

**DOMESTICATION OF PRIVACY THROUGH THE
GOVERNANCE OF INFORMAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN
POSTCOLONIAL LAHORE**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING AND SCIENCE
OF BILKENT UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

By

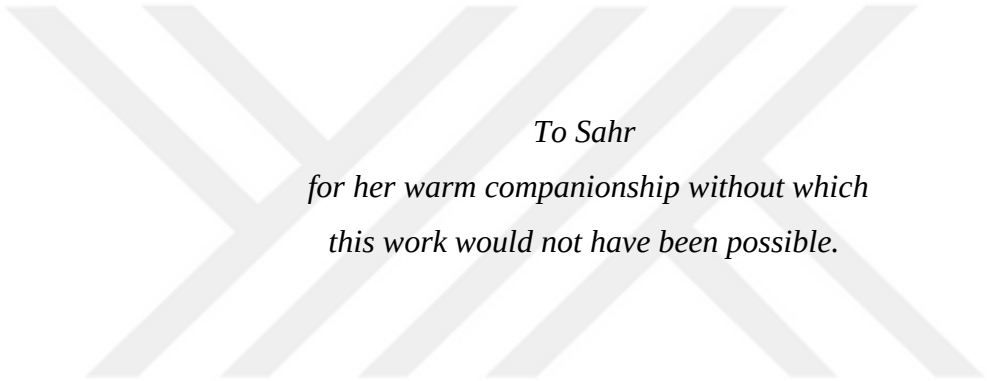
Muhammad Shahzeb Khan

July 2024

İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

JULY 2024





*To Sahr
for her warm companionship without which
this work would not have been possible.*

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The Graduate School of Engineering and Science

of

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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July, 2024

We certify that we have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Architecture.

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ABSTRACT

DOMESTICATION OF PRIVACY THROUGH THE GOVERNANCE OF INFORMAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN POSTCOLONIAL LAHORE

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Master of Science in Architecture

Advisor: Bülent Batuman

July 2024

Postcolonial Lahore is a site of contestation among conflicting productions of privacies. This research explores the material and representational dynamics of this contestation by examining how this domestication is shaped by colonial and post-colonial strategies of spatial governance, segmenting space along the mutually exclusive lines of public and private, and the ways in which they are resisted through everyday practices of informal appropriation. Departing from the post-structural critique of such ontological binarism, this research argues that while in abstraction, public and private are seen as mutually exclusive binaries, in reality, their relationship is highly varied and always in a state of becoming.

A case study analysis of the historical development of five urban settlements in Lahore, along with a detailed literature review and fieldwork, unravels how the construction of boundaries between public and private are intertwined with the control and organization of domestic space. It also studies how formal and informal emerge as the conceptual categories of spatial planning in Lahore within the historical production of middle-class residential spaces. In addition to the legal planning instruments, this thesis highlights that informality as a spatial category is constructed through the exclusionary production of an urban built environment, where any divergences from material and discursive coding of public and private segmentation are considered informal.

Countering any simplistic opposition between formal/informal, this research suggests that in everyday urban space, informality occurs as both defending as well as

transgressing of the institutional and non-institutional assertion of boundaries. It highlights that the social and cultural divisions in the city are reproduced spatially in the ways the rigid boundaries between public and private are maintained and the degree to which they are resisted. By foregrounding how such definitive architectural geometries are continually transgressed and appropriated, this research reveals the limitations of binary classifications in articulating the differences and multiplicities of how spatial privacies are made and unmade in everyday practice.

Keywords: Privacy, Private-Public, Housing, Domesticity, Urban Informality, Spatial Governance, Production of Space, Postcolonial, Lahore



ÖZET

POSTKOLONYAL LAHOR'DA MEKANIN ENFORMEL ÜRETİMİNİN YÖNETİMİ YOLUYLA MAHREMIYETİN EVCİLLEŞTİRİLMESİ

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Mimarlık, Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Bülent Batuman

Eylül 2024

Postkolonyal Lahor, mahremiyetlerin çelişkili üretimleri arasında bir çatışma alanıdır. Bu araştırma, bu evcilleştirmenin, alanı karşılıklı olarak dışlayıcı kamusal ve özel çizgiler boyunca bölümlendiren sömürge ve postkolonyal mekansal yönetim stratejileri tarafından nasıl şekillendirildiğini ve gündelik enformel sahiplenme pratikleri aracılığıyla nasıl direnildiğini inceleyerek bu çatışmanın maddi ve temsili dinamiklerini araştırmaktadır. Bu ontolojik ikiliğin post-yapısalcı eleştirisinden ayrılan bu araştırma, soyutlamada kamusal ve özelin karşılıklı olarak dışlayıcı ikilikler olarak görülmesine karşın, gerçekte ilişkilerinin son derece çeşitli ve sürekli bir oluş halinde olduğunu savunmaktadır.

Lahor'daki beş kentsel yerleşimin tarihsel gelişimine dair bir vaka analizi, kapsamlı bir literatür incelemesi ve saha çalışması, kamusal ve özel arasındaki sınırların inşasının evcilleştirilmiş alanın kontrolü ve örgütlenmesiyle nasıl iç içe geçtiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Aynı zamanda, Lahor'daki mekansal planlamada formel ve enformel kavramlarının orta sınıf yerleşim alanlarının tarihsel üretimi içinde nasıl ortaya çıktığını incelemektedir. Bu tez, yasal planlama araçlarının yanı sıra, enformelitenin bir mekansal kategori olarak, kamusal ve özel segmentasyonun maddi ve söylemsel kodlamalarından herhangi bir sapmanın enformel olarak kabul edildiği dışlayıcı bir kentsel çevre üretimi yoluyla inşa edildiğini vurgulamaktadır.

Formel/enformel arasındaki basit karşıtlığa karşı çıkan bu araştırma, gündelik kentsel alanda enformelitenin hem kurumsal ve kurumsal olmayan sınırların savunulması

hem de aşılması olarak gerçekleştiğini önermektedir. Şehirdeki sosyal ve kültürel bölünmelerin, kamusal ve özel arasındaki katı sınırların nasıl sürdürüldüğü ve bunlara ne ölçüde direnildiği yollarıyla mekansal olarak yeniden üretildiğini vurgulamaktadır. Böyle belirleyici mimari geometrilerin sürekli olarak aşıldığı ve benimsendiği, bu araştırma, gündelik pratiklerde mekansal mahremiyetlerin nasıl oluşturulduğunu ve bozulduğunu anlatan ikili sınıflandırmaların sınırlamalarını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Mahremiyet, Özel-Kamusal, Konut, Evcillik, Kentsel Enformalite, Mekansal Yönetim, Mekanın Üretimi, Postkolonyal, Lahor



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Bülent Batuman, whose unwavering support, insightful feedback, and constant encouragement have been invaluable throughout this research. More than just a mentor, he has been a source of true inspiration, always making daunting tasks seem achievable. I am profoundly grateful for his extensive help and guidance with this thesis.

I am also deeply thankful to Dr. Aslıhan Günhan and Dr. Kıvanç Kılınç for their thorough review of this thesis and their valuable critiques, which will undoubtedly shape the future direction of my research.

I extend my sincere appreciation to Dr. Burcu Şenyapılı Özcan for her continuous attention to academic needs and for providing opportunities for pedagogical engagement with studios and teaching faculty.

I owe special gratitude to Waqar and Juliane for their unwavering support and compassion, which continues to be a constant source of motivation for me.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my parents, for their endless love, trust, and support.

I am also thankful to Alia Aunty and Farooq Uncle for their constant encouragement and support throughout each stage of this journey.

I cannot thank enough Hammad and Hassan, for always being there for me, no matter the circumstances.

I am grateful to Ayşenur and Ibrahim for their wonderful friendship.

Lastly, I want to thank Sahr for enduring countless discussions, accompanying me through fieldwork, helping me navigate tough times, and being a steadfast anchor I can always rely on.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Abadi	An indigenous word for a sub-urban settlement in Urdu.
Ahata	An enclosed compound or courtyard, often encircling in cluster of dwellings.
Ailaf	A term referring to families of local merchants, traders, and landed gentry.
Ashraf	A term referring to those families who attained westernized education and held positions in colonial government.
Baithak	A sitting room or parlor, often used for entertaining guests.
Chajja	An overhanging eave or ledge, typically found in traditional architecture for shade.
CMTS	Cooperative Model Town Society.
Dervaza	Door or gate.
DHA	Defence Housing Authority
Dehleez	Threshold or doorstep
Gali	A narrow street or lane
Ghar	A residential dwelling.
Jharoka	A traditional overhanging enclosed balcony in Indian and Islamic architecture.
Kanal	A unit of area used for land calculation Pakistan, equivalent to 20 marlas or 605 square yards.
Katra	An open compound with multiple buildings around a central courtyard, often used for communal purposes.
Kucha	A narrow street or alley, similar to gali but often referring to older parts of the city.
LDA	Lahore Development Authority
LCCHS	Lahore Cantonment Cooperative Housing Society
LIT	Lahore Improvement Trust
LMC	Lahore Municipal Committee
Mahram	A person of opposite gender with whom marriage is considered illegal in Islamic law.
Marla	A unit of area used in Pakistan, equivalent to 30.25 square yards
MCL	Metropolitan Corporation Lahore

MMC	Mian Mir Cantonment
Mohalla	A neighborhood or locality, often referring to a distinct community within a city
Mandi	A market or trading place.
Namahram	A person of opposite gender with whom marriage is permissible in Islamic law, often used to refer to non-family members.
PPC	Pakistan Planning Commission
Sehan	Courtyard, often found in traditional houses
Takia	A communal space associated with cultural activities in traditional Lahore
Tharra	A raised platform, often used as a social gathering place in rural and urban settings.



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: DOMESTICATION OF PRIVACY

The present constitution of Pakistan, which was implemented in 1973, associates the dignity of a citizen with the sanctity of home as: "the dignity of man and, subject to law, the privacy of home, shall be inviolable."¹ This is the only place the word 'dignity' has been employed other than in the chapter on fundamental rights (Choudhary, 2014). In the tying of dignity, privacy, and home there are no elaborations on what constitutes 'dignity' and 'privacy' and how they are tied to 'home'. The article leaves out crucial distinctions to the reader's imagination and, above all, in sanctioning 'privacy of home' as inviolable, it mandates that all other privacies open to violability. As any discourse analysis would suggest, the text is not innocent; significantly, policy documents contribute to identity construction not only by what is said but also by what is not said (Fairclough, 2013). The article bounds privacy to the realm of home. It implicitly delineates a strong boundary between what is private and public, decreeing it as a condition for the preservation of dignity.

There are familiarities that are considered uncontestable in the dominant discourse, and the case presented above is a typical example of such a construction of familiarity of privacy as bounded within the home. Lefebvre questions such dominant accounts of space, institutionalized to constitute a definite certainty as "a representation that takes effect for the cause, and the goal for the reason why that goal is pursued. A representation which passes itself off as a concept when it is merely an image..." (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 287). Such familiarities are problematic as, in their portrayal as fundamental, they shroud the complexities and contradictions of their formation (Kaika, 2015). Wigley (1993) states that the familiar "alienates by masking a more fundamental alienation: the obviousness and self-assurance of the average ways in which things have been interpreted as such" (p. 109). By placing the source of violability outside the home-privacy configuration, the violence endogenous to such

¹ Article 14 of the Constitution entitled 'Inviolability of Dignity of Man, etc.' accessed 06 June 2021 at <http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html>.

structures is veiled from critical scrutiny. In addition to that, by placing 'dignity' inside such a composite, dignity outside such configurations is brought into question.

Space is always implicated in mechanisms power, where holding power also implies exertion of control over space and the capacity for its transformation (Staub, 2016). This research explores how such idealized notions of privacy, which appear as benign concepts, serve as ideological channelings of power, which are reproduced in the material and discursive segmentation of space into public and private. By analyzing the particular knowledge-based frameworks and historical material conditions through which certain configurations of boundaries are represented as ideal, this thesis investigates domestication of privacy as the double implication of how power operates through both, (1) control and management of privacy by inhibiting one's capacity to alter space, and (2) its delimitation to the spatial bounds of the domestic space. It asks, how home and privacy in their conceptual binding into an interiorized realm emanate a socio-spatial diagram of power relations employed in a physical and representational conditioning of what constitutes as a city and what does not. This thesis suggests that the ordering of space into public and private is recursively tied to the production of privacy as abstract, where informality constitutes that which is leftover or excluded from such production. In unraveling these theoretical complexities, this research is an attempt to highlight (a) how divergences from the ideal are not only physically curtailed but also suffer an epistemological violence in the ways they are rendered invisible from intellectual inquiry, and (b) in what ways do such divergences translate into differences through which an alternative pluralistic understanding of urban space can be harnessed.

These inquiries are employed within the context of the postcolonial city of Lahore in Pakistan to investigate the everyday production of space in the city. Since the project demands both theoretical analyses and empirical investigation, this introductory chapter, therefore, has been divided into two parts; the first part focuses on drawing the broader discourse together to explain the conceptual concerns particular to those of privacy, domesticity, informality, and spatial power along with its postcolonial implications; the second part addresses the concerns of research methodology and structure of the thesis along with necessary qualifications.

1.1. Problematizing Privacy

Privacy is one of those terms whose definitions vary significantly across geographies and cultures yet are regarded with archetypal commonalities. Even within the developed modern societies, it is hard to capture the exact meaning. For example, one dictionary resource describes it as "the state of being away from other people's sight or interest."² While another one regards it as "the freedom from interference or intrusion."³ Where the former implies seclusion –akin to a forest refuge or a prison cell– the latter hints at an independence to act at one's own will, a liberty of action; implicating privacy as carceral as well as liberating. These are two contrasting definition but that is the nature of privacy and this internal contradiction is what I aim to highlight in this section. This requires a further contextualization of privacy in the discourse of modernity. Though, as a simplified overture, we might define privacy as a form of closing –physical, psychological, or social– which varies like silence (Taachi, 1998). This closing is not absolute but a matter of degree (Garvey, 2005). But if privacy is reckoned as closing what is this closing to and from? What lies here and what lies on the other side? What kind of relationship do they constitute?

1.1.1. Ontological Opposition and Segmentation

Madanipour (2003) discusses three conceptual roots to word privacy; 'privus', 'privare', and 'privatus' (p. 34). The first means single or individual; the second includes a sense of loss (deprived), while 'privatus' means withdrawn from the public: what Warner (2005, p. 28) defines as negation or privation (loss) of public value, suggesting that privacy is what is closed to the public. Privacy, therefore, is not simply a matter of enclosing, but it is a delineator of us/them, inside/outside, self/world (Morley, 2000). Although this research will discuss the territorial logic of privacy ahead, what is important here to emphasize is that what is enclosed within privacy is an identity or a representation (Warner, 2005). That is why, to understand privacy, it is crucial to explore the division between private and public, as in their idealized

² As translated by Cambridge Dictionary accessed 09 July 2021 at <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-turkish/privacy>.

³ Translated by Oxford Dictionary as accessed at 09 July 2021 at <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/151596?redirectedFrom=privacy#eid>.

abstractions, one entails the loss of the other. However, it is important to highlight that they are constantly in a state of exchange and flux (Madanipour, 2003). Such simplistic binary opposition between public and private as mutually exclusive entities, is made possible by a dualistic view of the world, which draws strict divisions between the material realm of physical existence and an idealized realm of conceptual abstraction (Brighenti, 2013). Mitchel (2000, pp. 17-18) accuses such dualism of reducing the complexities and contradictions of social experience to simplistic contrast between real and representation, or content and form, restricting any real inquiry into how this relationship is structured, in the first place. Nevertheless, an alternative ontological framework is provided is offered in the work of Deleuze & Guattari, who in rejecting structural opposition between matter and representation, pose forward an interconnected relational view of reality (Delanda, 2016).

