned' with the ordinary citizens was also negated as observed in this research. Citizens exhibit immense creativity in devising new ways to gain access to space in Islamabad. Informal housing in urban areas has been mostly conceptualized as a product of under the table negotiations and covert collaborations between various state and non-state actors (squatter settlement dwellers, government, and police employees, and land mafia, etc.) (Ex-CDA official, Personal Communication, October 2019). Though CDA officials show helplessness and relate problems to lack of implementation, it is the planning department itself that ploughs the ground for violations. Bribing enforcement officials and getting court stay orders are some of the common tactics used by owners of commercial enterprises to evade prosecution. Social connections, political affiliations and personal desires are other means of sustaining spatial exceptions. The residents of France Colony have confidence in

their ability to manipulate and subvert the official apparatus against zoning violations in Islamabad. The attitude of the residents as observed during the interviews, is one of assertiveness where they are aware of their strength as a whole. This is because of their surety as relayed through those residents who work in the CDA and have been given assurances or have political support. The linkages of the residents with private NGOs and communities that work on national and international level also secure their position by having backing on humanitarian grounds and the media support that comes with it. As elucidated in the case of France Colony, many CDA officials also a dual role in the sustenance of these houses or granting permission for services by playing the humanitarian ground on the implementation level and the authoritative ground with the residents by negotiating money. (Ex-CDA official, Personal Communication, October 2019).

Thus the officials are often observed ploughing the ground for the 'unplanned' and the non-state actors are seen pushing the unplanned to be converted into 'planned'. These change in roles opposing the general perception tug at the power structure of the system which is used to the advantage of each in the creation of these spaces. The discussion below elaborates the effects of this on these spaces.

The power nexus and its effects

Planning for violation

The observations regarding the range of actors discussed above can be grounded in the following two definitions, for case of France Colony in particular and the whole city in general:

Plan violations i.e. violating the plan or by-laws through various complex processes that range from not applying for planning permission to the use of implementation and enforcement processes for the benefit of the networks.

Planning for violation regularizes these violations through a variety of means that range from changing the law (change of land-use, de-notification, regularization act etc.) to changing the land-use category in the Master Plan through overt and covert procedures.

This research shows that *plan violations* and *planning for violations* support each other and form an integrated system that produces and sustains violations. Recent scholarship on urban informality has demonstrated the relevance of nonconformity in urban development processes around the world, and highlighted the profusion of informal practices in governmental planning procedures (Roy, 2004).This research on Islamabad extends this discussion by showing how the "informalization of the State" is accompanied by a "formalization of the Everyday" as ordinary citizens strategically mimic official planning procedures in order to create the effect of legitimacy to justify urban spaces that do not conform to official planning frameworks (Roy, 2004, p. 159; Hull, 2012). Together these two constructions reject the informal - formal divide in favor of complementary and co-constitutive alliances and help improve our understanding of contemporary trends in the development and administration of urban areas. The research also described how the agency of individuals and communities shape their urban built environments, using their personal resources and political connections, which is integral to our understanding of the planning, functioning, and everyday lived experiences of cities around the world.

Street Bureaucracy

The story of France Colony is not one of absolute oppression as residents of France Colony have been able to receive almost the same rights as those living in planned places. This is most apparent in the incidents of friction between the residents of France Colony and the planned sub-sector F-7/4. Power in this case is not associated with wealth as residents of France Colony have been able to prevail despite several complaints of the wealthy residents of F-7/4. France Colony is an exception to the rule that is the master plan, and it is precisely in this space that those concessions

incompatible with the plan can exist. Partha Chatterjee's (2006) distinction of political society versus civil society fits into this narrative of France Colony, to a certain degree. In *The Politics of the Governed*, Partha Chatterjee describes 'civil society,' in terms of right-bearing 'citizens, functioning in a direct relationship with the state as determined in the constitution. Chatterjee's 'political society,' in contrast, is the domain in which 'populations' existing and operating in constitutionally illegal spheres are also able to establish certain political relations with the state and at times are able to influence the terms of their governance. The concept of political society to understand the benefits enjoyed by residents of France Colony only partially explains the social relations that exist between dwellers of this neighborhood and CDA. France Colony provides an important vote bank but residents of this neighborhood are much more than voters, they are in fact often low-level bureaucrats themselves. In cities like Islamabad, their importance cannot be underestimated. While wealth can provide access to better facilities and living conditions, the power to make spatial exceptions reside with the State and those associated with it. The concessions made to create a low-income neighborhood outside of the official master plan of Islamabad and provision of services there are possible primarily because of the connection of the residents of France Colony with CDA. Informal settlements are found in many large cities around the world yet the official patronage enjoyed by France Colony makes it an important example to understand the role of the State in the constitution of urban nonconformity, and the consequent legal-illegal dimensions of such officially tolerated spaces at odds with official planning frameworks.

Distributed Power

Another important facet revealed during the research was the effects of distributed power or change in power systems on the planning system. For a long time, Islamabad's authority was under the control of the state department, which in itself is quite a unique distinction of Islamabad, and every orders come straight down from the federal minister who often does not even have any knowledge of the key facts about Islamabad. There was no elected civic body in Islamabad and the centralized control resulted in a total mess. (Planner, Personal Communication, November

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2019). Later with the creation of ICT (Islamabad Capital Territory) in addition to the CDA as a governing body, the tug of war for power between the two created space for the residents to use it to their advantage. The major revision in Master Plan in 1992, in the zonal laws was a result of this. Duality of control has resulted in an uncoordinated development and conflict of functions (Maria & Imran, 2006).

The recent change in power system has adopted a local government approach which has shifted most of the power from CDA to the local government (Islamabad Capital Territory Local Government Act -ICTLGA,2015). Though this has been done with an attempt to hegemonize the control over Islamabad, the division of power is still not very clear between the CDA and the LGs which lead back to the same issue. The state itself as a negotiation space where violations can be planned changes the dynamics of how the city is operated.

Future Implications of the Research

Discussions around Islamabad have often been centered around its planning; the motives and intentions behind its creation. Researchers have deliberated upon the city in terms of representation of power and the identity concerns of a National Capital via placing it in a post-colonial or modernist framework. It has also been a point of discussion because of the particular concept of *dynapolis* been implied in its planning which opens conversations regarding development and sustainability. These discussions however have strongly been grounded around the Master Plan of the city as it was envisaged. Little work has been done on the contemporary history of the city and specifically those spaces that do not adhere to this plan. It is these spaces that hold the power to institute major structural changes in the plan or force the Enforcement Department to regularize new laws. Hence, this thesis becomes significant in stimulating discussions around changes in the Master Plan, where should they stem from and what should they be targeted at. The sensitivity to the unplanned gives an opportunity to mold and fix the plan accordingly.

The relation between the non-conform spaces and the revision in the Master Plans is an interchangeable and on-going process. In the present time when the Master Plan of Islamabad is being revised under the new government, this research and the likes can assist in revealing close observations for the policy makers. New policies that are not aimed at being temporal means rather than grounded in research and daily requirements. By studying the contemporaries in South Asia, the thesis discussed pertinent solutions that are being used to weave non-conforming spaces in the planned areas. One of this idea is the 'Kinetic Urbanism' that highlights the power of temporal spaces in a static setting and how they galvanize the whole system. This points to both the inclusion of informal economies, the social structure of South-Asia and how the cities are overall experienced. By studying these examples, the city managers of Islamabad can take inspiration on how to include the street vendors and make-shift markets in the overall structure of the city. The policies around this should stem from the acknowledgment of the positive role these play in catering to the needs of middle and lower middle class, and not from the economic benefit pertaining to land that the city managers can take advantage of. As relayed through the interviews, the dwellers of squatter settlements rely on these for their basic necessities and a regularized policy for this will have a direct impact on the life of these citizens. Hence in this connected structure of non-conforming spaces, one policy can have a dominos effect on many others. The improvement in overall planning process can help improve the quality of life of the citizens. It can also be the steppingstone in brewing more cordial relations between the dwellers of the two kinds of spaces.