Deleuze (1968) regards such oppositional categories of abstraction are what regards as 'finite representations', i.e., "it is representation of a form which contains a matter, but a secondary matter in so far as it is defined by contraries. It represents difference by subordinating it to identity" (48). He argues for the state of reality as an event of becoming between intensities of virtual ideas (constituted by repetitions) and actual things (characterized by differences). It replaces the structural notion of reality within the state of binaries with reality as a stage of becoming, thus putting consolidated territories into motion (Dovey, 2010). He regards virtual ideas as 'pure becomings' as they only differ in terms of difference between becomings. Deleuze (ibid) highlights that ideal arrangements –in this case, the (ideal) privacy as a negation of the public– come about when virtualities are illuminated differently by intensities as they emphasize some virtual ideas to others. This is what he regards as the 'necessary abstraction' in the face of "that difference, the change that runs through a repeated series, cannot be thought of in terms of a description of the actual relations between the position of two members with respect to infinite number of other series since this cannot be grasped" (Williams, 2003, p. 12).

Such abstractions, he regards, are necessary to understand the movement and change that occur among finite representations. Nonetheless, difference itself is also not a simple category as it is replete with multiplicities: things in continuous variation resistant to identification (Williams, 2003, p. 146). There are pure differences among

the elements of finite representations that are virtual ideas (for e.g., privacy and public are categorized by such pure difference), but then there are "relations between those relations; and relations between the elements and actual forms and terms" (ibid). So there are actual differences (defined by degree or intensities between pure becoming), and then there are pure differences (among elements of ideas that cannot be fixed in terms of form). Delanda (2016) further elaborates on such differences as transformations (actual difference) and invariants (pure difference) by pointing out that "an invariant does not refer to a constant property, but to a property's capacity to be unaffected by a transformation" (p. 113). Thus what appears as a binary is extended along a continuum of multiplicities; consider again the example of silence.

The post-structural relational view of reality presented by Deleuze explains how privacy can come to mean one and many things at once, and what is usually presented as a dichotomy is actually a gradation that is able to conserve its poles (Dovey, 2010; Delanda, 2016). Nevertheless, how come few meanings or, in this case, representations come to dominate the thought over others? Deleuze's answer to that lies within territorialization through homogeneity of repetitions. For this relational view of reality, things are only distributed along the dimension of actual or virtual it is also varied along the territorialization and deterritorialized dimensions (Dovey, 2010, p. 16). This tetravalent notion of forces of becoming as illumination of reality is regarded as an assemblage way of thinking (Dovey, 2010). While repetition is a vital determinant in the territorialization of certain representations, another parameter relevance is the degree of coding or decoding, where coding refers to the "role played by special expressive components in an assemblage in fixing the identity of a whole" (Delanda, 2016, p. 22). These codings inform the way boundaries are inscribed to form territories, or what Dovey (2010, p. 18) also highlights as segmentarity.

Dovey (2010) highlights that segmentations are key characteristics of all territorial assemblies, and are defined by both the material and expressive coding through which boundaries are demarcated around differences for the stabilization of meaning. However, he argues that such segmentations (drawing of boundaries) are not limited to the plane of virtual (representation) but are also spatially inscribed into material divisions of space into binary, linear, and concentric forms. Thus, the mutually exclusive opposition between public and private, is a form of binary segmentation,

which lends stability to their representational forms. On the other hand, this segmentation is also effected through expressive codings, such as laws, regulations, and cultural discourse in their material inscription of boundaries by production of spatial territories, within which these segmentations are actualized. However, Dovey (2010) suggests that segmentations can differ from rigid (strict territorial divisions) to supple (allowing movement and transition) forms depending upon the degree of coding through which social and spatial boundaries are inscribed and the extent of its stability i.e. territorialization.

Codings can vary from cultural norms, laws and regulations, ideological assertions, social rules and representation, though to understand how privacy as a concept is territorialized, it is important to understand the role of modern discourse and state in the structuring of privacy as an ideal. To inquire about such coding, we have to reflect back at the historical events that have contributed to the institutionalization of privacy towards socio-political goals, an approach that is attributed to Foucault as an eventalization⁴ of history (Ploger, 2010). Foucault (1991) asserts that it is “not about the codes but about events” (p. 59) that render them as the singular emergence of relations among things along with their interrelationship, thus mandating them as a pre-given reality. This research uses this event-based method to decipher how public and private emerge as institutions of control in the event of colonization in the case of Lahore. However, first it’s important to highlight how these conceptual codings occur in political and cultural discourses of modernity.

1.1.2. Private, Public, and State

In political theory, public refers to the non-exclusive zone of state activities and officials that operate as or are owned by the government (Madanipour, 2001). On the other hand, private is referred to as the exclusive zone of personal property outside the control of the state (Staub, 2016). According to Staub, This definition is also extended to space as an exclusive private space under personal control closed to others and a non-exclusive public space that belongs to the state. Though what are the limits to

⁴ Foucault writes about eventalization as “rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary” (Foucault, 1991, p. 76).

such exclusivity? Does it mean the private lies outside the legal jurisprudence of the state? Conversely, does the non-exclusivity of the public imply that everyone is permitted? Clearly, that is not the case, as Madanipour (2001, p.3) suggests that their mutual exclusion is a theoretical construct, a political tool for the organization of social and spatial relations in a society.

Warner (2005) traces the source of contradictions among the mutual exclusivity of public and private in the history of liberal tradition with its relentless protection of private property through a public bureaucratic structure. In liberal political theory, there is an immediate distinction between the public as the realm of politics and political expression separated from the private realm of intimacy and interpersonal socialization (Madanipour, 2003). The political constitution of liberal ideology sets private and public in continuous opposition by declaring the public as the sphere of freedom and power orchestrated to protect the private as the sphere for the satisfaction of spontaneous feeling and action (Schwartz, 1979).

Simultaneous to public's autonomy as an arena of reason in the liberal tradition, a private individual is supposed on merits to possess private property in order to be a member of free society, thus making private property a condition to enter the public realm of politics (Arendt, 1958, p. 64). Arendt (1958) highlights that there is no other private matter that is more a concern of the public than private property as it presupposes the formality of the public realm. So besides the public of political expression public realm is also the zone of trade. It is the realm where commodity appears, and its exchange occurs that irrevocably ties the public realm to maintain the market competition. However, this protection is also promised on the basis of maintenance of a fair public realm (state) which is unspoiled by the intrusions of private reason, as well as a freedom for exploitation of private property without any public interference (Warner, 2005). It can be deduced that the non-exclusivity of the public realm through this analysis is directly tied to the functioning of the liberal capitalist state.

Madanipour (2003) highlights how such reliance of the public realm on a presupposition of private as an exclusive zone of personal property (not to be interfered with) and its association with participation and maintenance of the public

realm gave rise to protection of property through administration of justice in modern civil society (p. 50). Thus what begins as the negation of privacy in public –i.e., making all equal in public– also frames the rejection of public in private or the right to private property. This mutual exclusion in liberal order is not necessitated out of social concerns but the sheer economic inter-dependence of the economic framework within which both realms operate. It does so by occluding the distinction by valorizing private freedom and public authority framed in a non-intersectional configuration (Warner, 2005). This separation also divides the city by constructing boundaries along the lines of private property and publicly owned, though the configuration of such boundaries remains contested beyond the reductive logic of ownership (Staub, 2016; Madanipour, 2003). However, how can we account for the social sphere that, according to Arendt (1958), is “neither public nor private” (p. 28), which requires answering how public and private are theorized in cultural discourse?

1.1.3. The Public Sphere and Private Individual

The public-private as discussed until now brings forth a clear distinction between the private realm as the zone of the private individual applying private reason for personal benefit protected by the public realm both as the domain of administration, commodity exchange, and application of political reason among selected few (mostly noble) in public matters among impersonal others. However, in cultural discourse of liberalism, public is associated to with a sphere of exchange of ideas and zone for the propagation of knowledge and advancement of liberal values, whereas private is associated to sphere of individual relations, a zone for passion and satisfaction of desires linked to the privacy of the domestic space (Madanipour, 2022). Warner (2005) points out how the rise of printing in the 18th century in the western world engendered a public of readers, allowing more people (private individuals) to practice public use of reason. This is the public constituted of private individuals able to express themselves across space and time constraints. This social realm of cultural exchange is what Habermas regards as the public sphere “between civil society and state” (2001, p. xi). To explain the private nature of the new public sphere, he states: “the public sphere was coextensive with public authority, and we consider court the part of it. Included in the private realm was the authentic 'public sphere' for it was not a public sphere constituted by private people” (p. 30-1).

The bourgeois culture that emerged in the industrial western metropolis at the end of the 18th century not only has protection of private property but also has access to an apolitical literary public sphere allowing the private individual a capacity to self-reflect (Madanipour, 2003). According to Habermas (2001), the private sphere was further divided spatially into the public and private parts of the house, i.e., the private-public sphere of socialization and the intimate sphere of domestic practices. The public sphere enabled the domestic family to attain a self-image through its incorporation and engagement with the public sphere, thus combining the more human-centered sphere of intimacy with the property-oriented sphere of the common interest within the establishment of the private (2001, p. 28-9).

This bourgeois public sphere was not only restricted to the house but also emanated new forms of privately owned publics such as coffeehouses, salons, and social clubs in which argument and discussion could give rise to the public sphere of private civil society. Nevertheless, also one of the most important characteristics of such an interpersonal public sphere cherished by both Sennett (1977) and Arendt (1958) is its possibility of face-to-face encounter and rational criticism, a quality that would be eroded over continuous cycles of capitalism as more sections of society are exposed to the public sphere of reading and self-reflection (Madanipour, 2003; Warner, 2005). For Arendt (1958), this ideal public sphere of interpersonal encounter and inquiry was the space of reason and excellence where every activity performed could attain excellence (p. 49).

Sennett (1977) states that sophistication was the defining characteristic of 19th-century western bourgeois culture. The civility of the bourgeois public sphere emanated the public opinion, which gained its ascendancy over the state due to its founding on reason (Habermas, 2001), albeit Warner (2005) maintains that the exclusive nature of this freedom attained through public opinion was challenged by Marx as the expulsion of workers and excluded groups. At the same time, due to the economic expansion of industrial capitalism, Sennett (1977) suggests, there also rose a parallel realm of public commodity with the rise of the department store. According to him, the stylization of buyer spaces and mass production made possible through industrial achievement along low markup, high volume techniques produced a mass

culture of mystified commodities which resulted in withering away of the public sphere of reason by a consumption-oriented mass culture (p. 141-148). This extension of freedom to the masses was threatening to the impersonal public sphere of the elite that caused the bourgeois to withdraw from public space of exposure to private spaces (Madanipour, 2003). Sennett's (1977) lamentation for the fall of the public man lies in this retreat of reason that occurs in western society at the end of the 18th century. However, mass culture's rise also came with the need to dominate urban space through capital and state interests (Harvey, 1973).

With the rise of mass society, but the power and means of production still in the hands of the political elite, the image of the city becomes the primary tool to both produce and manage differences in the city (Harvey, 1973). In response to the internalization of the elite public sphere and the emergence of a mass culture, the bourgeois constitutional state gave up its liberal ideals of public self-determination as soon as the public was overtaken by the propertyless and uneducated masses (Habermas, 2001, p. 136). For the smooth running of capitalism, the distinction and sanctity of public and private is a crucial factor. However, the boundaries of that separation changed from an externalized ideal public to an internalized civilized public sphere and virulent public mass culture, though at the center of both remained a private individual separated by a class distinction. The civil society constituted of sophisticated elites only saw the continuation in the maintenance of distinction by instrumentalizing the public/ private separation to keep at a distance the private (interiorized within bourgeois house and places of meeting) public sphere of civility and the public mass culture, thus employing privacy in service of defining what truly constituted as public (Schwartz, 1979).

However, where these developments highlight how public and private are culturally produced as exclusive zones of personal and impersonal forms of interaction and its association with a civil society, according to Madanipour (2001) the distinctions between public and private are also ideologically coded into space. Staub (2016) highlights, that such ideological codings are important to understand how the public and private spaces are structured as disciplinary terrains involved in the social and political production of space.

1.1.4. Modern Domestic Space and Uncanny

Madanipour (2001) suggests, that the boundaries between public and private are rooted in the ideological underpinnings of modern Enlightenment, which necessitated an ordered environment as a prerequisite for a disciplined society. For Kaika (2012) such ordering is materially expressed in the production of modern city, where the modern house is constructed as distinct inside severed from the social and natural processes involved in its production. The articulation of home as an intimate space of domesticity and a domain for emotional warmth forecloses any inquiry into its ideological construction (Price, 2002). The central functions of such an ideal configuration –recognizing the caveat of reductionism–can be narrowed down to; protection, order, and intimacy (Boccagni & Brighenti, 2017). All three of these roles are constituted by establishing strict boundaries between an inside and an outside.

This exclusionary construct of home as an ideal zone secluded from the outer penetration and fortress of the private realm is tied–according to Morley (2000)–to the industrial growth in the 18th and 19th century Europe. Kaika (2012, p.52) argues that it is also during this period the advancement in technical and physical infrastructure gave birth to the homogenous dwelling space of the modern (bourgeois) individual. According to her, with the incorporation of electricity, supply, and sewerage in the modern Western metropolis, the bourgeois home, epitomized individual freedom, released from social processes (labor, homelessness) but also from natural processes (dust, smoke, waste), making it an ideal zone for modern living. Morley (2000) suggests that the same ideas about domestic bliss of familial solitude, equipped with ideas about utility, efficiency and uninterrupted privacy underpinned the modernist movement of early 20th century. The inquiry into the modernist obsession with the structuring of domestic space can be conducted along at least two trajectories: the epistemological aspect of the emancipatory and universal goal of modern architects with domestic life as a socio-economic unit; and the ontological dimensions of home as the basis of modern existence (Morley, 2000).

This border between inside and outside is created through the logic of domination and imposition of order that sets inside in negation of the outside, but as Wigley (1996; 1993) discusses, this negation also implies division among domestic/ nature, private/

public, masculine/ feminine, and most importantly familiar/unfamiliar. A threat to privacy –thus the domestic realm–is caused at every instance the familiar domesticated space of home comes into contact with its undomesticated other, where domesticity is tied to the act of keeping appearance and maintain separations to uphold the ideological divisions necessary for the maintenance of the modern (Kaika, 2012).

According to Vidler (1994), the ideal familiarity of the home space is constructed through the veiling of its own uncanny, i.e., unhomeliness. Kaika (2015) argues how the domestic space separates good water from bad water by excluding it from the vision only to reemerge as uncanny in an instance of failure to maintain that separation. Wigley (1996) suggests that familiar privacy of the home is established through an organization of space that purifies practices of domesticity from the domestic itself, but he argues that space itself is not enough to impose such an organization; it is only through alleviating (or regressing) every day to a level of an idealized representation that such an order is put into place. He extends his arguments as “the aesthetic ideal with which architecture was elevated above the mechanical arts depends upon particular mechanisms of domestication” (p. 352).

The borders of privacy constituting the domestic ideal of the home are thus not only a physical separation from the socio-material reality but also an affective subdivision between the domesticity as homely and as uncanny (Vidler, 1994). The role of the exclusionary privacy of the modern home in this sense lies in its capacity to distinguish the ambivalence that lies between good and bad domesticity (Kaika, 2015). Privacy is therefore constructed by suppressing ambivalence, and to house exactly implies this subordination by placing it in the domestic thus, as Wigley (1993) writes: "domination is domestication" (p. 137). Kaika (2015) suggests that it is also within such domestication that one can find the dark side of modern planning and architectural visions where the virtually impenetrable boundaries between the public and private are undergirded by the fear of exposing the uncivilized, untamed and excessive sides of domesticity.

1.1.5. Historical Difference and Empirical Variations

The social, political, and cultural codings of the boundaries between public and private—as described in the previous three sections—show how segmentations are historically produced in the development of European liberal thought and capitalism. These segmentations are inexorably tied to the process of Western urbanization which Lefebvre (1991) has analyzed as the recursive process of production of social space. In the production of space Lefebvre extends of Marxist analysis of capitalism to the social space, which he argues is both an outcome of the relations of production and well as means for their reproduction (Stanek, 2011, pp. 133-5). However, Madanipour (2001) suggests, that even though this archeology of public-private reveals their origin within Western thought and European Society, the articulation of boundaries and processes of their coding differ greatly from one geography to another.