This research also provides the horizon where the top-down and bottom-up approaches governing the city meets. It opens new lines for studying the modernist plans and the dwellers of the plan living it. An amalgam of studying the plan as a whole and then zooming in to its lived narratives, help understand the geography between the top-down planning and bottom-up answers. Such dual approaches for research are of use to planners, policy makers and ground workers. It also reinstates the idea of studying the Master Plan in relation to the changes it has underwent over time, to recognize the areas of discord or potential.

Amongst other things that distinguish Islamabad, one is its *image* that must be upheld under all circumstances. Islamabad is of great significance to the country being the state capital. Moreover, it is visited by foreign officials, dignitaries, and important personalities, that take back home with them the persona of the city. Thus, the country's international portrait depends on Islamabad as well. The heavy weight of this expected image has done more damage to the city as opposed to favoring it. Departure from this 'ideal' is essential for the city managers to step into the 'real' and fully recognize the power of the non-conforming spaces in the city. This discussion leads back to two significant perspectives relayed in this thesis;

- The shift in the negative connotation associated with the non-conforming spaces which halts the recognition of any kind of positive contribution they have
- Treating the master plan as a bounding artefact, and not as a framework or ideology that changes itself in time in accordance with the requirements

What is the relationship between the city of spatial exceptions and the city envisioned in the official master plan of Islamabad? While Islamabad continues to grow, its development pattern has departed considerably from its initial planning ideology. The modern planned city without a center is now in the center of fragmented urban development on its peripheries. With the growth of the city in the south and the west, new urban development patterns such as gated communities and housing cooperatives now envelope the city developed according to the Doxiadis' grid of sectors. Moreover, Doxiadis' neighborhood sectors in certain areas now function very differently from their underlying planning principles. There is no single or simple way of conceptualizing spatial exceptions in planned modern contexts. This research attempts to touch upon the topic by taking one on kind of exception and giving an overview of some other. In doing so, a few of the important features of spaces that do not conform to official planning protocols in Islamabad have been highlighted. Additional research may reveal other important aspects of nonconformity in planned cities. What do all these spatial transformations mean for

the status of Islamabad as a planned modernist city? The city of spatial exceptions co-exists with the city of the master plan in a state of temporary present. The city of spatial exceptions also represents the aspect of non-specialist user intervention in the constitution of planned modern urban environments. The role played by CDA officials in allowing and tolerating the city of spatial exceptions in Islamabad also signifies the recognition of spatial exceptions as important elements of modern built environments, as a central feature of contemporary planning paradigms. However, the existence of the city of spatial exceptions does not mean a demise of Islamabad as a planned modern city. We can see in the first seventy year history of Islamabad that while spatial encroachments are either a source of criticism of CDA's failed management, or of opportunity for the residents and business people of the city, Islamabad still maintains its status a modern planned city in both public imagination and everyday experience. Perhaps, it would be more accurate to appreciate Islamabad as a planned city but one whose plan has been 'appropriated'(Hull.2012).

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APPENDIX A: SUMMARY OF RECOGNIZED KATCHI ABADIES IN ISLAMABAD

SUMMARY RECOGNIZED KATCHI ABADIES IN ISLAMABAD.

The summary of ten recognized Kachi Abadis is tabulated below:

S.No.	Name of Katchi Abadi	Situation Analysis							
		Approval Status	Approved Strategy for improvement	Implementation Status	Facilities Available				
					Water Supply	Sewerage	Electricity	Gas	Streets Pavement
1	Dhoke Naju, I-10/4 had 182 units	Approval of Chief Executive of Pakistan dated 24-11-01 for allotment of 1065 plots in MUSP to the dwellers	Shifting at MUSP	Completely Shifted at MUSP and IJP Road constructed	Not Required because dwellers shifted and road constructed at site				
2	Haq Bahu, I-11/4 had 243 units		Shifting at MUSP						
3	Essa Nagri, I-9/1 had 213 units on 6.23 acres		Shifting at MUSP	43 out of 213 were shifted at MUSP	Ground Water	No	No	No	No
4	Muslim Colony, east of PM House had 993 units on 63.23 acres	Cabinet Decision dated 27/10/04, for allotment of 1208plots of Muslim Colony in (MUSP) Farash	Shifting at MUSP	753 out of 993 were shifted at MUSP.	Ground Water	No	No	No	No
5	Katchi Abadi G-8/1 had 575 units on 14.62 acres	Approval of PM dated 12-10-95	Redevelopment in the form of planned plots at same site	90% upgradation work completed	Laid	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Tent Colony, G-7/1 had 308 units on 11.38 acres	Cabinet Decision dated 27/10/04, for allotment of 1208 plots of Muslim Colony in (MUSP) Farash and 1300 in other Katchi Abadis (G-7/1, G-7/2, G-	Upgradation at same site by provision of services in the existing form.	Permission to utility connections to eligible dwellers (water Supply /Electricity and gas) widening of streets Boundary walls partially constructed around above	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	66 Quarters, G-7/2, had 474 units on 9.70 acres				Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	48 Quarters, G-7/3 had 98 units on 3.59 acres				Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

9	France Colony, F-7/4, had 418 units on 10.03 acres	7/3, and F-7/4) at the existing locations.		mentioned abadis where it was necessary. Streets are partially concreted.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
10	100 Quarters, F-6/2 had 300 units on 8.84 acres but survey could not be finalized.	CDA Board decision dated			Ground water	Yes	yes	No	Yes

APPENDIX B: KEYWORDS IN URDU

Katchi Abadi   informal settlements created through squatting or informal subdivisions of state or private land

Chardewari   The housing compound defined by the four walls, counted as one unit by CDA

Makaan   Housing unit within the chardeewari sharing the same outer boundary

Safarish   Using a powerful reference or authority for getting the work done

Chaadar   A long piece of cloth, the word used as a dual meaning for female clothing item and as a bedsheet

Malkiyat   Ownership- mostly used in the context of property

Markaz   Center (used here in the context of commercial center)

Nullah   Ravine-usually carrying sewerage water

	Time of Interview	**Occupation and status***
Interviewee 1	September 2019	Former CDA official and resident of Islamabad of over 30 years
	October 2019	
Interviewee 2	October 2019	Director of Master plan cell, CDA and resident of Islamabad
	November 2019	
Interviewee 3	October 2019	Officer at the Katchi abadi cell, CDA and resident of Rawalpindi
	November 2019	
Interviewee 4	October 2019	Govt. counselor(elected) and resident of France Colony
Interviewee 5	October 2019	Govt. Polio health worker and resident of France colony
Interviewee 6	October 2019	Chairman of PAK U.C.A (private organization) and resident of France Colony
Interviewee 7	October 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 8	October 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 9	November 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 10	November 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 11	November 2019	Resident of France colony
Interviewee 12	November 2019	Architect/Planner and Resident of Islamabad (f-7) for 40 years

*Names have been removed for privacy purposes

INTERVIEWEE 1

<u>Ex- CDA official and resident of Islamabad of over 30 years- September 2019</u>

Q- As the Master Plan is being revised, what approaches can be taken/you suggest towards the katchi abadis (squatter settlements) existing in the city? Generally, and in particular to France colony as well.

France colony has an obvious/easy solution. It exists at a very main, strategic location. If 3, 4 blocks adjacent to the main road are sold for the colony and apartments built there, they can easily accommodate the inhabitants. But how will the ownership be granted? How will the functions and land use be decided? Proper SOPs should be made.

In one of the schemes they were granted small plots in another sector but that failed, why?

Because they sold those plots and came back to their original location. That was not a good decision. If government has to do it, it should be done properly by renting property. If they will sell it, this will happen every time. That's why I am saying that proper SOPs should be made with any policy. They were given houses in a vicinity that differed greatly form their socio-economic status. They sold the small plots to get much bigger plots in the peripheral areas. But living their didn't suit their daily commute because many worked in houses in the sectors F and G. So they came back to their original houses.

The policy should be made by keeping the income group in mind and their lifestyle.

Islamabad was designed for the bureaucrats and the inclusion of masses from the lower class was not a priority by the government. What is your view about this or how you view the difference of opinion between the government and Doxiadis?

It is a bureaucratic seat and that means that the purpose is alienation from the masses. However, I would like to say that social mixing was a priority for doxiadis and it has been upheld in the first two sectors established like g-6. The mixing via the division of classes and the relation with the plot size was all done on ground. The plot sizes ranged from big government houses to quite small houses for the labor class. These were namely *66 quarters* and *100 quarters*. G-6 has the biggest plot size in Islamabad and the smallest. Proper hierarchy was maintained in everything. Later the alterations didn't let the plan be implemented as it should have been.

How would you differentiate these settlements from the katchi abadis in the rest of Pakistan? I am asking this in reference to Islamabad inhabiting these spaces since it is the only planned city here.

The aim or notion for the existence of these squatter settlements is different in the two scenarios. Normally, the fringe development occurs on the agricultural land that is separating the urban from the rural. Gradual development on that land convert it

into a sub-urban area with people occupying the land legally or illegally. People buy the land and build houses as they will. Normally there is no shape or rhythm to the plotting. The people do mutual agreements to leave space from their plots to build streets etc. It is very random- built upon as land was occupied. The major reference for the space was walkability. This is however not exactly a katchi abadi, this is a rural development. The term katchi abadi was first coined with reference to 'khuda ki basti' in Karachi.

Literature uses the term 'urban informality' as a whole for this phenomenon

Yes that is used too but it depends on the intention like I said. The scale and interest varies. For example, the ones in Brazil are huge. Within these settlements then interest group develops. And the government has to deal accordingly. In Karachi, the government launched an incremental-development program and it was successfully implemented. Same has been done here in 'farash town' lie you mentioned. But the problem with that is that they didn't considered the daily commute distance, which made the people come back.

The settlements within Islamabad are different as they often exist on the planned government land. It is a clear breach of the government property and disrupts the whole planning. However, there long term existence has made them a cardinal part of the city and it is not something that can be distinguished as totally separate or curtailed off by demarking its as peripheral land. People have built up to three storeys and it cannot be just removed now.

In the new Master Plan there is news about accommodating the dwellers of these settlements in flats. Is that true?

Actually the government can solve the issue by two ways;

Either to follow the incremental development model. As the government is short on funds and will have to spend minimum money for it

But the second issue is that the land within Islamabad is very expensive for a project like this. If they will take or find a cheaper land, they will have to move quite far away from the city and that has failed already. So in this case where you don't have a lot of space you can go vertical then.

That comes with its own issues. Then cost has to be spent on the structure. Turkey has such a model. This can be done for the France Colony too. It has been discussed but the investment issue halts it. It requires money for the structure and all the services going vertical. Of course CDA itself cannot build it and will have to hire a contractor. That will also cost money. And the quality will also have to be assured.

So in a way all these discussions at least give the idea that CDA recognizes the usefulness of these settlements to the city and the services they provide in the form of low cost workers?

Of course, that is why they have kept all these. Apart from some that were a security hazard, all settlements have been retained. But still the residents of each abadi has different interests or used different tactics. Once they took over the market in g-7. (qabzaa) They do so by starting off with a sit-in and hang *chaadars (a long garment used for draping)* all around. If the police comes, they get into fit. Since it's a collective interest people find strength in the togetherness and use this power to get their demands agreed by the government.

The problem lies with the implementation of the law.

But there are examples in Islamabad where some of the settlements have been totally cleared from ground? How do they differ from the existing ones?

The existing ones got the stay order. This stays order culture is damaging the cities. Bani gala also came into existence only due to the stay order culture.

The authorities sell the land to these people. They take money and give away land. Even bureaucrats are involved. There are two ways to do it;

They give the land and ask them to build the house. No official paper is given or made but just the word-of-mouth. The sender (can be a bureaucrat or someone from the authority) guarantees protection to the buyer

The new way is to give the land on rent.

But who are these people?

They are from the law enforcement department whose work was to stop it but they involve in it to further extend and prolong it.

So it is an under guise agreement between the two parties that you'll live here?

Yes because he is getting the money to let him stay in an illegal place.

But they are poor people, how much money can they pay?

Look at it on a large scale. How many total houses are there in the colony? About 700 and there are more than one family in almost each house. Imagine all these paying monthly, it adds up to a hefty amount.

The person is working in CDA, his job is to stop these illegal settlements and encroachments. But he is allowing it and taking money and on top of that he is taking his own pay too. That's why they don't take action or you can say in a way are protecting them. It's a *gol mol kaam*. (going in circles). This is one dependent relation too! And it is an aspect that must be identified and showed. It is part of the procedure and needs to be recognized.

In the fringe development, the construction is illegal but the land is legal. Here the land is also illegal and then the stay and construction on it is illegal too.

How does the court orders intervene with the overall implementation of policy?

The major abadis that were evicted were one under court orders. They had no one to stand for them or any media support and hence the court ordered their removal. The other abaids have strong back up support in the form of bureaucrats or the law-enforcement itself sometimes. Then the media also intervenes. So accordingly, the court gives stay orders.

Second Interview: Follow up

What major issues would you define that has hindered development of these abadis?

Most of the abadis are along the natural ravines in the city which were left as green belts in each sector. Naturally the areas around ravines are in depression/ natural slope. Because of the depression the development could not be done. Like the Karachi example where linear development was done, it is impossible to do so here. Plus the ravines have been polluted with sewerage water. So proper plants needed to be installed to first clean the water and then retrofit the banks and plan the area.

The successful examples from Karachi we see were communal decisions and done as projects. Here it is an incremental growth, slowly these abadis have developed with every person making their own house. At any point in time, it is difficult to stop the growth at a point and make any policy.

What about the involvement of the private sector?

Yes the NGOs is another aspect. They got involved with these settlements and invested money in cementing the roads, providing basic facilities like improving the sewerage. But the irregular pattern remained because it needs the government's will and an inclusive plan. They are not ready to invest this kind of money. So now they have varying plot sizes and very irregular streets. But the provision of services have further strengthened their will to stay. They were even living in dilapidated conditions so after the help by NGOs they are better off. It is even more difficult to get them removed now.

What about the other deviations from the plan? Like all the commercial activities and kiosks?

Whenever new sectors were developed, labor was required. The kiosks you find in g11 and f11 were also established for the labors, for their eating purposes and stuff and later since the laborers stayed, the kiosks stayed too. Other types include the fringe development and housing societies.

The city was also developed as a co-dependent city with Rawalpindi and to rely in it for its workforce?

It was and it is still working like that to some extent. But as you see the city's own work force has also developed and living in these abadis. They have slowly developed themselves in areas that are hidden from the naked eye. You often cannot see anything from the road level unless you go down.

Do you think total relocation for these will be possible?

I think it is very difficult. And like I explained last time, each settlement is entangled in different factors. A sensitive research can help deciding what can be relocated and what can be not.

INTERVIEWEE 2

<u>Director of Master plan cell, CDA and resident of Islamabad- October 2019</u>

How sites were selected for temporary settlements and what is the current position?

Let me give you a general overview first.

At the moment there are10 recognized katchi abadis. G7-2, G-7/1, G-7/3,F-6/2. F-7/4,G-8/1,I-9/4, I-10, 1-11 and nurpurshahaan.

Four of these were decided to relocate at another place namely: I-9/4, I-10, 1-11, nurpurshahaan.

i-10 and i-11 have been completely relocated and the road in the master plan which was actually planned to be built in the place of these settlements have been built. I-9 has been shifted round 30% and nurpur 75%

G-8/1 was decided to be redeveloped on site with the community being involved within the provision of CDA. The residents were included in the whole planning process and they successfully rebuilt their houses.

The remaining 5 abadis were supposed to be upgraded under the same ideology but that couldn't be made possible. So a *compromised decision* of partial up gradation was taken where the abadis were upgraded? In the same organic form that they existed. The streets were converted to paved concrete ones and services were provided namely: sewerage, water, electricity and gas supply. All streets are paved, you will not find a mud street anywhere. The width maybe less about 5-10 feet but they are paved and access to each dwelling unit is there.

In the revised master plan the proposal for these abadis is of *urban regeneration* and many options are being considered. On site redevelopment in the form of multi-storey units or within 5-10km vicinity they can be relocated as well.

Other than these 10 recognized katchi abadis the rest are considered as encroachments on CDA land. There is no policy by CDA for them and there is no provision for them by CDA laws.

You are referring to the unrecognized abadis as encroachments. I want to ask that the ones that have been recognized were also not part of the original master plan but they existed and are eventually recognized. I want to understand the changes that were made to the original plan when things were different on ground than what was idealized and how the changes occur over time?