The major epistemological concerns of postcolonial theory stem from a critique of the universalization of Eurocentric history. This critique aims to explain the historical processes through which the development of modern political and socio-economic structures are evaluated in postcolonial societies (Chakrabarty, 2000). Chakrabarty articulates a dual need: to circumscribe the frameworks of knowledge that stage the distinct developments of European history as universal, and to recognize how differences emerge in the colonial encounter by foregrounding alternative histories of modernity. He refers to this approach as “provincializing Europe.”

According to this view, while modernity may have similarities globally, each instance is unique due to specific historical events and geographical particularities. These occurrences should not be seen as mere variations leading to a general European form of modernity (Mitchell, 2000). Roy (2016) elaborates that provincializing is not about bypassing the West but involves addressing the epistemological challenges of navigating Eurocentrism in knowledge. Loomba (2015) emphasizes the need to highlight how social, cultural, and economic divisions in the post-colonial world are linked to the material and intellectual violence of colonialism. Sharp (2009) suggests that postcolonial studies examine how social and spatial injustices in post-colonial societies are shaped by colonial material and ideological domination. It also critiques West-centric knowledge frameworks and their inherent categories, which perpetuate

colonial representational geographies. Viewing public and private through a European historical lens, without provincializing their colonial origins, allows such reproductions to go unnoticed. The postcolonial task, therefore, involves investigating how these distinctions—foundational to Enlightenment concepts of state, individual, and sovereignty—were produced through colonial imposition and how they are reproduced and resisted in post-colonial contexts.

King (1990) extends this view to urbanization, arguing that urbanization in the colonial world follows a different logic of extraction and cultural domination, which cannot be described using Western-centric notions of urbanism. The scholarship of postcolonial urban studies (Chattopadhyay, 2005; Yeoh, 2001; Glover, 2007; Hosagrahar, 2005) reveals how colonial domination occurs through the imposition of modern governance institutions and control over the material and representational shaping of urban space, including divisions between public and private.

Roy (2009; 2011) further emphasizes that there is a historical difference between urbanization in Western and post-colonial cities. She argues that forms of urban configuration and types of urbanisms, such as urban informality, cannot be understood through Eurocentric theories of urbanism, thus necessitating “new geographies of theory” (Roy, 2011). For example, Maneval (2019) highlights in his analysis of public and private spaces in Jeddah that cultural and historical differences make it impossible to assess social and gendered multiplicities through a Eurocentric lens. Similarly, Mehrotra (2021) argues that everyday urban space in India is both a zone with static divisions between inside and outside, and a terrain of several ephemeral outsides and insides, defying stable boundaries between public and private.

This distinction between historical differences in how space is produced, as well as differences in forms and processes of urban production, underpins the epistemological concerns of Southern urbanism scholarship. These theoretical concerns are also supported by a third kind of difference—agential forms of resistance against control and domination. The next section elaborates on how this difference is tied to the territorial boundaries between public and private and its relation to urban informality.

1.1.6. Privacy and Postcolonial Informality

The segmentations between public and private are discursively coded in European history, tied to state, capital, property, individual freedom, the bourgeois public sphere, and ideal notions of domestic space. These segmentations are enacted through urban forms that support such divisions. However, these segmentations are implemented differently across various geographies and are challenged in non-official urban configurations like slums, squatter settlements, favelas, refugee shelters, and shantytowns, which are characterized as informal (Roy & Alsayyad, 2004; Simone, 2019; Dovey, 1999; Boccagni & Brighenti, 2017).

In Western urban discourse, these configurations are often viewed as fixable infrastructural problems through better planning and economic incorporation. Simultaneously, they are also seen as sites of popular resistance and self-management, countering the logic of state and capitalism (Fainstein, 1997). Lefebvre (1991) regards urban informal zones as appropriative urban configurations that contradict the logic of space production and assert democracy from the bottom up. These zones allow people to claim their right to the city through collaboration and co-management of space for its use value.

Southern urban scholars challenge the view of urban informality as either a curable divergence or utopic democratic urbanism (Varley, 2013; Roy, 2005). They argue that Western frameworks (a) homogenize the diverse conditions of urban informality in Southern cities and (b) ignore the cultural, social, and spatial differences that engender urban conditions in the Southern post-colonial world (Parida & Agarwal, 2023).

Southern concerns about urban informality can be assessed along three trajectories. First, the problem of epistemological difference is highlighted by the need to re-theorize historically marginalized forms of informal urban configurations, like South Asian slums, as alternate urban forms requiring recognition by mainstream theory (Rao, 2006). Second, urban scholars critique the essentializing tendency of such theorization, which resurrects colonial formal/informal binaries by confining informality to specific demographics and territories. In reality, informality is the dominant mode of urban production in Southern cities (Roy, 2011; Varley, 2013).

Third, as Amin & Thrift (2002) and Chattopadhyay (2012) suggest, Western theoretical frameworks' epistemological blind spots obscure the material and relational processes through which urban informality proceeds in the post-colonial world, necessitating a localized understanding of socio-spatial morphologies of urbanism. This concern is echoed by Bhan et al. (2018), who assert the need to move beyond binaries like formal/informal and center/periphery, which resurrect colonial urban imaginaries, to develop a more pluralistic understanding of urbanism.

In line with Roy (2016), Bhan et al. (2018) argue that while acknowledging historical injustices that marginalize specific urban forms, there is a need for an alternative understanding of the processes that configure informality. One aspect of such analysis is to investigate alternative morphological understandings of urban informality, as seen in the work of Dovey (2010), Shafique (2023), Kamalipour (2012), and Mehrotra (2021). Instead of relying on the language of formal planning, these authors emphasize investigating the morphological procedures explaining informal territorial processes without relying on cultural, social, and ideological codings of formal planning and urbanism.

This view allows understanding domestic space not as a whole but as an unfinished, incomplete achievement, as stressed by Boccagni & Brighenti (2017). They emphasize that domestic boundaries should be understood as a process of managing thresholds from without, rather than an organic spatial order produced from within. Maneval (2019) similarly highlights the importance of thresholds in understanding fluid boundaries of privacy, often built within symbolic interpenetrable portals that allow the privacy of the home to ooze out from physical delimitations. In his study of informal housing in Dhaka, Shafique (2022) proposes viewing boundaries as socio-material artifacts that shift and transform spatially and temporally.

This thesis examines the historical differences in power relations through which privacy is domesticated via mutually exclusive public and private production in colonial and post-colonial Lahore. It highlights how territorial segmentations are alternatively coded and decoded in everyday informal practices of spatial appropriation. Following Robinson (2014), it avoids over-generalizing Eurocentrism. Instead, this thesis aims to navigate Eurocentrism by engaging with both Western and

post-colonial theories, as advocated by Roy (2016) and Alfaro (2023).

1.2. Research Statement

This thesis examines the socio-spatial dynamics of urban divisions in post-colonial Lahore, arguing that these divisions are deeply rooted in the historical process of the domestication of privacy. It assesses how control and management of privacy is entangled with unequal power relations through which space is segmented into public/private, as well investigates the various ways this segmentation shapes the dynamics of formal/informal divisions in the historical production of space as well as contemporary urban practices in Lahore. The research is driven by three primary questions: (1) How were these segmentations historically produced in Lahore? (2) How are they reproduced and maintained in the city's residential development? (3) How are these segmentations resisted in everyday urban practice? To answer these questions the next three chapters provide a detailed analysis of production of space in Lahore to investigate the following:

- i. How is the domestication of privacy in Lahore rooted in the historical establishment of British colonial rule and its construction of divided urban landscape characterized by the spatialized inscription of identities?
- ii. What institutional and non-institutional strategies of spatial governance are employed in the coding of spatial segmentations into public and private? How are these strategies entangled with the material and ideological shaping of colonial citizen subjectivity, and how were they continued by the post-colonial state for the development of the middle-class residential built environment?
- iii. How does the territorial difference occur in the way the segmentations of public and private spaces violated and resisted in the informal everyday spatial practices of appropriation, and how do these transgressions result in new divisions in the urban fabric.

This research illuminates how the historical and ongoing processes of spatial segmentation shape the urban fabric of Lahore, challenging the rigid binaries of public/private and formal/informal. It highlights the interplay between colonialism, capitalism, and state power in producing these urban divisions and stresses the need to understand how the maintenance and resistance of such boundaries influence the city's socio-spatial dynamics.

1.3. Methodology

Given the aim to highlight both the historical processes through which territorial codings are shaped and the differences that occur in everyday urban space, this thesis adopts a three-part mixed-method research strategy (Figure 1.1). First, a critical review of the literature has been conducted to analyze the complex intersections of postcolonial studies with colonial urbanism, theories of planning and governance, and the production of space. This review interprets the theoretical debates and epistemological concerns of postcolonial and Southern scholarship of urbanism.

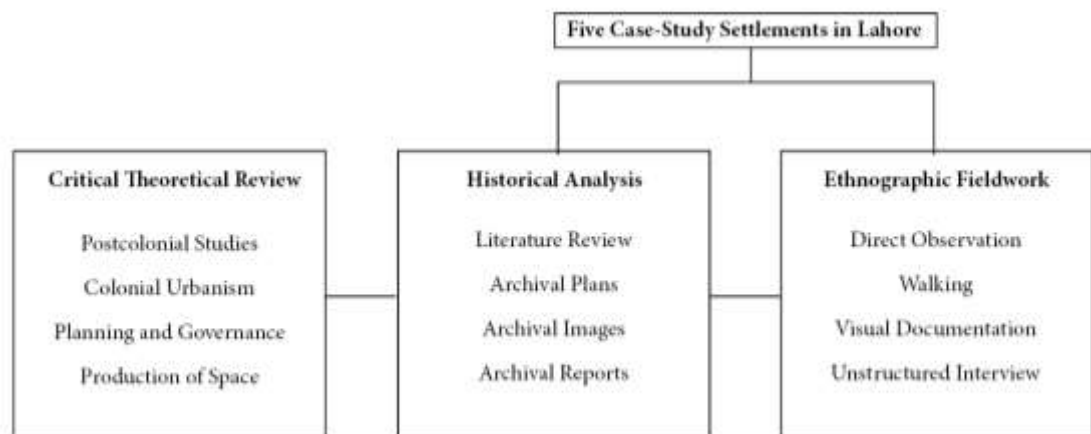


Figure 1. 1 Diagram of Mixed Methods Research Strategy

In the second phase, a detailed historical analysis was conducted to assess the colonial and post-colonial development of urban space in Lahore. Utilizing a literature review, archival images, municipal reports, archival maps, and architectural drawings, the planning history of five urban settlements—Androon Lahore, Model Town, Samanabad, Gulberg, and DHA (Figure 1.2)—is examined. Lastly, in the third phase,

an ethnographic exercise was conducted to examine the everyday spatial practices of informal territorial articulations of spatial boundaries in Lahore.

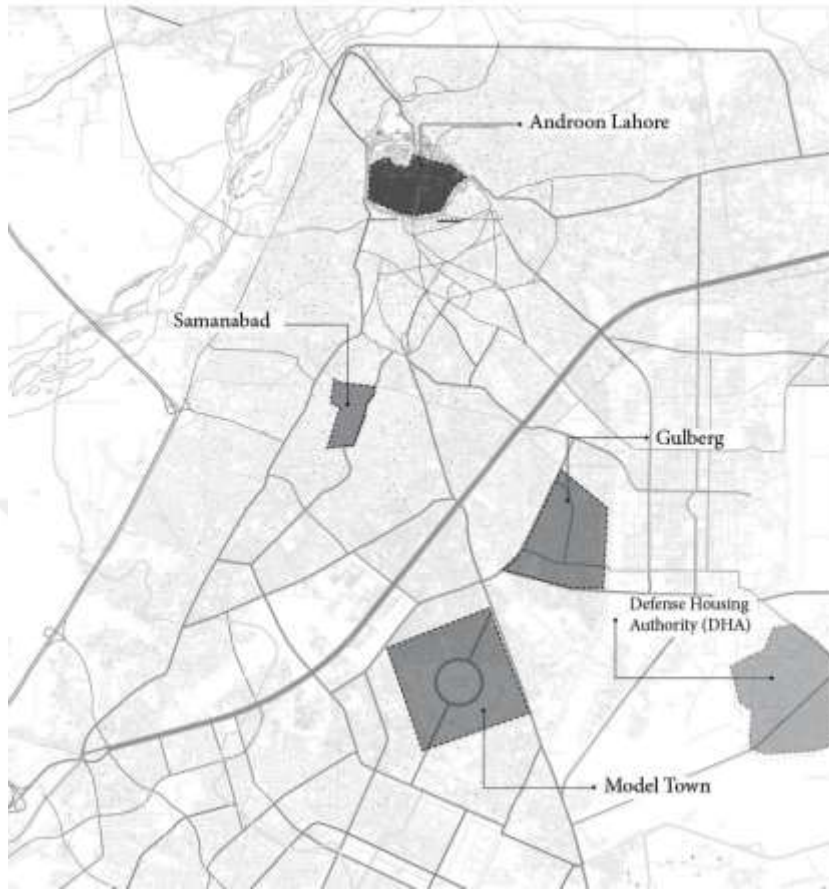


Figure 1.2 Map of Lahore showing the locations of Case Study Settlements.

To observe the everyday appropriations of urban space in Lahore, sections of the five settlements were studied. The research was conducted over several site visits spanning three weeks. Each site visit was arranged as a walkthrough of the neighborhood. In addition to non-participant direct observation, field notes, visual documentation through extensive urban photography, and unstructured interviews with local residents were utilized as the primary instruments of data collection.

On-site observation allowed for first-hand witnessing of physical appropriations and the surrounding practices involved in their shaping. Willing local residents, selected randomly, were engaged in conversations based on loosely defined themes focusing on the history, lifestyle, and relational aspects of the built environment. These conversations also included views about municipal administration and knowledge about the legality of appropriation. The walks themselves served as a medium to engage with on-ground practices of territorial boundaries. Accessibility to certain

zones, or lack thereof, became a mode to assess the exclusivity or inclusivity of spatial appropriations.

For each settlement, the fieldwork was confined to a limited site area selected based on three factors: (1) the availability of archival plans showing the originally intended demarcations of the scheme; (2) variation in urban morphology, including varying sizes of plot distributions, regular and irregular access networks, street widths, and building heights; (3) a mix of land-use, encompassing both formal and informal functions. Additionally, parameters such as physical access to the site, walkability, and suitability for visual documentation were considered. Satellite maps and personal experience of living in the city also contributed to identifying the study areas for fieldwork, which are detailed in Chapter 4.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

The three-part research is elaborated in the next three chapters, highlighting various aspects of the problematic relationship between privacy, public-private segmentation, and the concerns of postcolonial urban studies.

The second chapter discusses the historical specificity of Lahore and analyzes how spatial governance emerges as a colonial instrument of domination. By highlighting literature specific to Lahore and studies of other South Asian cities under British colonial rule, this chapter shows how strategies of control and governance are spatially articulated through both material and representational means. It suggests that governance is produced through the regulation of space and individual behaviors. The production of order itself assumes a non-discursive spatiality of power, actively instrumentalized in the colonization of space. It also highlights how the colonial production of knowledge, with its impetus for Enlightenment humanism, sustains the rationale of domination under the guise of reformation and improvement.

The third chapter contextualizes the conceptual apparatus built on theoretical analysis within particular urban settlements of Lahore City. This research analyzes the domestication of privacy in the postcolonial modern city of Lahore by focusing on five selected sites of historical and developmental importance. The research engages

with the history of municipal city-making by exploring the spatial development and residential neighborhoods in three important stages: colonial residential planning, post-independence state-induced housing development, and the neoliberal privatized residential sector.