Have they been made a part of the original plan or do they exist under the understanding of them being temporary? The area f-7 abadi inhabits is a green belt in Doxiadis's plan. How do you justify the green belts now?

In the original plan there were schemes to accommodate the labor class namely 100 quarters,66 quarters etc. and they expanded. People started living there and slowly expanded. In the original plans there were the small schemes. We cannot tolerate those things that are coming in the way of the planning like the i-9 abadi was blocking the road that was supposed to be constructed there. So it had to be removed. Those that does not hinder the overall planning like settlements near the nullah (ravine) can be thought of accommodating.

Why have they been walled if they were part of the original scheme?

To curtail them and stop the for expanding until "any proper policy is made'. The walled area is recognized, outside it will not be accepted (applies to the notion of the residents taking on lands and expanding without the CDA's will)

So in the broader perspective they have been accepted and its decided that they will be upgraded in the same areas?

Yes can be relocated also but within vicinity (inside the city) so that the displacement is less.

This revised master plan was planned to come out this summer but could not. Is there a new tentative deadline for it?

The master plan does not tell the details for these things. Explains the zones and color coding on the plan. These are residential sectors, within the sector what kind of planning will be done is dealt by layout plans. Under the guidance of the master plans, layouts plans are made. The detail zoning is also done by layout plans

Sector, size and use is told by the master plans. The katchi abadi regeneration is the improvement of the layout plans and depends whether they find new area for them or accommodate them where they are. But this needs the government's will.

The new govt. announced the building of flats for the low-income people, what about that?

There are different options under discussion but nothing is final as yet. Strategy will depend on the area available and population to be accommodated.

You have recognized the areas but do the residents have ownership of the plots?

They do not have any ownership. CDA is the owner of the land. It is CDA land and can't be given to anyone. Islamabad Land Disposal Regulation looks after these affairs and according to it for residential plots, CDA does planned balloting. A price is discussed and agreed upon. And for the commercial plots they are sold through auction. There are different policies for disposal of land. No land can be given for free.

How are they renting out the homes to others if they don't have any ownership?

CDA is not getting anything from these. Only in G-8 CDA took money from the residents but they also still have not been granted ownership rights. The farash town project, money has been taken from people according to whatever the prices of plots were decided. No money has been taken from the rest. And there is no such policy as of now that tells how much and when it is to be taken? Policy should be there. Being an urban planner we have made many policies but it needs the political will. Planner can only suggest whereas the implementation depends on the decision makers.

What is the coordination between the katchi abadi cell and the master plan department?

It was made to plan these recognized abadis. And to give them their rights or to look after their affairs. They worked and are still but it is not quite effective.

Why?

Because government has different priorities.

If there is an upgradation, will they plan it?

Yes, they will. Master plan will only give broader policies. The details of the policy will be dealt by that department.

Do you generally refer to the original master plan in your discussions? How do you see the everyday affairs that cause changes in the plan such as the bazars and the commercial activities?

The plan does not tell such things. For example it showed the alignment for the blue area and the rest of the zoning and that is what CDA is abiding by. What is happening inside the sector? Where is the bazaar/market? These answers are not given by the plan rather decided by living the plan. Encroachments are everyday part of a city. And constant changes need to be made to cater to changing dynamics.

<u>November 2019</u>

When did the government first noticed the settlements in terms of making a decision about them?

The decision was first made in 1985. It was not particular to Islamabad but a holistic decision for Katchi abadis all over Pakistan that whoever has acquired a place up till 1985, they be recognized as katchi abadis. İn line with this some of the abadis were recognized as well.

What was the regularization procedure after the policy was made? And the implementation of it?

Firstly the survey was done. Official counting of the number of houses by using the term/concept of 'chaar-deewari'. A chaardeewari can be inhabited by more than one family but since the outer boundary is one, the whole compound is considered as one house. Records were maintained after the survey bearing information about the residents; their name, numbers, occupation, İD cards,. All that data is available.

So after the survey what was the next step? You mentioned the facilities provided, were they given immediately or after a procedure was followed?

No that was done via a step by step process. They were granted permission that you can avail these via getting a NOC. That was a political step, the government provided services in order to take votes from the residents.

Why are they referred to as temporal in official records?

-they shouldn't exist in this place/or were not planned to be in this place

-they have no legal rights over they space they are occupying

-more than often, the structured they live in are also of temporal nature

They city government doesn't invest in the infrastructure

F6,F7, G-6/1,2,3 these five settlements, have been temporarily given permission that you can have access to the services of gas, electricity etc. And f-8 is yet to be decided. The policy has to be made; they will be shifted eventually but the location of that is not decided yet

The project that was started before of relocation, it is not yet decided that who will go there?

The inhabitants don't want to go there, they want regeneration? Like g8.

Upgradation in organic manner- infrastructure but slight changes in the layout (NOC is provided- fate has to be decided)

G-7 no treatment/ no ownership/ illegal. Every settlement is in a different phase at the moment which complicates policy making for them.

INTERVIEWEE 3:

<u>Officer at the Katchi abadi cell, CDA and resident of Rawalpindi- October 2019</u>

How long have you been working here?

4 years

Kindly explain the process of regularization of the settlement? How do you approach this?

C number for houses. C is also the survey number. We check the survey to me mark the C houses and their inhabitants. İf an inhabitant has a C number, we issue an application form, with the requirements and terms and conditions written on it. The applicant gives a down payment of 10,000 rupees to start the application process. After that we have to shift/relocate the settlement.

All of them? According to my knowledge, some others will be upgraded on site too

No it's only the g8 that is upgraded on site, all the rest will have to be relocated.(dhoka nai ho, esa nagri, haw bahu, Muslim colony, f-9 all to be sent to faraash)

F6 and F7 are under process but they have to be shifted too.

Application is only against C-number, as a validation of their documentation and that all their legal documents are valid. Plus the basic information about the person.

After C number is given, what is the status of that applicant or his house in the system?

İt is then entered into the system and becomes a valid part of it. İn line with this data, the relocation will be done for these people, i.e. they will be given new houses

What about the services?

An NOC is given with a C-number. First a general NOC was given for all the C-number houses for electricity and gas. Now we have changed the policy and an individual application for NOC needs to be made. After the application, the authority checks if the person has done any violation or not and in case of a clear record an NOC is given for the provision of gas and electricity. The minimum violation allowed as a second storey is the provision of a storeroom.

İs the C-number house valid to be written as part of the address or is it recognized by other authorities such as the Pakistan post etc.?

Yes it is written but the abadis as a whole is recognized as part of the sub sector f-7/4.

You are mentioning only one place for relocation, how is it possible for all of these to be accommodated there?

No there are other options to like some places near İJP road and some plot in G7,plus in faraash town we have pocket 3 that is still vacant whereas pocket 1 and 2 have been allotted and ppl are living already. but the decision is yet to be taken based on the policy

İn my other interview I was told that it is intended to keep some of the abadis and do upgradation?

No that is not possible. Because CDA does not want these in the expensive sector and on good lands. The only one abadi that was planned in its original location, the authorities still could not remove the encroachments done by those people. They did not build the houses as they were instructed to and occupied more land than they were authorized. The work there is still pending. Hence from that experience, the others are not planned yet. İf we remove one, the others take over and often involve the court to take stay orders.

So if they go ahead with the relocation plan, what affect will that have on the master plan? Will it be reverted to its original shape where these were green belts along the streams?

Amendments in the plan are common. They authorities put a plot in someplace if they want to. They can make permanent changes to the plan. It's been done before and it is common practice. It is not uncommon to put a park or any other thing in some place.

Also in the building by-laws, it is common practice to extend covered areas by paying a fee. If your construction is illegal, but you are able to get an NOC from CDA, it becomes legal. CDA has the authority to declare something as legal or illegal which varies from situation to situation.

So who has the authority to make these changes?

İt lies with the Master Plan department. And the whole directorate that deals with planning.

But he said that master plan only gives the generic policy whereas details are designed by the departments

Yes but after master plan, the urban plan department can also make amendments. Any additions like new plots or areas for park

How are complaints against encroachments dealt with generally?

The enforcement directorate is responsible for dealing with these complaints. They follow up with us if the house is registered or not. They visit the site and decide accordingly if there is encroachment or not and then take action.

The abadi is enclosed via walls and within the houses are marked as chaardeewaris so what kind kind of encroachment complaint you get?

There are many possibilities. The cover the street are from above and use it as rooms. Using the circulation area i.e. the street as road for construction, on ground level or first floor level. Or minimum space has been left for passing and the rest made a part of the construction.

İn addition, only single storey is allowed because we are making the relocation plan in accordance with that but many people have made second storeys too.

I have heard of more than one family living in a 'chaardeewari', how do you keep authentic data for such cases?

That is another type of encroachment. Renting house to people within a single compound.

We do surveys from time to time to keep up to date records but we have limited staff. Last was done in 2012 on :

- Double store houses
- Sale/purchase

Survey reports are confidential, and I cannot share with you. The general conclusion is visible that almost all houses are double storey which isn't allowed in the first place. Plus many areas of circulation are blocked due to construction.

Encroachments are pertinent in rest of the sectors too. Are complaints launched against them too and what kind of action is taken?

Normally the building is grant permission after the owner pays a find. But not all encroachments can be passed via penalization. Some are too big to be overlooked or can be clearly seen with the eye, they have to demolished then.

What about encroachments in terms of illegal use of services such as electricity?

Yes that is pertinent too. In one of the surveys, done by SUPARCO, we used the number of electric meters as a measure to count the houses and inhabitants. But that failed in a way or revealed new data. For f-6 and F-7. These are our two settlements under work for relocation.

Is CDA solely responsible for this planning? Or any private funding is involved too? (mention about previous private projects of UNDP and MUSP)

The 'naya house' scheme is involved with f-6 and f-7 projects. CDA will collect all the record and data and hand over to them.

The master plan that is being developed, for that under what name or category have you show these areas? Are they being shown as a permanent part of the existing plan or marked as to be relocated since that work is also going on?

No for now they all are just marked as 'katchi abadis'. Change in plan will only be done once they are relocated.

Second interview (Follow up)

<u>November 2019</u>

What jobs is this cell authorized to do?

Our basic function is to adhere to the policies made by the Master Plan Cell and facilitate its implementation in case of the squatter settlements. Now every settlement is in a different state and require different work. For instance, now most of our team has gone for site survey which we are planning for relocation. The site survey has been going on since last week and next plotting will and demarcation will be done. Other than this we carry out surveys to provide all kinds of data, make plans for upgradation and relocated sites. We also keep track of all the services provided in each settlement. Each settlement has a separate file, and the record of all its residents, their house status and the facilities they have lie with us. If they want to apply for anything, they have to come here and take the application for.

So for gas and electricity, they apply here?

Application form is issued with a serial number and can be taken from the office but for only those who are registered.

Can you take me through the application process?

First the C number list is verified and against it the application is issued. Then the requestee writes an application for gas or electricity connection. We then process the application and send it to the relevant department. Before the connection, it is important that all credentials of the requestee is checked i.e. if he is involved in any illegal activity before? Or if the house has encroachments in any way? If there is any issue, the application is rejected. If the team does not find any problem then a NOC(No Objection Certificate) is issued. The case is closed when verification is done by CDA and a certificate issued that this household is now registered with the applied service.

What if someone doesn't have a verified house number? Do you always reject it?

We get a lot of such applications too. Lately the counselor or senior citizens of the settlements come to us with request. Sometimes they are working in CDA too in some capacity and we have to give in to pressure and grant them a NOC. **Yes, because the encroachments you mentioned last time, I saw many such houses but they had the electricity and gas meters.**

I cannot comment on that because the authority does not lie with me totally. But yes, some people have electricity and gas without our knowledge too.

INTERVIEWEE 4:

<u>Govt. counselor(elected) and resident of France Colony- October 2019</u>

What is your occupation?

Research counselor. Right now we are working with a polio team and I'm overlooking their team.

This is being done with government's order?

Yes it's a government work.

Basically I want to understand the living lifestyle/? Of the people or how they have accommodated this space according to their needs over the years

How are addresses assigned in the space? Do official departments recognize this area as France colony on official documents?

Yes we have the same address on our national identity cards. The house number is unique, though only 2 street numbers are used 54 for upper level and 49 for houses on the other side of the ravine. The house number 'C' is associated with CDA and with this we write France colony for any deliveries or official works.

The gas and electricity is also there and bills are generated by name according to these addresses too

So all houses have gas and electricity?

Almost

So is it being given by the government departments or some private means?

No it's proper. Electricity is through WAPDA, through the proper channel. Some houses do not have it. So sometimes they share or use illegal means too (gives a

sheepish laugh). Those houses I can't pinpoint exactly but the houses that have C number, they are registered with NADRA and CDA

So if someone wants to get a connection now, what is the procedure for that?

I think those who have the C number and their ID cards are made, they can get it done without any problem by submitting a fee.

But what if you don't have C? Can you take it now?

No I don't think that you can get a C number now

Why?

Because C number are only around 300-400 houses. The rest were made afterwards. And the government doesn't acknowledge them saying that they were constructed out of its will, without permission.

But obviously the numbers can't stay same after 1985. Was another survey done to recount the houses?

As per my knowledge, 300 houses were then further added and given a S number. Under a new policy, this was done. So C and S are both recognized by government. You can see them towards the downside. (Clue to new addition towards that side)

So totally they are max around 700 houses. But there are a 1000 houses here. The latest 300 are not recognized by the government.

So they can't apply for the facilities?

Yes, they will not get the other services now. Even they are ready to pay the fee and undergo the process, but they cannot do it. So they use cylinders and for electricity they share or use other means. They arrange means for themselves

So, is the private sector involved in any activity here? In upgradation or stuff? NGO?

No.. nothing. We do everything ourselves.

So how do the collective efforts work? Do you have local elections here?

Yes we have proper government elections here, the last was in 2015.

Everyone has their votes registered here?

Yes. Like I told you all C and S are registered. You can find their record everywhere. Specially in CDA and all departments related to NADRA

So, who have their names there, it is easy for them but those who do not, it's really difficult for them.

So, you are women counselor. You were elected for first time?

Actually these elections have happened for the first time in Islamabad. Council elections were not a part of Islamabad before. It was totally controlled by federal government and CDA.

I personally did not find good results with this change.

You are only in charge of this area?

No there are 3 people with me and total we have an area of f7,f8 and parts of blue area.

The other 2 are not here at the moment. We keep trying to help people specially in matters of gas and electricity.

So, you go to CDA office yourself?

Yes we go and try to negotiate. Give fee and try to get them connection since they are residents too.

INTERVIEWEE 5

Govt. Polio health worker and resident of France colony- October 2019

I work as a lady health worker in this community for around 3 years plus sector supervisor. Total 5 teams under me. We prepare the plan and act on it and submitted to DC office. We get trained then we train our teams

Are the work you are carrying out affiliated with NADRA?

We have our numbering system. We divide the area amongst our team. We are not affiliated with NADRA

How do you keep track then?

The DC office publishes this tele sheet which has all the record

This is the whole map of our area. We cover the whole area in 3 days, the third day is for N/A houses that are left
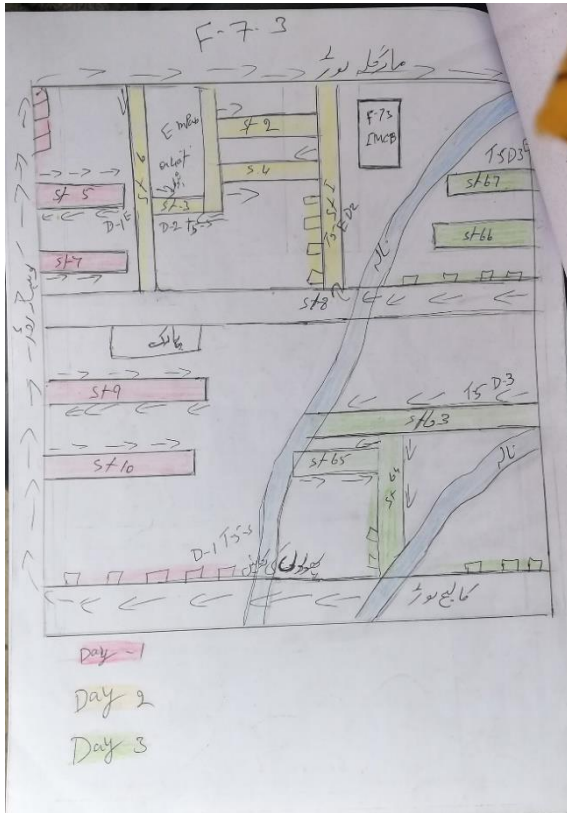
How have you color coded it?