Another parameter for site selection has been the personal experience of the city, determining the least controlled to most controlled zones of residential neighborhoods. This analysis observes how spaces get appropriated over time by inhabitants due to a lack of regulation control or changes in citizen needs under the pressure of urbanization. An in-depth archival and scholarly literature research is conducted in chapter three, tracing the histories of urban development in Lahore. Along with these five case studies (Figure 1.2), other important residential projects are discussed to provide a holistic picture of residential neighborhood planning development in Lahore.

The first case study site is the Walled City of Lahore, an example of precolonial irregular urban settlement. Due to its unplanned dense configuration, the settlement epitomizes mixed-use functionalities with high ambivalence and deterritorialized boundaries. In contrast, the second case study site is Model Town Cooperative Town, established in 1924 as a suburban residential settlement for colonial administrative officers in Lahore (Groote et al., 1989, p. 26). It continues as an elite bureaucratic settlement to date. Built as a colonial suburban town, the settlement characterizes all the Garden City Movement features, with demarcated private property and public area zones.

To show how the colonial ideal of planning was inherited and re-imposed by the new nation-state, this thesis analyzes the spatial development of two cooperative housing schemes: Gulberg and Samanabad. Developed during the late 1950s and 1960s as middle-class housing neighborhoods, these settlements have diverged from the ideal plans of post-war planning and have given rise to new constellations of informality. Finally, the last site of study analyzes the historical development of Defense Housing Authority (DHA). Initially developed as LCCHS, a cooperative suburban enclave for military employees in the mid-1970s, it later expanded into a private corporate housing authority in the late 1990s. With its private suburban enclave model under

Pakistan's military patronage, this research argues that DHA surpasses any other regulating authority in its domestication and domination of privacy.

Chapter four examines these sites from field research, documenting the present condition of these five sites. Highlighting the various ways the boundaries between public and private are appropriated and transgressed in everyday spatial practice, this chapter proposes an alternative understanding of territorial processes. By pointing at the socio-spatial looseness and tightness of how privacies are territorialized and deterritorialized, this chapter foregrounds how territorial boundaries are asserted through informal improvisation. It suggests that territorial divergences occur throughout urban space and cannot be confined to a particular settlement.

The research aims to establish grounds for countering the given accounts of ideal privacy by providing its particular development in a postcolonial context. Even though the target research site is specific, this study aims to contribute to the larger theoretical paradigm of postcolonial studies by highlighting it, particularly through the lens of privacy. As an object of study, privacy and its relationship with informality in the postcolonial urban space contribute significantly to understanding how identities and behaviors are regulated in urban space for the advancement of elite interests and the reproduction of the right kind of city by inhibiting others' rights.

It is crucial to highlight that while this study builds a general account through an analysis of selected case studies, many conditions and multiplicities fall outside the scope of this text. Additionally, as the research mostly employs recorded history and tries to compensate for the lack of information on informal production within these sites with field research, there is a caveat regarding the historical accuracy of such spaces. The scope of this thesis is to highlight the complex interplay of power, space, and governance in reproducing the hierarchical neoliberal production of the city. It seeks to explore this complexity by investigating how privacy is domesticated through both planning regulations and the privileging of certain practices of privacy production in the city over others.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE COLONIAL URBAN LANDSCAPE IN LAHORE

As explained in Chapter 1, privacy, in its most simplified definition, is the process of demarcation of boundaries. In the context of cities, ideas about privacy, private, and public are intricately entangled with each other, where reading into one automatically invokes the other (Madanipour, 2003). The analysis of the social and spatial determination of these boundaries within a postcolonial context needs to be framed within a historical setting of colonial production of power relations and its continuation or transmutation over time. Verma (2011) argues that the postcolonial city is a conjunctural space that embodies a two-way movement, oriented towards as well as splitting apart from the historical period of colonial domination.

Postcolonialism, as a mode of analysis and critique, seeks to answer the question of how the structures of colonial rule continue to persist within the post-colonial society through both examinations of the emergence of power relations as well as strategies for its implementation (Jazeel, 2019). Put in another way, this view suggests that the social inequalities within the post-colonial city cannot be separated from its colonial past, requiring an analysis of historical events and structural forces that enable the subjugation of one group by another (Verma, 2011).

The colonial process of domination was inexorably tied to the cultural project of modernity and capitalist extraction (Loomba, 2015). King (1976) provides a detailed analysis of the social and spatial configuration of the colonial city as he contends it emerges from a condition of cultural contact between the colonizer (western) and the colonized (non-western) society that relies upon a dominance-dependence relation. The uneven relationship is based on the cultural, economic, and technological dominance of the former applied as a reason for the justification of the rule. Mitchell (1991) highlights in the case of Egypt how representation plays a crucial role in making the colonizing gaze that asserts dominance over the colonial landscape through modern strategies of control. Similarly, Verma (2011) asserts that the

modernist city is the formal and ideological precursor of the postcolonial city, which implies that the very experience of the colonial city was filtered through the experience and representation of Western modernity. Yeoh (2003), in her study of colonial Singapore shows that establishment of institutional governance in the colonial city was influenced by the European ideas of a modernity, which required the transformation of the native landscape through techniques of the moral, social, and political ordering of space and the body of the colonized. However, it is important to assert, as Loomba (2015) suggests, that the representational difference of colonialism was always embedded in the ideological as well as material modes of domination. The relation of dominance –dependence that guides the colonial structuring is not merely a cultural project but is increasingly intertwined with political economy and materialist history of space. The spatial order of the colonial city through classification and hierarchical organization is achieved through both repressive and productive apparatuses embedded in the strategies of colonial governance, as well as hegemonic impositions of modern subjectivity in the colonial city (Ghertner, 2015).

The colonial order was primarily based on the partitioning of space into oppositional binaries shaped after the image of the self and the other, such as modern/traditional, city/ rural, order/ disorder, etc. Yeoh (2003) asserts that such binarism was not only benign categorizations of space but ideological assertions that helped justify the colonial hegemony through racial compartmentalization of space. This binarism was not only limited to the categorization of space but also divided social life along the lines of sacred/profane, progressive/ offensive, and public/ private. However, as Kumar (2002) suggests, these divisions were never fully implemented; the colonial city embodied a diversity of socio-spatial configurations that defied the ideal representations of the colonial state, thus revealing their internal contestations. Therefore, difference in the colonial context—in terms of the ways city is divided into distinct socio-spatial zones—is not only constructed along the lines of colonial and the native but also dispersed across a variety of in-between conditions (Beverley, 2011; Jazeel, 2019). The post-independence state inherits the epistemic and administrative model of colonial urban planning as a civilizational project reproducing the colonial structures in the post-colonial city now embedded within a new frame of the sovereign nation-state (Kusno, 2000). While independence marks an important moment of decolonization, the social, economic, ideological, and technological aspects of

colonial production of space continue to inform the multilayered physical and discursive formations in postcolonial cities (Verma, 2011).

By investigating the history of emergence of planning in Lahore, this chapter takes an in-depth look at how ideological underpinnings of ideas about self and other play out in the construction of representational categories taking stage as the defining features of urban planning in the British Colonial Era. It explores how the production of colonial modernity depended upon the construction and maintenance of a racial and class-based difference which justified the reformative vision, which mandated the cultivation of a self-regulating subject. Furthermore, it highlights how the institutionalization of such difference is achieved in the way aims or objectives of spatial governance are ascertained in the development of Colonial Lahore, both a conceptual and physical entity. By focusing particularly on the available literature, colonial municipality reports, archival maps, and images, the sections ahead draw details from an earlier era of British rule in Lahore. I highlight the role representation plays in the construction of a variegated urban landscape.

2.1. Colonial Modern: Staging Order and Difference as Self and Other

In his remarkable essay, Mitchell (2000) argues that colonial power is imbricated in the imperialist assumptions of the ways modern is represented through a particular version of the production of space and an image of the spatial order associated to the distinctive development of modernity in shape of the West: “the colonial-modern involves creating an effect we recognize as reality, by organizing the world endlessly to represent it” (p.17). Mitchell’s argument echoes Chakrabarty (2000) who suggest that it is through such Euro-centric staging of modern as a historical development of Western systems of knowledge about a universal and secular vision of the human, the non-European is represented as non-modern or in waiting to be progressed into modern. Mitchell (2000) distinguishes between staging modernity as representation and its actual effect, which are variable and inconsistent. According to Chakrabarty, on the one hand the civilizing rhetoric of colonialism mandated the preaching of Enlightenment humanism and at the same time denied it in practice, however this staging itself has powerful effects in the ways modernity is rendered unthinkable without the invocation of concepts which bear the burden of European thought and

history (2000, p.5). In her analysis of the colonial transformation of Calcutta, Chattopadhyay (2005) asserts this position further by highlighting how modernity is produced in the colonial city through an encounter with the forceful imposition of the Western ideals of individuality, progress, and distinction between public and private. Representation, therefore, is crucial rhetoric for the production of colonial difference as modern occurs only in the performance of distinction between the modern and the non-modern (Mitchell, 2000, p.26).

Expanding on Said's (1978) thesis that imaginative geographies are not merely representations as they come to hold a practical and performative force (Jazeel, 2019), Chakrabarty (2000) holds that the achievement of political modernity within the colonial world is itself found through a contradictory relationship to the discursive paradigm of the European Enlightenment. According to Mignolo (2021), the representational rhetoric of colonial modernity is shaped by intervening in how one understands or perceives the world, through a reorganizing which entails a simultaneous epistemic and ontological reshaping by destitution of existing modes of living and constitution of new modern conditions of life. Here, by epistemic, he implies knowledge and ways of knowing or what can be regarded as discursive, and the ontological, he argues, is an aesthetic domain pertaining to "principles that regulate taste and subjectivity" (p. x). This dual operability of epistemic and ontological destitution/constitution is crucial to understanding how colonial difference is established for the staging of an epistemic and aesthetically inferior non-modern other as a result of plans and projects of colonial power for justifying and maintaining domination over an indigenous population.

The stark difference between the colonial and the colonized is a consistent occurrence throughout the literature of studies on colonialism (Verma, 2011). It can be clearly read in Fanon's (1961) description as he writes: "The colonial world is a world divided into two compartments... The settler's town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel... The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire" (p.39). The material and symbolic distinction highlighted in the passage is a consistent feature that divides the colonial society along the lines of social, spatial, cultural, economic, and racial lines where segregation is not an end but a means for the maintenance of claims of superiority. The recent scholarship on post-

colonial urban studies (Yeoh, 2003; Hosagrahar, 2005; Glover, 2007) rejects the white town/ native town dichotomy to accurately describe the heterogeneous configurations of colonial cities. Mitchell (2000) distinguishes the difference which is itself actuated in the discrepancies of the repeated performance of modern, and the staging of difference between what is staged (representation) and what is reality. He argues, it is the maintenance of second form of difference, through which the reality itself comes to be ordered according to the principle of representation. Thus, where the clear lines between the colonizer and colonized conflict with the reality of colonial space, they do not necessarily contradict the way this difference is performed in the staging of the colonial modern between space and its representation. Chattopadhyay (2005) finds utility in the concept of understanding how colonial modernity is constructed as a set of contradictions between an ideational and physical space of individuals, community, and state in which the everyday conditions of public and private lives are structured, and through which modern subjects are produced. The research on colonial urbanism that has emanated over the past two decades, particularly focusing on the social and spatial development of the colonial cities (Chattopadhyay, 2005, Hosagrahar, 2005, Glover, 2007) show that task of representation is crucial for the performance of difference between the modern and non-modern, and how such staging is brought to organize a space of representation, characterized by ordering of the indigenous society by the colonizing enterprise.

The British impetus for modernization in the colony was embedded within spatial strategies of control over both allocative resources, i.e., material objects like land, and authoritative resources, i.e., institutions of societal ordering such as municipalities (Beverley, 2011). Planning as an institution and practice is increasingly entwined with the politics of physical and social regulation of a governable territory (Huxley, 2006). The postcolonial scholarship on the historical urban development of colonial cities in South Asia, such as Calcutta (Chattopadhyay, 2005), Madras (Kumar, 2002), Delhi (Hosagrahar, 2005), and Lahore (Glover, 2007) have foregrounded the prevalence of environmental-causality tropes in the colonial spatial planning. These studies call for a need to understand the inextricable link between colonial geographies of knowledge and the construction of imaginative geographies, as posed by Said (1978), to investigate how power is configured in the transfer of ideas of modernity from the imperial cities to the colonial society. As Yeoh (2003) highlights, the transfer of

imperial notions of modernity in the colonies was mediated by the effective use of spatial technologies of town planning, municipalization, and taxation as tools of social boundaries that were produced and maintained. Before analyzing the specific operations through which these boundaries are produced, it is crucial to understand the primary guiding factors through which the colonial landscape of Lahore was constructed as a space of control and governance in the Empire's imagination.

2.2. Spatial Imagination and Framing Rationalities of Governance

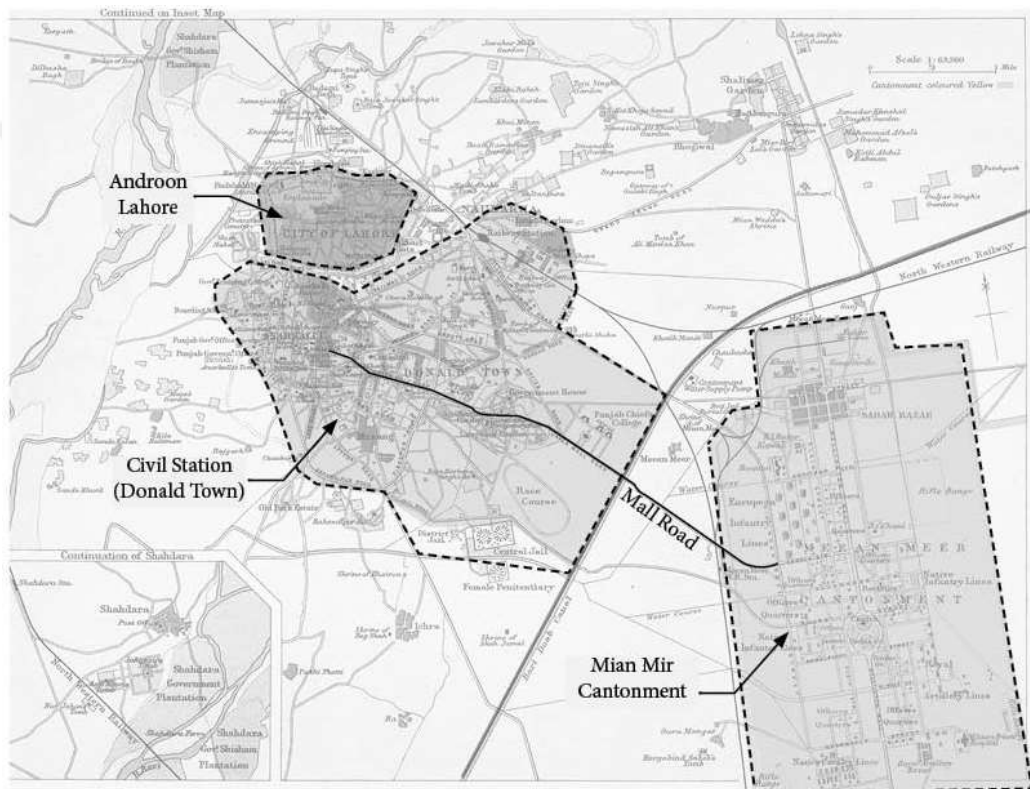


Figure 2. 1 Map of Colonial Lahore showing the three distinct zones. *Androon Lahore* is a local term that is used to specify the traditional area of Lahore within the bounds of the wall.