With reference to the areas covered on each day

Are the N/A houses the non-registered house?

No we have no concern with C, S or non-registered houses. Our aim is to make sure every child gets the polio drops

Total 1000 houses

Discussion notes:

The cognition mapping of the colony by the polio team was an interesting point in the research.

INTERVIEWEE 6

Chairman of PAK U.C.A (private organization) and resident of France Colony-October 2019

How old is your organization?

It was made in 2003.

Can you explain the process of regularization here? (C and S numbers?)

C number houses are permanent houses. They have the electricity and gas. IF ever there is a plan for relocation or upgradation, these houses are assured to get a place. S is not as permanent as C and the possibility to get a house is also not a 100%.

Why about those who have neither?

That CDA will think. The C number houses are between 300-400. They intend to upgrade on this area for these 400 houses and if there is still space, it will be given to the S numbers.

The CDA official claims to do some upgradation work in 2002..what was that?

No, the government did nothing. It was through self-help mutually overtaken by residents.

So is it solely the people or do they get help from the private sector? Any NGO?

Yes sometimes some people from NGOs are involved. But only to a certain extent, mainly it is the people themselves. We collect money and share the price. For example we got the water motor and divided the cost. Same goes for cementing the streets. Similarly for sewerage too. The government doesn't help. They gave us the electricity only and that too through payment. And for gas too. (provided 2 basic services through payment taken via residents for it)

So for these two services, the registered houses get the electricity and gas from the government departments? E.g. WAPDA and SUIGAS?

You have to get NOC from CDA via an application. C number does not automatically puts you into the system, you must apply.

So what is the application process?

It is a lengthy process where you start off with a down payment and fill the application. Then you have to provide certain documents to prove the authenticity. This gets your name in the system. Then depending on your application number, you get the connection.

Do the residents of C-house owners as you claim they are permanent have ownership of the land or any documents?

No CDA has the ownership, we do not have it. We have only been given numbers.

So how do the transactions of sale and rent happen without the legal documents?

The stamp paper is used for such activities. For instance, if I have to sell my house, I will write it on a stamp paper and provide it as evidence I CDA to transfer my house to the other person.

Conversation about complaints- self help

If you are asked to leave for relocation?

We will sit. We have plan. We want to remain here, to be accommodated here. The problem is there is too little space, the g8 model cannot be adopted. 80% inhabitants have cars here.

They don't have properties, but they have cars.

Are they assure of their safety here that's why they sell these?

No one should get out, change their mindset.

Workers-only in f-7 or other places too?

No various places. Different ministries. There are CDA employees too, they have been given plots and houses.

They sale their plots that they are given but don't leave this place.

Why?

Its stupidity but they use the money to spend on other things. Like cars/ upgradation

The area has been walled from all sides where before it was open. Why did this happen?

Yes, it was not there until 1988. (it was not there when I shifted in 1977). This hall also didn't exist. It's a community hall that is not functional anymore because of no funds. Foreign or local.

First, they just placed some brick pillars. Then around 92-93 they erected the complete walls. But then due to strong winds the wall fell, and many people got injured even died. Then they made a permanent wall with concrete pillars inside. As a compensation they provided electricity.

So electricity was given as a compensation and not due to demand?

Yeah they promised to give it after the wall fell and people died.

How are the relations with the surroundings?

They have complained a couple of times.

Started with katchay (mitti keh ghar aur upar chadrien/ mud houses with cloth for roofs)

Then brick, now lantern/concrete and two even three floors

In 2002 we were given the option of flats by Lashari. However, our ppl denied. Reluctance for flat.

While the residents of France Colony feel secure that they will not be evicted from Government land, we are currently negotiating with CDA to get ownership rights to plots within France Colony. Getting ownership right is important because even though we have "everything in France Colony right now including school, telephone, etc.," but we have no "malkiyat" (ownership).

Conclusion/discussion notes:

The use of word permanent by the worker only, the certainty in his voice

The desire or the surety to continue living here despite having property elsewhere. Aware of the subliminal power?

INTERVIEWEE 7

Resident of France Colony and house worker in the sector F-7-October 2019

Age: Female, around 40 years-old

How long have you been living here?

I was born and raised here. Then I got married and moved to Rawalpindi near Zia Masjid. But I shifted back here with my family around 14 years ago on my father's insistence.

On which side is your house?

Towards the downside, on the other side of the nullah.

Do you have ownership of the house?

No, I live in a rented house. We bought it from a man living in this colony. He was a resident from the very start with a C-number house. But there is no documented evidence of our ownership, we just paid. When we shifted here, I wanted to build a house but we have not been able to find any land up till now.

Did you make any changes to it over the years?

No it is a rented house so I don't have much control.

What other changes have you observed over the years? Have you applied for electricity and gas?

We take/share electricity from another house. The owner of that house (providing electricity) has also rented out his rooms to three other people. Totally, four people are taking electricity from him. But we have never seen the electricity bill to pay the exact amount, they never show us. And if we ask they threaten to take away the electricity connection. We give whatever they ask since we have no choice. (around 5-6k). For gas we use portable cylinder and water we fill in pots/containers from someone's house.

The streets were cemented a while ago and people also installed the water pump.

What are your daily activities? Where do you shop or your kids go to school?

I work in sector f-6 houses for over 10 years. In 2-3 houses daily. My kids go to school in the f-7 government school and then for tuition within the France colony.

And shopping?

Sometimes we use the f-7 Markaz or we go to Karachi company or Sunday bazaar. For small things we use the shop within the colony.

How are your relations with your neighbors outside the wall?

We don't mingle with them. I just go there for work.

What process do you follow if you have any complaint?

Normally if there is a joint complaint, we work together. But if I have a specific problem there is not much to do. We ask the counselor sometimes but it is not sure if they can help.

What are your thoughts about relocation?

We want to live here. I already shifted back here once because our roots are here. We have lived here all our lives and our jobs are here.

INTERVIEWEE 8

Resident of France Colony - October 2019

Age:70 years (interviewee 7's father)

How long have you been living here?

Me and my wife are here when we were first moved here in 1979. I have lived my whole life here. I have 6 children. Two daughter and a son live in the same settlement. One daughter lives in G-8 and the other in i-9. (two other katchi abadis). They have their own houses. They also have numbers like this abadi. One lives out of city in Taxila.

On which side is your house?

I'm here from the very start so first houses were given on the upper side of the ravine. I also have house there with a C-number. Houses on this side are called the 'uper walay' (upper side residents)

Do you have ownership of the house?

We have C-number and all the necessary documents. We are secure here though CDA has ownership.

Did you make any changes to it over the years?

Yes we made another storey. I also purchased two other plots for my daughter and son. As the family grew with the marriages of elder son, we decided to make a third home to accommodate the growing spatial needs

How did you buy?

It was vacant so I just took it in the early years. For the second one I had to pay a price to the owner. They live on the other side of the nullah (ravine).

What other changes have you observed over the years?

It has changed a lot form the early years. Now it is a lot crowded than before and covered end to end. But of course these people have nowhere to go. Also, we have slowly got electricity and water. Mostly was done by the people. I am happy about the community spirit here, we ae each other's strength here.

How are your relations with your neighbors outside the wall?

They have their own lives and we have our own. We are content here.

What process do you follow if you have any complaint?

We have the counselors now, before we used to have the Chaudhry's (an older respectable person) who would take care of us.

What are your thoughts about relocation?

No, we want to live here, our jobs are here. We will sit if the government forces anything.

INTERVIEWEE 9

<u>Resident of France Colony- November 2019</u>

Age: Female, Around 30 years old

How long have you been living here?

I shifted a few years back after I got married, my husband lives here. Before that I was living in the G-8 abadi which was my permanent home.

What facilities were here when you moved?

The gas and electricity was already installed

Plus our number was registered with CDA and my address on ID card was changed accordingly

Do you have ownership of the house?