The British occupied Lahore in 1840; however, its annexation into Raj was completed after 1857 (Talbot & Kamran, 2016). As an important site of the Empire's financial, political, and military concentration, Lahore served as an administrative seat of the colonial network of power in the sub-continent, and the city was developed as the capital of Punjab province and a model for British colonial governance (Glover, 2007). Space was inherently implicated in the practice of colonial government and played a key role in the pacification and modernization of the colony, providing a guise of progress and advancement to the political and economic agendas of colonization

(King, 1990; Mitchell, 1991). The planning of the city, therefore, was rooted in a European socio-political and ideological discourse of cultural/ racial difference, civic values, efficiency, and health compounded by the need to bring the spatially and politically riotous city to order after the rebellion of 1857 (Ghertner, 2023). Based on this epistemic premise and operational needs of colonial rule, like all other South Asian colonial cities, the spatial development of colonial Lahore was conceived as a framework for organizing racial and occupational differences by dividing the city into interdependent yet separated zones (Talbot & Kamran, 2016). Glover (2007), in his landmark study of the colonial shaping of Lahore, highlights that only within the first decade of complete annexation of Lahore, the city was divided into three culturally, morphologically, and administratively distinct divisions: (1) the densely populated indigenous settlements inside the wall and associated abadis⁵ populated outside it, (2) the civil station with administrative and residential buildings, built close to the native city but separated from it, and (3) the military cantonment established at a significant distance from the native settlement and civil station connected by single thoroughfare called Mall Road (Figure 2.1). It is important to investigate the social, political, and ideological context that gives rise to these three zones to understand the spatial constitution of colonial hegemony in the case of Lahore.

Colonial governance operated not only through the simple imposition of Western ideas of modern institutions from above but also through the transformation of ideas and practices of the colonized (Loomba, 2015). To this end, colonial power is embedded within the practices of how knowledge is formed and produced about what is included as rational and what is not (Sharp, 2009). How space comes to be imagined and represented in an asymmetric power-knowledge equation in the colonial city is a core element of how rules, systems, and procedures are shaped to privilege some practices while excluding others from the discourses of modernity and modernization (Chattopadhyay, 2005). Colonial governance relied on the power to define and impose operative concepts and representational discourses that were aimed at changing the indigenous ways of knowing and experiencing a colonial subject (Yeoh, 2003). The cultural and ideological hegemony of colonialism, therefore, is inseparable from the way ideas about self and others were constructed as truths that

⁵ Abadi is a native word in Punjabi for sub-urban settlement.

served as the basis for hierarchical systems of classification and distribution of bodies in space (Mitchell, 1991). However, Mitchell shows in his analysis that these classifications don't emerge in a vacuum but arise from a particular way of framing within a shifting paradigm of knowledge about society, nature, and the environment. In reference to how power is mediated through the construction of place, Dovey (1999) describes 'framing' as "both the construction of a world and of a way of seeing ourselves in it—at once picture and mirror"(p.1). Hiller (2006, pp.82-4) links framing to the planning as she describes it as a subjective way of representing knowledge through which planners interpret a particular problem to justify the basis for action. Pointing to such framings of spatial ordering, Huxley (2006) stresses the importance of seeing government as a mentality that can be interpreted by analyzing how truths are constructed for certain aims and objectives of government. By truth, she does not imply a scientific reality but an ideologically motivated construction of facts that serve as normative ideals. The discursive framings of these truths are what she regards as spatial rationalities of governmentality (Huxley, 2006). Scott (1995, p. 204) asserts that colonial governmentality is distinctive in ascertaining of its point of application "in which power comes to be directed at the destruction and reconstruction of colonial space so as to produce not so much extractive-effects on colonial bodies as governing-effects on colonial". The ways representations are constructed in a colonial city are, therefore, highly entangled with the particular framings of colonial governance. It is crucial to analyze these entanglements to understand how knowledge is inculcated in the colonial relations of power and the ways it takes effect in the constitution of planning governmentality.

2.2.1. Lahore as an Object of Dread and Splendor

In his landmark thesis on Orientalism, Edward Said (1978) suggested that the idea of Continental Europe was developed by projecting imagined geographies that described the rest of the world through textualized and picturized accounts of far-fetched lands and their exotic histories of people who were very different from Europeans. Speaking of the foreclosure of actual inquiry in the making of Orient as a picture, Mitchell (1991, p. 30) argues that the Orient was always to be rediscovered in the Western thought as an image of its already established representations. The core idea here is that the textual description of the other places and people preceded the actual

experience, and it was one of the strategies through which European imperialism projected a ubiquity of a single culture onto the colonized, which was based on texts and not by the people from the orient themselves (Sharp, 2009). These images of the Orient were utilized to overcome the heterogeneous diversity of the colonial encounter by adjusting all aspects of native life into a category of picturesque⁶ (Chattopadhyay, 2005). The British accounts of Lahore provide numerous instances of describing the space and native life of Walled City and its historic architecture as picturesque on the one hand and disorderly and chaotic on the other (Talbot & Kamran, 2016).

As Hosagrahar (2005) points out, British colonizers had viewed India as a land of ancient oriental glory of the 16th century Mughal Empire, which now succumbed to a state of ruin awaiting its new inheritors. Lahore presented such a site to the colonial gaze with its monumental architecture and gardens exemplifying the attention to craftsmanship and picturesque beauty of an oriental landscape as standalone relics of the past, while those descriptions fall short of finding any merits of civilizational attributes of social and political life associated with the Western metropolis in the indigenous settlements of Androon Lahore.⁷ One such account is present in an illustrative work published in 1873 by a government secretary in Colonial Punjab. As a compilation of detailed descriptions of architectural and monumental history supplemented with sketches and illustrations of the buildings and gardens, the work was intended primarily for an English audience (Thorton, 1873). One of the passages states: "Modern Lahore is situated among the debris and ruins of the ancient capital, which extended from east to west for a distance of five or six miles. That the city at one time covered a much larger area than it does at present, is at once manifest from the many old mosques, tombs, domes, and gardens that surrounded it" (p.87). It goes on to explain how the ruins have been utilized and transformed by the British into "fine gardens, grassy plains, metalled roads lined on either sides with shady trees, canals, public offices and picturesque European Houses" (p.87). The colonial travel accounts and district gazetteers also provide similar depictions where one can find elaborate sections on the monumental buildings and their architectural styles inside and outside the walled city, failing to capture any detailed insights into the spaces of

⁶ The picturesque, according to Chattopadhyay (2005), was an important tool in shaping the colonial ruling aesthetics that lent articulation to a colonial inadequacy of representation.

social life of the dense settlement. One passage from a District Gazetteer describes the walled city as that “within the city the streets are narrow and winding, but some of them from their over-hanging balconies of wood curiously carved and colored, the striped awnings over the shop fronts, and the streamers of bright colored clothes hung at intervals across from balcony to balcony, present much that is picturesque to a stranger’s eye” (p.293). The use of picturesque here is consistent with Chattopadhyay’s (2005) assertion about the development of colonial aesthetics by establishing vantage points from which a colonial city was to be seen by suggesting the selection of sites and elements was to see as well as how one was to feel about the city.

This oriental scenery of colonial Lahore is not complete without the representation that reveals its dark aspects that destabilize and haunt the colonial picturesque depictions of the native city. Talbot & Kamran (2016) provide multiple accounts of travel writers who visited the inner city of Lahore to illustrate themes of labyrinthine, tortuous alleys, creeping walls, willowing houses, and overall incoherency of a crowded mode of habitation of undeterred proximity. In his 1891 publication, *The City of Dreadful Night*, Rudyard Kipling⁸ evokes a haunting imagery of the nightlife inside the walls of the old city. From the narrow dark alleys, cramped houses, evil stench, undistinguishable noises, and lack of breathable air, Kipling paints a picture of the inner city that includes a vein of disgust as well as curiosity. In his concluding passage, he writes, "...one can watch and wonder over that heat-tortured hive till the dawn. How do they live down there? What do they think?" (Kipling, 1907). Analyzing this passage, Glover (2007; p.52) sheds light on how Kipling's description of the city is based on an emotive narration of its excesses of heat, density, and complexity and suggests that it is this excess that was to become the “object of (colonial) reform."

Shaping of cultural discourse by way of representing is part of the colonial enterprise as Said (1993) suggests that “the power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them” (p. xiii). Explaining similar encounters,

⁸ Kipling also served as an editor of the Civil and Military Gazette for Punjab from 1882-7 as mentioned in Kaplan (1989).

Chattopadhyay (2005) suggests in her study of Calcutta that the lack of definite boundaries in the native city is a constant source of irritation to the colonial and evades capture of the colonial gaze. In case of Lahore, the indigenous city has served a romantic figure of imagination, constructed through social and cultural forms of otherings in colonial literature about Lahore (Jamil, 2023). Glover (2007) discusses how such “otherizing” representation of indigenous culture and space shaped the colonial imagination of Lahore, and justified the spreading of Western values, systems, ideas, and institutional forms of a foreign culture on a native culture.

Where the inner city took on an image of disarray and degeneracy in the colonial imagination, the Civil Station (Donald Town) in Lahore was depicted using a comforting language of improvement that boasts order, spaciousness, and improvement of wide boulevards (Walker, 1894, pp. 280-295). This contrast is established through imagining the urban spaces as a whole, where the external appearance of architecture of the city is received as a representation of its invisible interior (Mitchell, 1991). According to Mitchell, it is through the objectifying habit of an outside observer who sees the world as a representation where life is read as an invisible internal meaning through an external material form. Such a view necessitates the construction of an original object of which an accurate representation can be made. In the case of Lahore, the many accounts of European travelers, saw the distinct urban form of the Walled City as an inconsistent whole incapable to foster a political or public life, therefore the colonial intrigue of its inner life was only to be expressed through reducing it to physical characteristics by setting it against both, the ruinous monumentality of old Lahore, and the dreadful chaos of the inner city. It is through such a representational scheme that synchronicity is achieved between the illegibility and irregularity of the built environment and the moral and hygienic degradation of the native city (Kumar, 2000).

2.2.2. Pathological Fear and Hygienic Modernity

Where the aesthetic uncanny of social, moral, and spatial disorder populated the colonial imagination of the native city, it was equally influenced by an emerging public health discourse that attributed the Indian bodies and their spaces as a source of contagion (Rehman, 2022; Chattopadhyay, 2005; Kumar, 2000; Hosagrahar, 2005;

Glover, 2007). In the case of Lahore, Glover draws attention at two of such textual descriptions by British officials; one from an 1897 sanitary commission report on Lahore that concluded that “the habits of the natives are such that, unless they are closely watched, they cover the whole neighboring surface with filth” (2007, p.49), and another from an article published by Rudyard Kipling in *Civil and Military Gazette* in 1885 that illustrates a gut-wrenching image of the Walled City for its English speaking reader as “the dead walls, the barred and grated windows, and the high storeyed houses, were throbbing and humming with human life, as you may hear a hive of bees ere they go forth to their day’s work....and it seemed as if, at any moment, the tide of unclean humanity might burst through its dam of rotten brickwork and filth-smeared wood..”(p.50). A comment in a British travel journal described the Walled city as “a compact mass of lofty houses, rapidly falling into decay, and harboring so much infection that it is in reality an asylum for disease”(Anonymous, 1873, as cited in Sheikh, 2018, p. 54). Such descriptions reveal the colonial discourse of human-environment relations was superimposed on a racialized ideological framework of colonial difference where the native practices, bodies, and spaces come to be represented as habitually dirty and infested in need of reform (Rehman, 2022). How such racially inscribed ideas of the built environment and pathological threat come to take hold of colonial imagination requires taking a brief look into the mid-nineteenth-century concerns over public health and planning in Britain and the rest of Western Europe.

The earliest collaborations between public health and planning occurred in the early 19th century in Western Europe when the rise of industrial capitalism caused large-scale urban growth with the working class, and tenement districts started populating around older urban cores, overwhelming municipal infrastructure, creating deplorable sanitary conditions (Lopez, 2018). Accordingly the poor conditions of new worker settlements were associated with an increase in infectious diseases, particularly cholera and tuberculosis. Lopez suggests, while there was emerging research drawing a connection between contaminated water and epidemic cholera, the most popular cause of disease relied on deductive reasoning, and the miasmatic theory linking disease to bad air was the most convincing among the masses and city officials. Mukherjee (2021) shows how the crowded habitations of labor were depicted as slums and disease-stricken shanty towns in popular nineteenth-century British literature. The

popular image and the growing field of epidemiology that directly linked crowding with disease was the basis on which regulation standards and partial demolition of poor neighborhoods were justified in the name of improving health standards in British Towns (Lopez, 2018; Hosagrahar, 2005).

Sanitary science performed as a bridge connecting architecture and medical discourse that viewed overcrowding as a health menace, leading to generative rationalities of space that involve the creation of a hygienic environment through the emergence of a bio-political mode of urban governance embedded within technical and managerial regulation of populations and built-environment (Gandy, 2010). According to Gandy, the emerging ideologies of sanitation were not only involved in bio-political control of the open urban spaces but was also extended into interiors for moral and behavior regulation to construct modern domesticity. The nineteenth century penchant of purification in parts of Western Europe, did not only seek to conceptualize the modern city as a realm outside the threats of nature⁹ but also constructed modern domesticity as a taming of domestic nature, an idea that was also transplanted to the colonies (Kaika, 2012)—a point that is further elaborated in the next chapter .

Even though the chronology of industrial urbanization varies greatly between the imperial city and the colonial city, Hosagrahar (2005) suggests that “many Victorian observers and reformers saw similarities between the physical (and social) environment of ‘wretched slums’ in Britain and ‘the dark continents’”(p. 85). The excerpts mentioned in above exhibit such resemblances that correlate the hygienic poverty of European slums with the density of native spaces and their practices of inhabitation. Such representation further substantiates the racial separation in the colonial city as well as provides ground for the reformation of the natives on the basis of the colonizer's claim to scientific knowledge. Sheikh (2018) has pointed out that the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, established in 1876, described the movement to reform the public health of Indian cities as a "high and noble task" (p.50). The

⁹ Kaika (2012) argues that the architecture, urban planning of the 19th century modern city in the Western Metropolis was based upon an ideological assumption of nature/ society dualism, which meant that the “modern city and the modern home appear only to function autonomously and independently from natural and social processes, because the flow of natural elements, social relations, and capital that support their function remain fetishised (in the case of social relations) or visually severed (in the case of technology networks)” (p. 5).

reformist agenda was given credence through the construction of an abstract space articulated calculative technologies of surveys, mapping, and zoning and materialized in the form of model sanitary layouts of colonial garrisons and cantonments (Hosagrahar, 2005). Mian Mir Cantonment Lahore, established in the middle to late 1850, highlights how the colonial discourse on health influenced planning in Colonial Lahore (Glover, 2007).

2.2.3. Sanitary Reforms and Racialized Ordering of Space

Mian Mir Cantonment (MMC) was established as part of the wider program of British garrison and cantonment consolidation throughout Punjab from 1850 to 1857 (Glover, 2007). The site selection of the cantonment was influenced by two important factors: (1) the infrastructural development of a railway and irrigation canal that was crucial to colonial capitalist extraction through the production of land,¹⁰ and (2) a rising concern for the ascending sickness and death rate among the British troops in India.¹¹ Guided by the general views of miasmas and the association of environmental unhealthiness of the Walled City, (MMC) was founded to the south of the city, away from the Inner city and Civil Station separated by the canal and railway line infrastructure covering thirteen hundred square miles (Talbot & Kamran, 2017, p.5).

The spatial layout of the new cantonment (Figure. 2.2) was planned along a north-south cardinal direction with connecting roads running perpendicular to the main avenue and land divided into iron-grid geometry with spacious lawns and primarily detached single storey buildings, in contrast to the dense and irregular urban fabric of vertically staggered small- footprint buildings in the Walled City (Glover, 2007). The spatial arrangement of the cantonment was based on the strict functional division of space along with its hierarchical organization, where the residences of high-ranking officers were placed close to a central axis and infantry lines for young troops to the periphery (Rehman, 2022). According to Rehman, the space was also racially divided,

¹⁰ Jo Guildi (2022) includes a detailed of how the British Raj utilized Public Works infrastructural development in India for the creation and distribution of land as a commodity.

¹¹ Sheikh (2018, p.52) notes that between 1846 and 1852, the death rate of Europeans settled in Lahore was estimated at 8.4 percent.

of maintaining a sanitary order that—according to British Engineers—depended on: firstly, distancing from diseased chaotic spaces; second, curtailment of ill behaviors and unruly bodies; and third, incorporating access of sunlight, air-ventilation and greenery (King, 1976, ch. 5). However, even though MMC incorporated all of the previously mentioned qualities, it could not be saved from a cholera epidemic in 1861 (Talbot & Kamran, 2017) and came to find notoriety as a 'Malarial Station' (Rehman, 2022) in the following decades triggering a series of sanitation researches and public-health related policy reforms.

A sanitation report was published in 1863 by the Royal Commission on Health of army in India founded in 1859 (Rehman, 2022). While the commission commended the state of sanitation and conditions for the healthiness of the MMC site and layout due to it being far away from the influences of the native city, its recommendations included better ventilation for army quarters, the construction of double roofs and broad verandahs, and limiting the number of troops per barrack to prevent overcrowding (Sheikh, 2018, p.65). These concerns echoed in the constitution of the Lahore Municipal Committee in 1862, whose one of the primary responsibilities beyond taxation was the overview of public-health related projects in Civil Station and Cantonment areas (Glover, 2007, p.131). A sanitary police force was formed under the Military Cantonments Act (1864), one year after the publishing of the commission's report, to remove and prevent all nuisances in order to keep the military station in good order, that included techniques of regular inspection of bar-racks, gardens, bazaars, and native quarters to ensure steadiness and removal of disposal (Sheikh, 2018, p. 56). However, as Rehman (2022) discusses, that the new canal had made possible the irrigation of lush lawns and gardens in the Cantonment, which were a constant source of malarial infection in the population. The recurring disease patterns led to the formation of another colonial committee in 1878 to conduct sanitary surveys in the rural vicinity of MMC aimed at identifying the potential sources of disease in the native villages (Glover, 2007; Rehman, 2022). Its findings concluded that the sanitary state of villages was 'extremely poor'; however, it found people to be 'healthy and contented', reinforcing two colonial conceptions of miasmatic contagion and native immunity (Rehman, 2022, p.36). Glover (2007, pp.40-1) argues that surveys reinforced the colonial administration's representation of the native bodies, practices, and spaces as pathogenic, and as Chattopadhyay (2005, pp.65-6)

discusses, it causes the qualitative attributes of the native landscape to be supplemented with the statistical figures of surveys and maps of a visually assessed medical topography leading to restrictive strategies of municipal control embedded in an overall surveillance and monitoring imperial gaze.

The colonial actions over public-health concerns assumed an enclave approach as a strategy of insulating the European population from sanitary threats during the first two decades of 1860's and 1870's however, by the 1880's, the colonial administration had realized that a more encompassing approach was needed that included parts of the native city as well (Sheikh,2018; Malik, 2009). By 1884, the Lahore Municipal Committee (LMC) Act was revised to include regulation of building practices overlooking street alignment of new constructions as well as provision of waste water drainage (Glover, 2007). In an 1887 provision, Provincial Sanitary Boards were setup all over India that were required to publish biannual sanitary reports which included mohalla by mohalla graphic descriptions of the unsanitary conditions such as lack of drainage, waste accumulation, dark and damp alleys, along with daily practices such as meal preparation and public defecation, and also recommended suggestions regarding partial demolitions of unsatisfactory environments.¹² According to Rehman (2022), the disciplining sanitary reforms that began from health concerns of British troops stationed at MMC were layered with a racist scheme that considered the natives as reservoirs of disease. She cites the conclusion of a 1901 report of a commission concerning the malaria epidemic at MMC that found the Bazars and native children as the source of threat, emphasizing the "seriousness and urgency necessary to achieve the segregation for Europeans"(p.48). The extensive sanitary purview of the LMC also served as a reformist guise for the colonial administration to gain more control over the indigenous parts of the city (Glover, 2007). Yeoh (2023 p.11) argues that the sanitation reforms enabled colonial control of the populace through silent repetitions of institutionalized practices of power aimed to intervene and organize the basic continuities of indigenous social life. However, there is a wider pedagogical intent towards developing a civic virtue as an internalized mode of automatic and anonymous power (Foucault, 1995, p. 176)—that is self-reproducing and generative as

¹² As per the *Working of Municipalities in the Punjab during the years 1891-1892, 1899-1900*, available at www.chughtailibrary.com/digital_library/repository_detail accessed on 20 February 2024.

it takes effect through a bio-social subjectification of the individual (Huxley, 2006, p.771).

2.2.4. Civic Materialism of Colonial Public Space

The colonial ambitions of sanitary and moral reformation of the indigenous were intricately tied to the achievement of social ordering exerted through the divisions reinforced through ideology and material practice, even if physical transgressions were inevitable in the split colonial city (Beverley, 2011). These transgressions or crossovers of the indigenous with the exogenous were needed for the maintenance of a colonial order that depended largely on indigenous labor (King, 1976). However, beyond the requirement of physical sustenance, such mixing was also necessary to reproduce colonial hegemony, explained by Loomba (2015) as the “contradiction of colonialism” that both “needs to civilize its other and fix them in a perpetual state of otherness” (p. 171). Such civilizing spirit is embedded in the reformatory logic that not only envisioned material domination over the colony but was also administered through claiming intellectual superiority over the colonized that allowed a unidirectional transfer of ideas (Jazeel, 2019; Verma, 2011). Such intellectual ordering was achieved, according to Loomba (2015), through a 'mental miscegenation,' referring to colonial education policies that aimed to create a Europeanized English-educated middle-class, who were Indians by race but aspired for English values.¹³

The reformist vision of British colonialism relied heavily on the epistemological reconstitution of the native into colonial citizens, which required instruments and institutions of pedagogical instruction, which is why a number of educational and training centers, including missionary schools and colleges, were built all over India (Kumar, 2014). Nevertheless, Kumar stresses that the education ideal was not bound to institutions of instruction; railways, public works, posts, and telegraphs were all part of the pedagogical agencies of the empire. The inadequacy of the native city for the British Elite and the exclusivity of the cantonment left the Civil Station as the only

¹³ In support of a need for such intellectual hybridization, the British Historian and Politician Thomas Babbington Macaulay wrote in 1835 that they were to serve as "interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (cited in Glover, 2005, p. 544).

place for racial intermixing (Talbot & Kamran, 2016). In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a number of educational institutions were erected at Lahore Civil Station for the education of an 'interpreting class', including the Mayo School of Arts in 1875, The Punjab University in 1882, Punjab Public Library in 1884, Aitcheson College in 1886, DAV College in 1892 in the Lahore Civil Station (Talbot & Kamran, 2016, pp. xiii-xiv).

However, we can question how a Europeanized education of a small sub-section of the native elite would ensure the epistemic reconstitution of the society at large. Glover (2005) points out that, like the rest of the disciplines, the British views on education were also going through a change in the twentieth century that called to abandon the reliance on text-based instruction and include what he states were "object lessons". He states that this method depended on material instruction and was based on the idea that phenomenal or ocular instruction could significantly improve a learner's capacity to reason and inform his judgment (ibid). This model was also applied to the spatial development of the Civil Station, which was planned to impress upon the indigenous the attributes of civicness and civility (Glover, 2007).

Alongside the partitioning and surveillance of space, which are applied as strategies of control, the colonial ordering of the landscape also works through inverting the gaze onto the symbolic display of an image of enlightened and improving liberal governance projected onto the built environment (Beverley, 2011). Highlighting this aspect of colonial cities in comparison to Foucauldian theorizations of socio-technical instrumentalities of spatial governmentality that are invisibly embedded into everyday micro-practices of control and regulation, Sharp (2009) draws on the work of George Batalie, another French philosopher, and emphasizes that while colonial power operated through invisible techno-social operations, it was also meant to be seen by the locals. In her analysis, Sharp contends that the colonial civic buildings, infrastructure, and an ordered landscape underpinned a pedagogical intention for sanitary, moral, and cultural improvement of the colonized people that is inscribed in both material and symbolic configuration of the built environment.

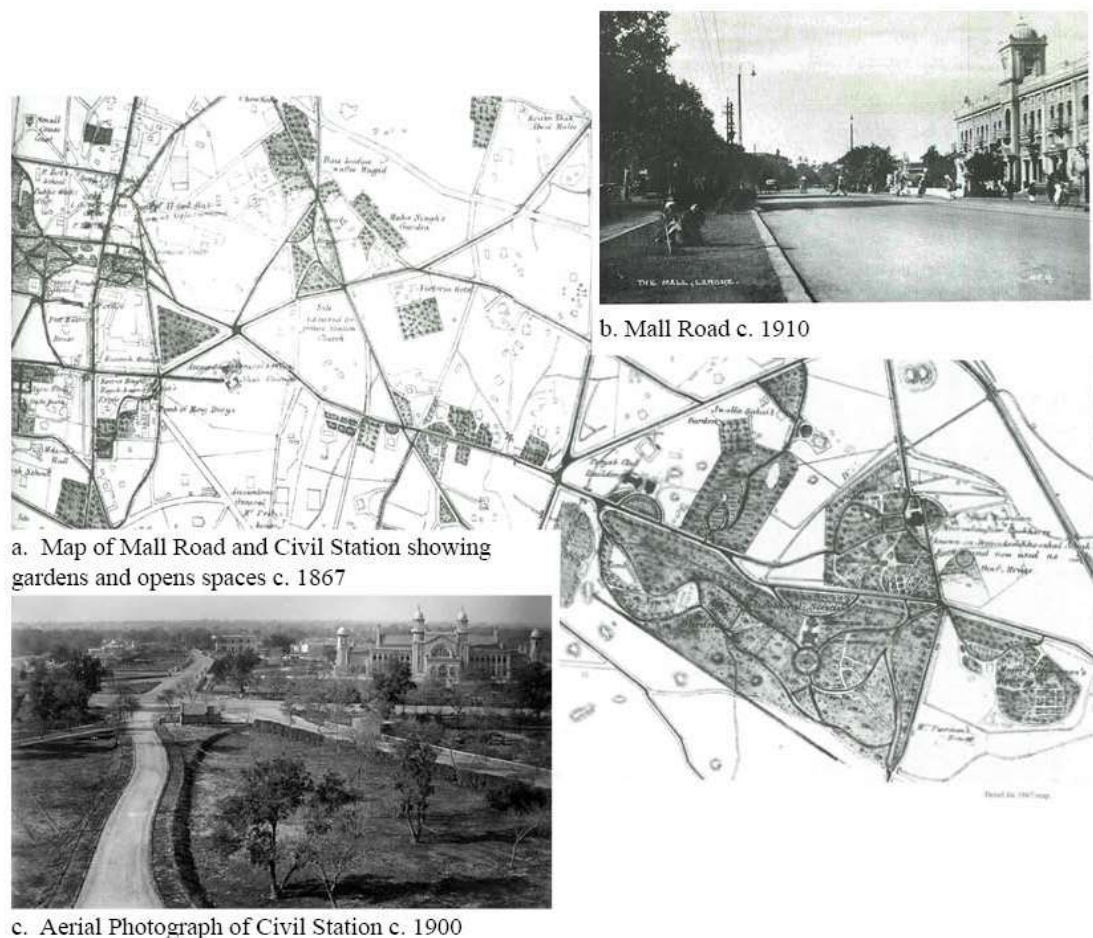


Figure 2. 3 Colonial development of Lahore Civil Station as an ordered built environment till 1910. Sourced from <https://archive.lums.edu.pk/interactives/mall-road/home>.

The Civil Station in Lahore (Figure. 2.3) in the late nineteenth century became a central symbol of colonial civic governance in the Subcontinent with its establishment of several modern institutional buildings, including a museum, exhibition hall, exclusive clubs, court, town hall as well as opening up of a botanical park and a zoo at a Lawrence Gardens (Talbot & Kamran, 2016). Such governance through spectacle was not limited to the buildings and gardens; the infra-structure was an equal part of the iconic buildup. The Mall Road, a boulevard that connects the Civil Station with the Cantonment, became a central feature of Colonial Lahore, lined with a number of public and private buildings (Talbot & Kamran, 2016). The 1890's Gazetteer describes its splendour as "it is always kept in excellent order" and goes on to explain its tripartite distribution for raised pathways, metalled road for wheeled vehicles, and an avenue lined with trees; it also states that "It is on the Mall that all the best European shops of Lahore are to be found" (Walker, 1894, p. 296-297). By the early twentieth century, as noted by Talbot and Kamran, there was a significant increase in the consumption of foreign goods in Lahore due to a rising indigenous

middle class. The symbolic/ ideological processes that shaped colonial modernity in Lahore cannot be separated from the economic aspects that mandate such reforms (Loomba, 2015). Commenting on the rise of an indigenous middle class in Colonial Punjab, Daechsel (2012) argues that the modernization in Colonial India was absolutely critical to maintaining hegemony in a landlord-based political economy through the creation of a service class that was the most modern in taste and lifestyle.

In his study of the spatial development of Lahore Civil Station, Glover (2007) pointed out that while the administrative tasks of planning and building were primarily at the discretion of British decision-makers, the funding and designs were mostly achieved through a collaboration of local elite and British gentry, while the maintenance of upkeep of all built infrastructure fell under the duties of Lahore Municipal Committee. However, its utility and consumption were socially divided along the lines of race and class. Chattopadhyay and White (2014) define this way the ordinary, everyday experience of citizenship is produced in negotiations of access to physical spaces of governance, encountering the social and political gestures of buildings and matters determining the norms of public space as the “Civic Materialism” (p.5). The colonial city municipality was an important public institution that was responsible for the reproduction of the qualifying conditions through the maintenance of a civic order that, as discussed in the previous section, was counterposed by the indigenous ways and practices. It is important to note that by 1886, an amendment in the Municipality Act allowed the inclusion of both official and unofficial representatives from the Indian community upon a condition that they were tax-paying men who held in their name an official declaration of an immovable property (Malik, 2018). These appointments were made both through nomination and election (Walker, 1894, p. 301).

Glover (2007) discusses that while the establishment of civic institutions co-produced a colonial public realm that included participation from both races, the conditions for participation necessitated a sense of officialdom that required racially attributed moral, social, and cultural qualifications that served as the cornerstone of a colonial civil and political society. The pedagogical imperative that underpins the making of colonial civic space as ordered, through its exclusivity, also determines the nature of the colonial public as both a physical and policy object. In another article, Glover (2012) discussed the legal disputes from the Colonial era of Punjab, including cases from

Lahore, where he traces the various ways locals tried to re-invent the meaning of 'public' in their own favor through contesting and negotiating with statutory municipal matters of property oriented illegality such as encroachments, divisibility, transfer, and rights-of-way. His article suggests that the ideas about the public were primarily bounded up in matters of municipality-related legal jurisprudence in its encounter with the ordinary indigenous residents of the city.

The idea of a Western public space, as I have discussed in the first chapter, is intricately intertwined with the emergence of a public realm in European thought and society as a zone of political representation and free trade that led to the 18th-century development of a public sphere of civil society constituting the many interior spaces of expression and exchange that are closed on to the poor majority. However, in the case of a colonial city like Lahore, the implantation of the Western public, both as a corporeal and conceptual substance, is tied to the shaping of civic materialism. This civic materialism, as I have attempted to highlight above, is based on a reformist notion of civilizing the natives by altering the indigenous way of living through the material inscription of social, moral, cultural, and sanitary ideas of modernity and modern subjects. It is crucial to take into account that hybridity was never intended for the cultivation of a speaking subject as in the case of European cities; as Loomba (2015. p.171) stresses that colonial hybridity is a strategy premised on cultural purity and aimed at stabilizing the status quo, i.e., separation of the two. Jazeel (2019) also suggests that the underlying assumption of colonialism is that the Indians can mimic but can never reproduce the English values, and it is the realization of this perpetual gap that forms the basis of subjection as it leads to a fixing of identities.