No, no one here has that. But the house has a C-number and with that we are secure.

Did you make any changes to it over the years?

We added a storey when I moved here because we needed more space.

So you came here from g-8 which has been upgraded by government. What difference do you feel between there and here?

That was a government order and everything was done with government support. They were given plot numbers which hasn't been done here yet. So everything there is legally registered now whereas here, things are not fully registered yet.

So now you are a residence of this area, what do you think or what do people here talk about?

Obviously we want the same but it depends on government.

What if the government proposed relocation?

We haven't heard of any such thing here. We want them to upgrade this area.

These streets are cemented, was this done by the government?

No the people have done it themselves by collecting money and using their own labor

What are your daily activities? Where do you shop, or your kids go to school?

Me and my husband work in the morning and afternoon. We usually shop from the weekly market or go to G-8 where my parents live. Plus, the market there is more affordable as compared to the F-7 market.

INTERVIEWEE 10

Resident of France Colony, shop owner in colony- November 2019

Age: Male-around 45 years old

How long have you been living here?

I came here when I was about 12-13 years old in 1977

On which side is your house?

Its nearby (points towards the side closer to the entrance of the street). I constructed it myself. This was vacant land so I took it and made my house.

What other changes have you observed over the years?

The houses have changed from katcha to pakka. (temporary to concrete). Plus we have electricity, gas and water now. In the start it was like a camping site but now it is a proper colony with house numbers, streets and everything. We built a church and a community center.

What are your daily activities? Where do you shop or your kids go to school?

I have a shop here so most of my time is spent inside the colony. Kids go to the nearby school and later for tuition to a house nearby. We mostly use the weekly bazaar for shopping and sometimes we use the market close by too. (f-7 Markaz)

How are your relations with your neighbors outside the wall?

We do not have any relations. They have complained a couple of times and we get warning by CDA but that is it. They want us to be removed but of course CDA cannot do it like this.

What are your thoughts about relocation?

Many people working for CDA have been allotted plots elsewhere but they sell it. I don't have any plot anywhere or I would have moved. I think it is there stupidity to sell those plots. Everyone should think about a better future. Sadly I do not have a choice. But also there is no point to move without possession in the other place.

Without ownership, it means nothing, so in that case I will not vote for relocation. At least, here, we can give something to our off springs.

INTERVIEWEE 11

Resident of France Colony, Owner of water pump and sells water to around 20 houses- November 2019

Age: Female, Around 50-55 years old

How long have you been living here?

I moved here around 22-23 years ago

On which side is your house?

Across the ravine. But this is my second house. I rented the original one.

Do you have ownership of the house?

I got possession of the land for 25,000 rupees (around 1100 tl) and built it myself, the first one. This one I bought later from a female. She transferred her C-number to me and I have the stamp paper for it.

Did you make any changes to it over the years?

Yes I built the upper storey and increased the number of rooms from one to four. Within the chaardeewari, I have rented it to two other people.

How do you sustain yourself?

I am a single lady so I have to make money through different means. As I told, I rented my first house. And in this house also, I have rented two rooms. One is to a tailor that works part time (for 8000 Rs. -around 400 tl) and the other room is also for 5000-6000 Rs. (around 250tl).

Also I made investment in getting this water pump. No one wanted to give in money so I did it myself. And now I sell it to people here. On this side of the ravine, there are very less facilities and people are dependent on outside. So getting water from my house is a lot easier. I think it was a good decision.

What are your thoughts about relocation?

I have made major investments here and unless the government offers something better, we are not moving. Our community leader has assured us that we are secure

here. And then I have the C-number so we should be upgraded here. We are older residents of Islamabad then most people of Islamabad.

INTERVIEWEE 12

Planner and Resident of Islamabad (f-7) for 40 years- November 2019

As a resident of Islamabad, what do you feel is peculiar to this city?

Of course, the planning and distinct sector division. The fact that GPS works here! (says with a chuckle).

Do you also notice the practices that seems at odd with plan, if observed with a lay man's eye?

Well yes in some places there is a stark difference. For example just down here next to this high rise is a dhaba (semi-covered shop made out of temporary materials). The people existing or coming to these two places are totally different yet they are related to each other and inter dependent.

And what about the squatter settlements? You have been here a long time and saw all these squatter settlements develop. What do you think aided the process of their development?

Actually there was an inclusion for them in the original plan but it could not be carried beyond the G-F sectors. As a result of this all the kiosks developed and some of the katchi abadis too.

The spirit of Islamabad was alienation of government from the masses and it was made particularly for bureaucrats. That same mentally didn't let the quarters be included. Hence the labors had to find a way and they took forceable possession of land. The population is increasing and they acquired more and more land. The weakness of CDA here was a weak policy. It used to adhere to bulldozing of complete sites before but it was wrong and it couldn't continue also because

1985 policy for squatter settlements made them acknowledge it as part of the city

Involvement of NGOs and humanitarian grounds became stronger and the media sided with the residents of the katchi abadis.

I have heard there are some under-the -table negotiations too that help the residents in acquiring more land?

I can not name but the bureaucrats are involved. Some times the authorities themselves are involved, they take money and sell the land. It is way of taking monthly money from these people, they have their own advantage if they let them

stay. The bureaucrats often provide 'parchis' to these people and take illegal house work.

What is parchi?

That is like an official 'safarish' which the resident can show in case there is a government eviction or any settlement process. It shows that he has the bureaucrats' support.

These are the things which has elongated and complicated the process. The power is distributed and until and unless a proper policy is made, both residents and officials are making use of the loopholes in the situation to their advantage.

But some abadis were still totally removed?

That is the selective inclusion that CDA makes. Those with no political support are easier to remove as they do not provide a threat to the CDA. CDA is on a tight rope, it has the burden of maintain the image of the city and it also has to cater to all the beneficiaries that reside here.

In one of the schemes they were granted small plots in another sector but that failed, why?

That was a decision that government made for its own benefit because it involved money. It was a wrong decision and it back-fired. Not only did they lose that land but the residents also came back to their original land with money from the sold land in their pockets. They used that to make their original houses better and cemented them. Making it even more difficult for the government to make any decision.

Moving on what kind of relation would you say you have with this neighborhood? Have you or anyone you know complained about the settlement in your vicinity?

Actually, the vicinity is itself is not the problem. Even my own house help comes from there for the past 10 years and s trustworthy. But the issue is the shady activities that have increased over the years. Drug dealing and alcohol is a common practice which makes the area unsafe.