2.3. Conclusion

Planning as an institutional practice of governance is deeply imbricated in the co-production of power/ knowledge configurations that shape the specific mechanism through which power is exercised by or over an entity (Huxley, 2006). Such configurations according to Huxley, are aimed at making certain truths that "serve as rationales for the aims of government" (p.772). These rationalities do not only justify but also build typifications that become standard ways of knowing something other than through direct experience (Low, 2017). Such generalized abstractions are subject

to objectivation, which implies an externalization of the social construction process in which ideas and objects come to be known as stable within a discursive paradigm that is displaced from the subjective processes of their production (Low, 2017). In the colonial context these objectivations play a critical role in the social construction of space as they constitute institutional facts and categories that can exist as independent discursive entities as part of language and institutional coding regardless of the material and subjective conditions of their making (Yeoh, 2003). Once these categories of ideological discourse are constructed, they are defended and reproduced through institutional mediation that allows their continuous repetition for socio-spatial coding of diverse territories (Rainbow, 1982).

This chapter has focused on the ways difference in colonial Lahore was staged through the framing of self and other as representational categories which are institutionalized in the way they guide the spatial rationalities of planning. It has shown the way the native landscape is constructed as unruly, chaotic, and, at the same time, picturesque objects of curiosity for the colonial gaze. This reduction of life to scenery explains the foreclosure of actual inquiry into the everyday indigenous life beyond the different mechanisms devised to counter its presumed moral and social disorder. Such disciplining is also related to a generative spatial rationality that finds indigenous bodies and practices of inhabitation as a constant source of real and imagined threat. Through surveys and documentation, it links the social and cultural dispositions with biological fears, providing grounds for reforms that are environmentally motivated and seek to produce moral regimes of health. These bio-social representations call for solutions intended to domesticate not only the physical attributes of space but also the basic conditions of human-to-environment contact through surveillance.

Finally, the pedagogical imperative highlighted in this chapter brings to the forefront the colonial ambition of instrumentalizing the urban landscape in the cultivation of an intermediary modern subject. The built environment was not a static background but an active participant in the mental, social, and cultural making of the desiring middle class. These representations—while they are shaped by and shape—the spatial imagination also have a political effect in the ways an ensemble of textual, technical, and material installations are employed for the epistemic and ontological destitution

and constitution of the colonized (Scott, 1995). These spatial rationalities of colonial governmentality are crucial in understanding the causal logic that eventuates a partitioning of space into public and private in Lahore. The next section builds and analyzes the co-evolution of planning and residential landscape in Lahore to navigate the ways these rationalities continue to influence the production of space as formal and informal.



CHAPTER 3

LAHORE: COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL PRODUCTION OF THE RESIDENTIAL BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The nature of power relations and the way power is exercised through specific strategies in the colonial context is intimately tied to how spatial order is shaped in the colonial urban landscape (Sharp, 2009). From the ideas of racial and cultural superiority, anxieties over biological hazards of the indigenous landscape and body, and the need for symbolic impressions for societal civilization, the previous chapter has outlined the ideological framings that mediate the colonial inscription of power in the spatial development of Lahore. The formation of the colonial municipality provides an official institutional framework for shaping the built environment through physical regulation and statutory restrictions that are intended for a mental and physical deconstruction and reconstruction of colonial space. Nevertheless, it does not explain (a) how this transformation is sustained, (b) which other actors are involved in its reproduction, and moreover (c) how is space employed in the service of maintaining the asymmetrical power relations. This chapter explores these questions by analyzing the historical development of residential spatial planning in Lahore. It seeks to unravel the particular political reasons that guide the transformation of domestic space and its subjection to a private realm in the socio-historical context of colonial and post-colonial development of urban space in Lahore.

Yeoh (2003) suggests that power is a capacity to intervene in a given set of events so as in some way to alter them, and in the colonial governmentality operates through inhibiting such capacity of the indigenous groups, to which space is an important constituent. There is no spatial template to power, yet it is always already spatial through a series of modal effects through which power is called into play Allen (1999). In his analysis of Foucault's notion of *dispositif*, Ploger (2008) suggests that space is active in the way it is an apparatus as well as a disposition. Where by apparatus, he implies the diagrammatic nature of space as an arrangement of bodies, knowledge, and gaze like in a prison or a clinic, while disposition is the representational and symbolic ways space performs within an ideological context. The spatial dispositive is,

therefore, an ensemble, which involves both the spatialization of social hierarchies as well as the elevation of materiality to a symbolic realm of representation in order to generate a governing effect (Ploger, 2008). The shaping of subjectivities or the political self-consciousness of individuals and groups, according to this view, is part of a hegemonic imposition of power which is spatially mediated through both affective (i.e., relating to non-discursive, emotional, embodied, and sensory) as well as effective (i.e., discursive construction of societal norms, and mental hierarchies) means. Drawing attention to Lefebvre's humanist method, Kipfer (2008) argues that Lefebvre (1991), in his critique of state and capitalist urbanization, explicitly links the problem of hegemony to the production of space. The production of space and its incorporation of everyday life is central to the reproduction of hegemony, which is not limited to a field of intellectuals or the ruling class but is a process of subsumption of everyday lived experience into a homogenizing abstraction and alienating abstraction. At the center of Lefebvre's analysis is social life, and in the production of space, he lays out a tripartite dialectical model that includes material aspects, their representational ideological aspects, and their affective/ symbolic aspects to analyze how hegemony is established through a spatial institution of eliminating social difference (Shmuley, 2008; Kipfer, 2008).

Lefebvre (1991) suggests that social space is a product of a dialectical interaction of its perceived (spatial practice), conceived (representation of space), and lived (spaces of representation) aspects. Stanek (2011) describes spatial practice as a means of focusing on the aspects of simultaneity of activities, the network of interaction, and communication that arise from an association between the daily routine of everyday life and the urban reality that is embedded in material relations. Representation of space encompasses the conceptualization of space by scientists, planners, social engineers, and artists, including maps, plans, and policy. These representations emerge at a level of discourse as images, plans, maps, descriptions, and definitions that emerge as a combination of ideology and knowledge (Lefebvre, 1991)¹. Prigge (2008) describes it as the dominant space in a society and its prevalent mode of production. On the other hand the spaces of representation (also translated as representational spaces) is the symbolic dimension that does not refer to space but to the process of signification that connects the material to the lived social imaginary. Compared to the representations of space that are the dominating discourse on space,

representational space is the dominant and passively experienced discourse of space (Stanek, 2011). Low (2008) points out that Lefebvre's analytical model of production reveals the recursive aspect of space as at once structured and structuring, where space simultaneously makes action possible and is itself the field of action. Therefore, the production of space reveals both the repressive and productive ways power is reproduced spatially

This chapter employs the notion of production to evaluate the specific ways spatial structures are formulated as a way of shaping or curtailing social life and individual capacities to alter space, in the history of residential planning in Lahore. It seeks to explore how the production of colonial modernity was employed in the construction of oppositional binaries of public/private and formal/informal. It investigates how colonial distinctions of spatial configurations were continued in the post-independence construction of middle-class citizenship through neighborhood planning. Furthermore, by reviewing available literature, colonial municipality reports, archival maps, and images, the sections ahead explore how the boundaries of privacy are historically determined through operational and discursive regulation of informality.

3.1. Planning History of Residential Space in Lahore

The choice of “residential space” instead of home, house, or housing is intentional as these words carry an ideological veiling that makes their production possible as homogenously enclosed spaces of private spheres positioned antagonistically to the public (Madanipour, 2003). Home is a value-laden term that involves notions of intimacy, interiority, and domesticity; however, Kaika (2015) asserts that one should not take this closing of ‘home’ as a site of socio-spatial autonomy and refuge for granted as it masks the many ways through which home as an edifice separates inside from outside, while also excluding many socio-natural spaces as prerequisites for its establishment. Where ‘home’ invokes a virtual belonging, ‘house’ is its more physical assertion which implies the material establishment of a discrete unit of family (Barrie, 2017). According to Morley (2000) the idea of house as a container of domestic space and site of familial congeniality is an invented concept that attained its clear affixed meaning in 18th century European Bourgeoisie as a fixed space of home making. Wigley (1996) also points out that the very idea of the house attains its relevance in

the way it houses (verb) people and objects as a system of organization of hierarchies. House, at least as it is known in its modern form, implies a rationalization of domestic space and, therefore, is a political expression of power (Staub, 2016). Housing on the other hand is an infrastructural term (Roth) that is embedded in the way system of dwelling is reproduced in the physical house as part of a network of political, social and economic factors. According to Staub, housing is an organization of symbolic valuation systems within society through the formalizing of the dominant narratives of private space and a culture of dwelling.

With their prescribed meanings these terms inhibit an encounter with reality as they embody the categorical distinctions, which Mitchell (1990, p. 566) regards as “enframing”, those modern practices that appear to be universal and divide the world distinctly between material and symbolic. Focusing on residential space, neutralizes these categories and facilitates the foregrounding of space as the primary site of production. The question of how space is produced as public-private, therefore, cannot be answered without analyzing how residential space is historically formalized into a homogenous private space of a house. Madanipour (2003) describes urbanization as the craft of drawing boundaries and building territories, including those of public and private. These territories can be defined as the material inscriptions of power relations embedded in the social processes, making them the critical units of the urban spatial morphology (Dovey, 2017). How these territories are constructed is the result of a spatial as well as a temporal process of the production of spatialities and identity (Massey, 1997, p. 113). From the post-colonial lens, an analysis of urban fabric requires disentangling those epistemic and material enmeshments through which local ways of doing come to be dominated or transformed in the historical process of colonization and imperialism (Sharp, 2009).

3.2. Indigenous Urban Fabric: Androon Lahore

Androon Sheher (Inner City), or the Walled City of Lahore, is an important site for studying how the ideas about public and private have shifted over time, as it is the only documented site in the case of Lahore that provides evidence of native social life prior to colonial rule. What appeared to British observers as a suffocating and claustrophobic slum-like native settlement was actually a place of social, cultural, and

political life with its unique spaces and vernacular architecture (Talbot & Kamran, 2016). The indigenous urban comprised of both a system of indoor and outdoor spaces (Glover, 2007). To understand how the territorial boundaries between these two zones operated, requires to look to explore the three important aspects: the urban configuration within which these spaces occurred, physical determination of domestic space, the socio-cultural processes of boundary mediation, and the tensions associated with the reinforcement of colonial framings.

3.2.1. Evasive Intricacy of Mohalla



Figure 3. 1 Street map of Androon Lahore c. 1889-90 from Glover (2007, p. 7).

Spanned over a trapezoidal area of 2.6 square kilometer (Sajjad et. al, 2020), the indigenous urban fabric of Androon Lahore (Figure 3.1), as described by Talbot and Kamran (2016), was bounded by a wall with twelve *derwazas* (Gates) holding together an intricate network of streets and open spaces that could be hierarchized along the lines of importance and as *guzargah* (main thoroughfare), Bazaars (a route that is also a commercial market), *mandi* (trader's market), *kucha* (a passage enclosed by residential quarters), *gali* (a narrow alley), and *ahata* (an enclosed open space bounded by residential buildings on three sides). They argue that these open spaces

(open in terms of physical access and generally spaces of exposure) acted as connecting tissues between various densely populated mohallas i.e., distinct neighborhoods. The physical demarcation of mohalla could not be determined visually, due to their irregular dense composition (Figure 3.2), however they were—and still continue to act as—relationally ascribed spatial categories with a processual formation of boundaries that depended on several socio-physical factors only known to local residents (Glover, 2007).



Figure 3. 2 Image showing the Dense Irregular Composition of Androon Lahore c. 1920s. Anonymous Author, from <http://lahore.city-history.com/page/3/> accessed in 20 March, 2024.

In their morphogenetic study of Indian Mohallas, Yanagisawa & Funo (2018) suggest that the mohallas were formed through gradual accumulation of residential quarters and street networks that accrued (1) around a *haveli* i.e. residence of an influential family, (2) on the basis of caste and craft, or (3) due to the inflow of immigrants who occupied that resulted in places of distinct language and cultures. According to them, these mohallas had their own distinct yet connected system of *kuchas* and *galis* that were distinguished through both: landmarks such as wells, *darwazas*, or buildings that opened onto these spaces as well as the relationship among the occupants of the buildings. Talbot & Kamran (2016) also indicate the presence of all three kinds of mohalla formations in 19th-century Lahore, but they also highlight a fourth category of mohallas that were formed around a religious place of worship.

Mohallas in the walled city and its vicinity served as residential neighborhoods interwoven with a multifarious functional mix that relied on the street connectivity of

various activities (Glover, 2007). Based on the 1890 map of the Walled City of Lahore (figure 3.1), four types of street configurations (figure 3.3) can be identified in the spatial makeup of mohallas: (a) serial-connecting i.e. galis with two open ends serving as a connection between two nodes; (b) serial-terminating i.e., streets that either terminate into a wider open space (katra); (c) network-open i.e. a network of galis and kuchas that have more than two systems of opening (d) network-closed i.e. those kuchas which have only two open ends, however carry a network of open spaces within it. These types are highlighted to reveal the geometrical irregularity, that was characterized as “labyrinthine” (Talbot, 2016, p. 17) or “very torturous narrow and crowding” (Edward. 1878-9 as cited in Sheikh, 2018, p.59) by the colonial observers, was actually a complex pattern/s of access crucial to both connection and makeup of mohallas that defied ease of documentation.

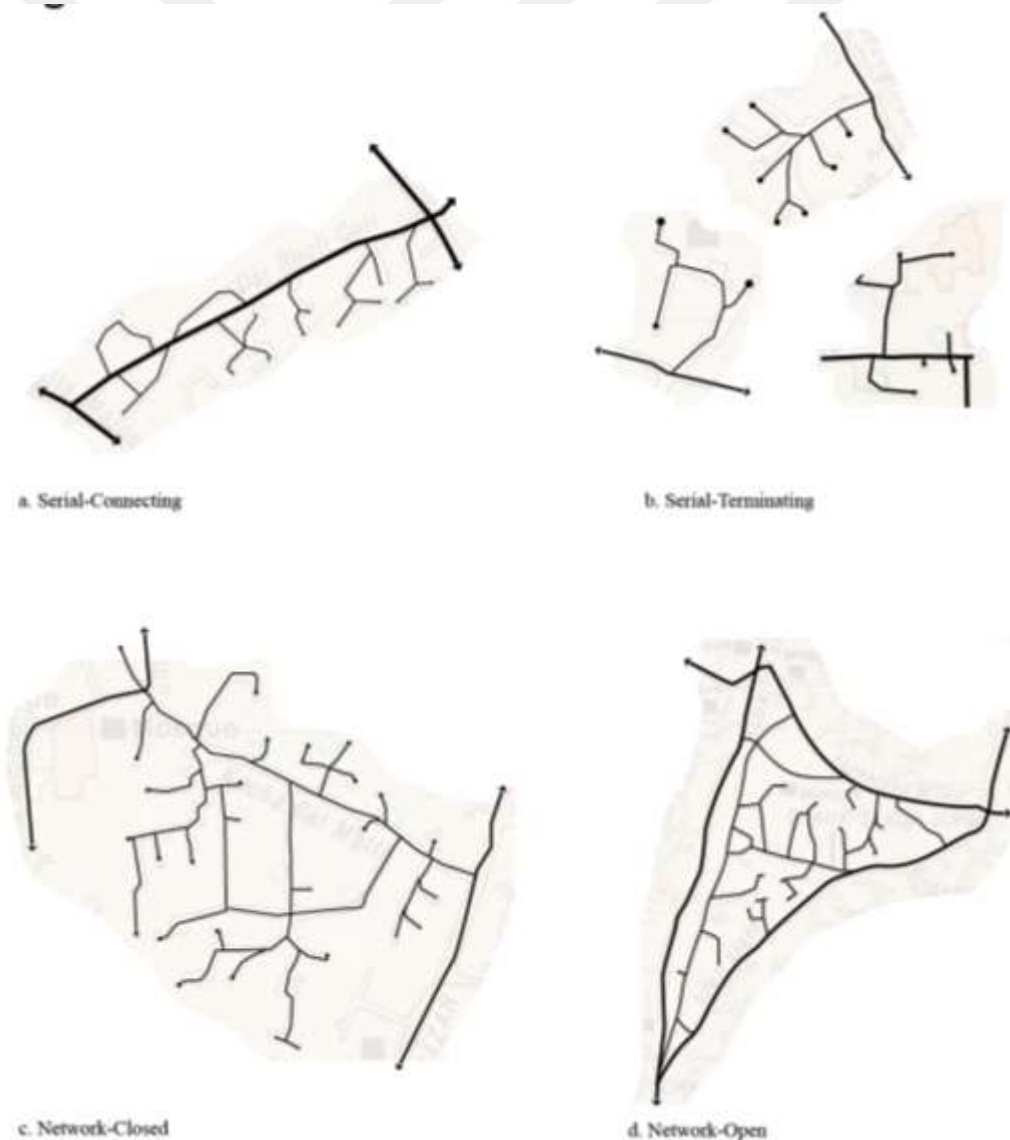


Figure 3. 3 Drawing of Morphology of street network of Mohallas in Androon Lahore. By Author.