APPENDIX D: APPLICATION PROCEDURE FOR SERVICES
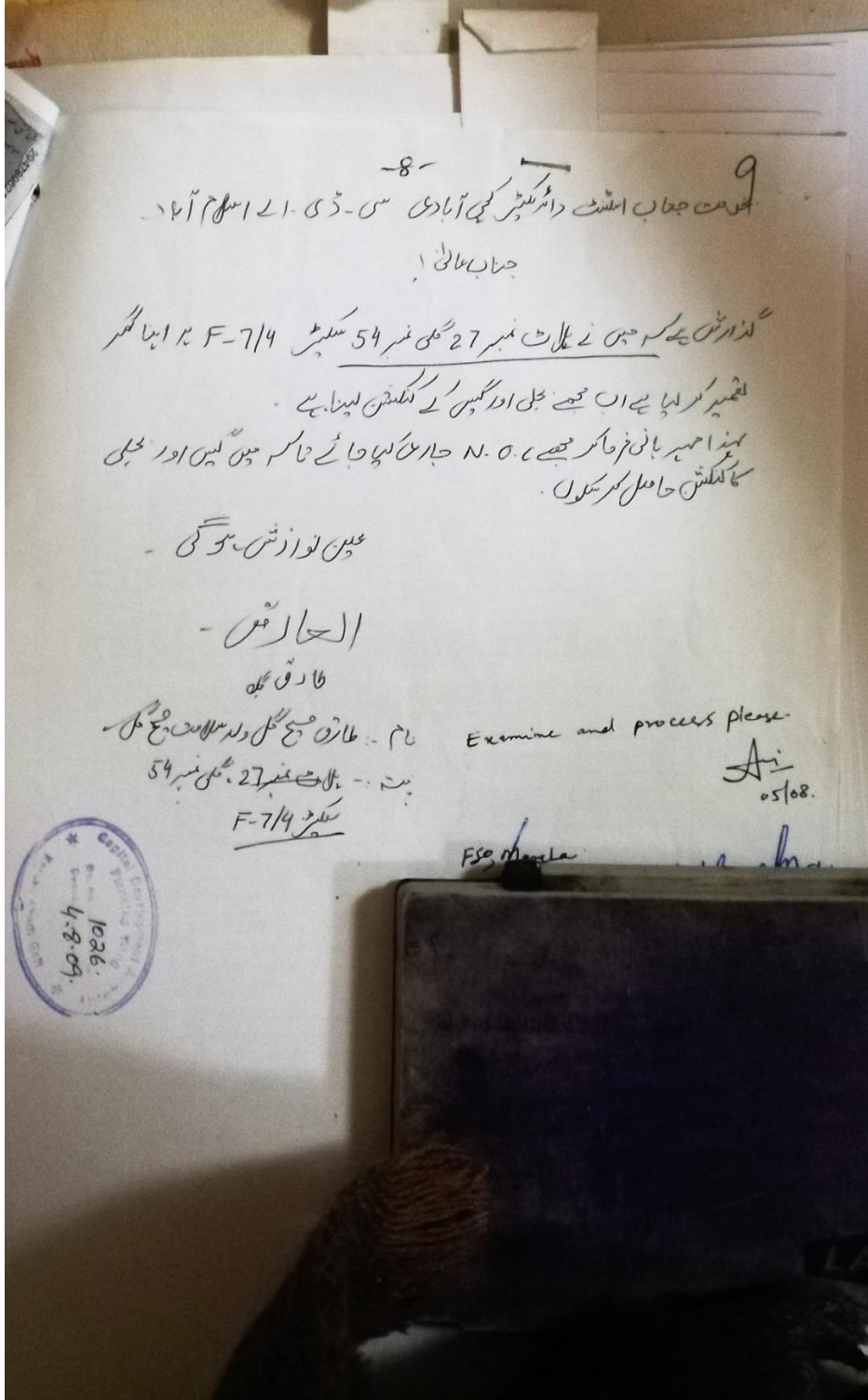
CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
(PLANNING WING)
KATCHI ABADI CELL

List of Dwellers of Katchi Abadi F-7/4
As per Survey Conducted Up to 07-03-2002.

S.No	Name / Father Name	Location	Remarks
1	Nasir Masih S/o Ameen	Across the nullah	
	Aasif Masih S/o Ameen	Across the nullah	
2	Saleema Bibi wd/o Majo	Across the nullah	Purchased
3	Asghar Masih S/o Nathanial	Across the nullah	
4	Muhammad Sajjad S/o Muhammad Sharif	Across the nullah	
5	Irshad Masih S/o Sadeeq	Across the nullah	
6	Majid Masih S/o Sadhoo	Across the nullah	
7	Soorti Masih	Across the nullah	
8	Francis Masih	Across the nullah	
	Nadeem Masih	Across the nullah	
9	Amanat Masih S/o Nawab	Across the nullah	
10	Younas Masih S/o Sadiq	Across the nullah	
11	Arshad	Across the nullah	On rent
12	Saleem S/o Phatta	Across the nullah	
13	Walayat Ali	Across the nullah	On rent
14	Raja Mushtaq	Across the nullah	
15	Hazara Masih S/o Labha	Across the nullah	
16	Younas Masih S/o Mashooq Mashooq Masih S./o Nawab	Across the nullah	
17	Younas Masih S/o Sardar	Across the nullah	
18	Ishaq Masih S/o Niamat	Across the nullah	
19	Arshad Masih S/o Anwer	Across the nullah	
20	Shahbaz Masih S/o Pooran	Across the nullah	
21	Nazeer Masih	Across the nullah	
22	Niamat Masih	Inside the nullah	
23	Yousaf Younas	Across the nullah Opposite to C-293	
24	Akram	Across the nullah	
25	Maqsood	Across the nullah	
26	Nazir S/o Allah Ditta	Across the nullah	
28	Liaqat Sadiq	Across the nullah	Purchased
29	Sajjad S/o Sain	Behind CDA toilet	
30	Basharat S/o Saraj William S/o Saraj	Across the nullah	
31	Akram S/o Nazir	Across the nullah	
32	Martha Bibi	Across the nullah	On rent
33	Yaqoob S/o Lal	Across the nullah	
34	Ishaq S/o Lal	Near C-73 (s)	
35	Mahmood s/o Das	Across the nullah	
36	Rafaqat s/o Shafi	Across the nullah	
37	Boota s/o Sodagar	Across the nullah	
38	Saleem s/o Mand	Within nullah	Purchased
39	Zulfiqar S/o Sundar	Across the nullah	
40	Mushtaq S/o Inayat	Across the nullah	
41	Yousaf S/o Sadeeq	Across the nullah	

CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
PLANNING WING
KATCHI ABADIS CELL

No.CDA/PLW-KA-F-7/4 (Across Nallah)/2002 *1159*   Islamabad, September 02, 2009

To,

The Superintending Engineer,
Islamabad Electric Supply Co,
Sector F-8/3,
Islamabad.

Subject: **PROVISION OF ELECTRICITY TO THE RESIDENT OF**
KATCHI ABADI F-7/4, ISLAMABAD.

I am directed to inform that CDA has No Objection for grant of Electric connection to House across Nallah, located in Katchi Abadi F-7/4 without any financial liability on CDA.

(EJAZ-UL-HASSAN)
Dy. Director KAC

Copy to:-

1.   Dy. Director (Electrical Division No.II), CDA.
2.   SDO Operation, G-8, M/S IESCO, Islamabad.
3.   Mr. Tariq Masih S/o Salamat Masih.
      House across Nallah, Katchi Abadi F-7/4 Islamabad. Outstanding dues if noticed will be recovered later on.
4.   Master File.

Dy. Director KAC

o/c

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CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
PLANNING WING
KATCHI ABADIS CELL

No.CDA/PLW-KA-F-7/4 (Across Nallah)/2002 *1657* Islamabad, September 02, 2009
To,

The General Manager,
M/S SNGPL,
Sector I-9/1,
Islamabad.

Subject: **PROVISION OF GAS TO THE RESIDENTS OF KATCHI ABADI F-7/4**
ISLAMABAD.

I am directed to inform that CDA has No Objection for grant of Gas connection to House across Nallah, located in Katchi Abadi F-7/4 without any financial liability on CDA.

(EJAZ-UL-HASSAN)
Dy. Director KAC

Copy to:-

1. Dy. Director (Maintenance Division No. II), CDA.

2. Mr. Tariq Masih S/o Salamat Masih.
   House across Nallah, Katchi Abadi F-7/4, Islamabad. Outstanding dues if noticed will be recovered later on.

3. Master File.

Dy. Director KAC

Approved DFA
Para-17/N.
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CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
PLANNING WING
(Katchi Abadi Cell)

Islamabad

No. CDA/PLW-KAC/F-7/4/   Islamabad, April   2017

The General Manager,
M/s SNGPL, Sector I-9/1,
Islamabad.

Subject: **VERIFCATION OF NOC LETTER DATED 02-09-2019**

Ref:-   This office letter No.CDA/PLW-KA-F-7/4 (Across Nullah)/2002/ 657 dated 02-09-2009 and application received from Mr. Tariq Masih S/o Salamat Masih on 15-03-2017 regarding verification of subject letter:--

        I am directed to inform that CDA has No Objection for installation of sui gas connection to house No. S-27 located across Nullah in Katchi Abadi F-7/4, Islamabad enlisted against Mr. Tariq Masih S/o Salamat Masih without any financial liability on CDA. Moreover, letter as referred above, was issued by this office for installation of sui gas connection to the said applicant.

2.   This is issued with approval of competent Authority.

(MOHAMMAD MANSHA)
FSO (KAC) CDA

Copy to:
1) Director (HS), CDA
2) P.S. to Member (P&D), CDA
3) Mr. Tariq Masih S/o Salamat Masih
   House No. S-27 located across Nullah,
   Street No.54, Katchi Abdi, Sector F-7/4, **Islamabad**
4) Master File.

FSO (KAC) CDA