This opaqueness of knowing is mentioned in an 1897 report by a British municipal committee officer as he notes that “there are practically no means of distinguishing one street or lane from another in many places except by the name of some wealthy man's house....all the main streets should be numbered, and the lanes leading off them in each ward or division lettered. At the present time, there is the greatest difficulty in determining any special locality, as there are neither names nor numbers in many parts to distinguish different lanes or streets” (Roe, 1897 as cited in Glover, 2007, p. 79). To add to the lack of a predictable sequencing that fit the hierarchical ideas of spatial organization by the British authorities was the fact that many residential quarters opened onto more than one street and was sometimes the only method of accessing a locality that opposed the western ideas of a public street and private dwelling (Glover, 2007).

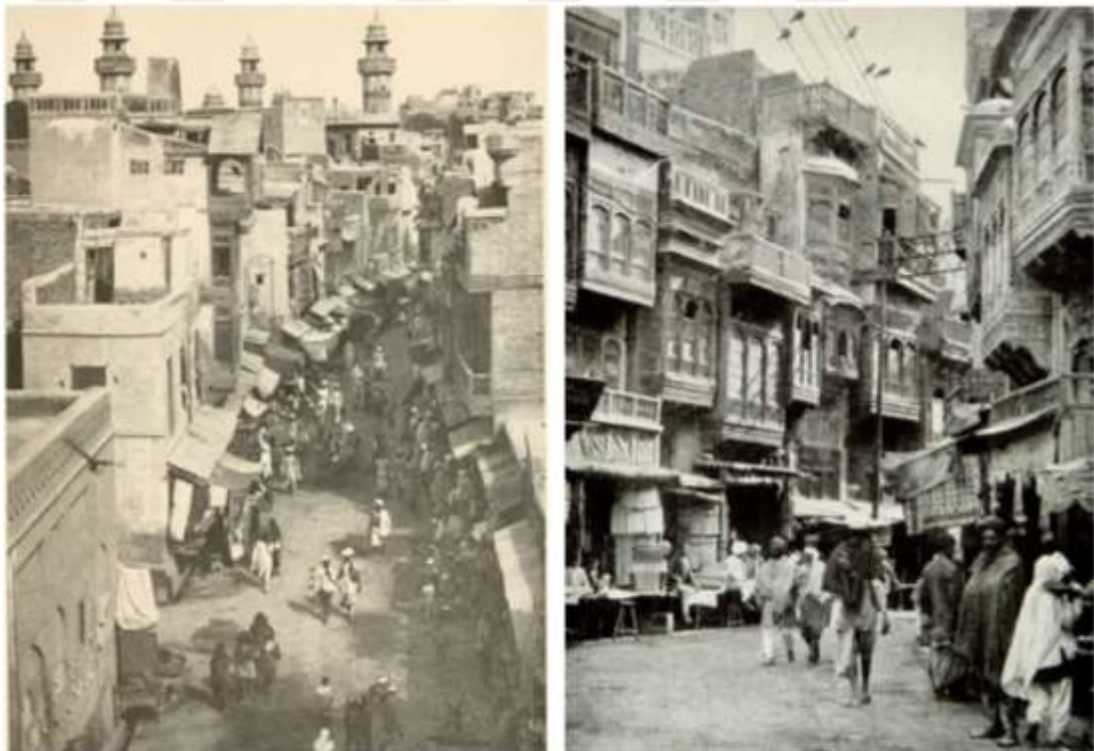


Figure 3. 4 Photographs showing typical street with mixed residential architecture. (Left) An image of Kashmir Bazar c. 1915 from Kipling's *India*. (Right) by William O. Maynard (1921).

The difficulty of demarcation of mohalla did not only emerge out of its complex built infrastructure, i.e., irregular streets and residential subdivisions but also because of their relational identities that relied on the particular aspects of social life that thrived within them (Yamane, 2008). Talbot and Kamran (2016) highlight that the open spaces of streets hosted a variety of publics—in the sense of what Madanipour (2003) describes as the social spaces of interpersonal exchange. According to them, two of

the prominent outside spaces were a bazaar and takia (a communal space). Bazaar in a traditional Indian city—as Chakrabarty (2002) suggests—constitutes an exposed and interstitial outside where one could expect to encounter strangers, and which served the needs for transportation, entertainment as well as commercial activities. He suggests that the spatial character of a typical bazaar, lined with shops on both sides (Figure 3.4, 3.5), was not only a space of speech and face-to-face interaction for the community but also a space for riot and rebellion. However takia, on the other hand, acted as a semi-enclosed communal space of mostly male gatherings, partially open to outsiders (Talbot & Kamran, 2016). In their historical description of Takia Mirasian in Androon Lahore (pp. 60-63), Talbot and Kamran note that it was linked to a local community and acted as a space with visitor's rest house, cultural get-togethers such as mushaira (poetry event), and panchayat, i.e., a body of local heads that convened over the matters of disputes. These bazaars and takias, along with other similar relationally constituted spatial entities, were crucial in how mohallas were territorialized as objects of discourse as well as material practices in lived space in Androon Lahore. It was not only the open spaces that were points of obfuscation for the colonial municipal governance when it came to defining territories; Glover (2007) suggests that the house as a unit of dwelling was also not a coherently identifiable entity in Androon Lahore.

3.2.2. Flexible Boundaries of the Dwelling Space

Where the ideas of modernity in late 19th century and early 20th century Europe idealized house as a discrete spatial unit of a family's intimate sphere (Madanipour, 2005. p.65; Morley, 2000, pp.21-25), such descriptions did not fit the empirical reality of the relationship shared among physical space of dwelling and familial relations of Androon Lahore in the colonial era (Glover, 2007). Pointing to the two census reports from late nineteenth century, Glover has highlighted the schism between the English term 'house' that means a place of residence that is a structural and immovable unit, and the Punjabi/Urdu term 'ghar' that implies both house, home, and family, as a social and movable construct. Ghar meant both the structural container within which people live as well as the extended family (Talbot & Kamran, 2016). In addition to that, the physical determination of residential space was incompatible with the European establishment of the house due to the varying system of opening as an 1891

census report writes that "there are alleys or courts containing very often hundreds of houses and yet opening onto the street by a single doorway....and again we meet often with upper stories of a building which open onto the street by a different door than the lower storey" (Roe, 1897 as cited in Glover, 2007, p. 79). This passage shows the struggle of colonial municipality and its technical experts to reconcile the idea of house with the indigenous residential patterns of the Walled City of Lahore.

The social mobility of 'ghar' meant that the flexible practices of inhabitation were not fixed in a particular place and relied on factors beyond physical attributes for its definition; however, the typical dwelling unit—by the end of the nineteenth century—was not rudimentary or temporary construction (*kaccha*), instead it was a permanent establishment of fired brick, mortar and woodwork i.e. *pakka* construction, which required a trained craftsman (*mistri*) and lasted for several decades (Glover, 2007). As visible in the 1881 photograph of a typical street (Figure 3.4) the architectural organization of a typical dwelling in Androon Lahore was of a residential-cum-working unit, with a *dukan* (shop) on the ground floor and space for domestic chores and female members of the family on the upper floors and roof with the wooden *Chajjas* (terraces) and *Jharokas* (balconies) protruding out from the façade, a building practice that was common in most of the cities of North Indian cities, and it acted both as a visual barrier preventing inward gaze and as a climate control device (Lang, 1989). Glover (2007) has included drawings from the archives of Lahore Municipal

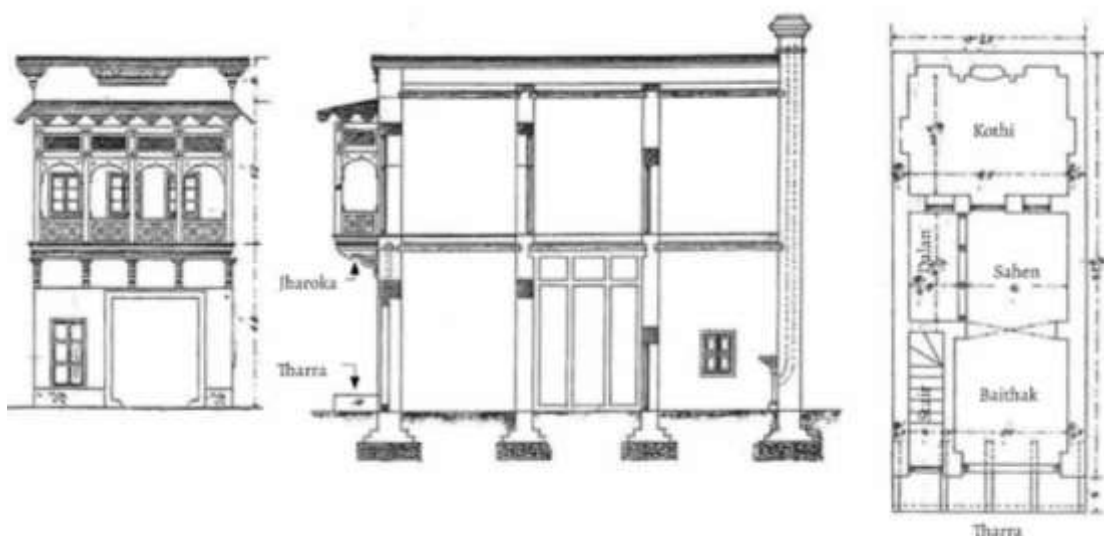


Figure 3. 5 Architectural Drawings of a typical two-floor dwelling with three rooms, 1893. From Glover (2007, p.115).

Corporation that shows a three-room sequences layout for the dwelling space with two levels (Figure 3.5) as well as four levels (Figure 3.6). The ground floor shows a tharra, which is an extended plinth that projects onto the street and serves as an immediate space for sitting and socializing on the street level. It usually served as an extension of the residence that usually included a dukan on the ground floor, where, in addition to tharra, an awning was also extended onto the street (2007). The baithak was a room adjacent to the threshold (dehleez) for the hosting of male guests and also served as an office (daftar) in some cases (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2001). Talbot & Kamran (2016) point out that baithak was an important part of an inter-personal realm of literary and political exchange that implied both a space for sitting as well as an event of meeting. As per the descriptions included by these authors, tharra and baithak acted as zones of interpenetration that allowed an exchange-based interface by allowing the outside public realm of bazaar or gali into the house while at the same time extending one's private sphere of ghar onto the common space of the street. The boundaries of social exclusivity within a typical traditional house in Androon Lahore are not fixed but are divided across a porous threshold of socially active spaces of Tharra and Baithak which mediate the transition from private to public (figure 3.7).

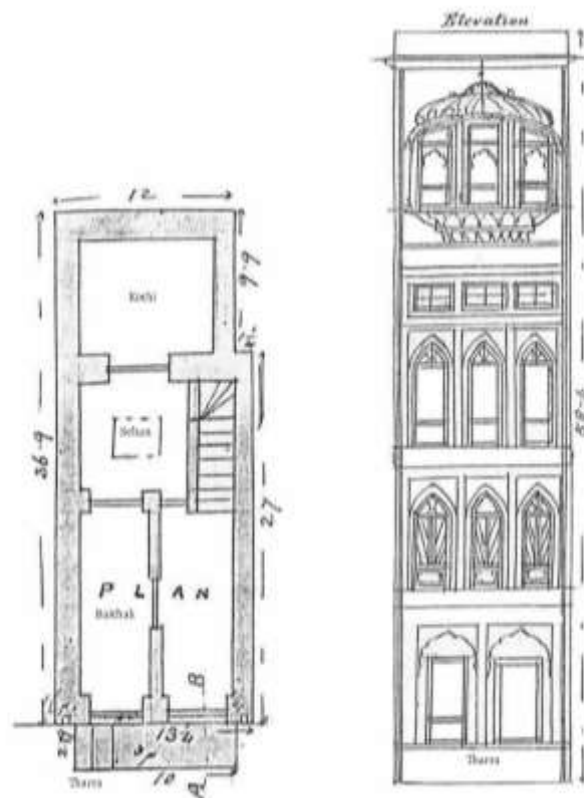


Figure 3. 6 Architectural Drawings of a four storey house with three rooms, 1893. From Glover (2007, p. 118)

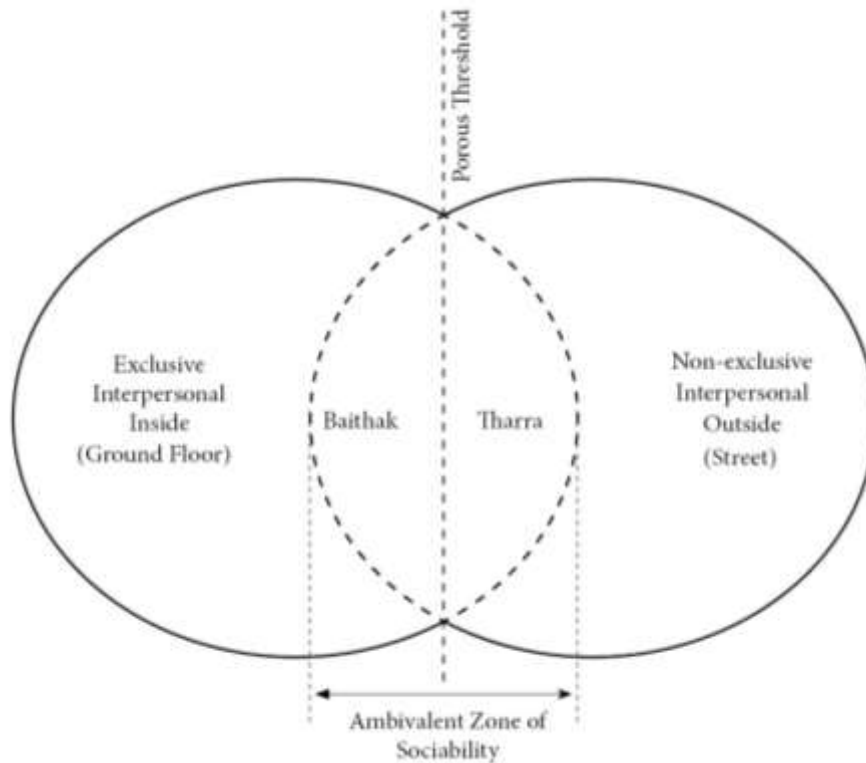


Figure 3. 7 Diagram depicting the spatial zones Tharra and Baithak. Prepared by author.

On the other hand, Glover (2007) highlights that the upper floors had rooms reserved for the intimate affairs of the domestic life and also constituted the primary space for women and children. The stairs and *jharoka* served as architectural devices to control the access to domestic spaces for household chores from the outside, thus dividing the space of residence along the gendered lines of a male-public zone and a female-private zone (Glover, 2007). However, Mazumdar & Mazumdar (2001) suggests that the simple division of a male public realm and private female realm does not accurately depict the complexity of many publics and privates that exist within in Indian Muslim Society. They argue that the issue of division of spheres of interaction between men and women is complicated with issues of *purdah* i.e., a visual and physical separation between the people of the opposite sexes which requires a consideration of *mahram* and *namehram*¹⁴ forms of publics. They suggest that more than an actively controlled physical separation, *mahram* and *namahram* are collectively agreed-upon terms that prohibit violation of both spheres by both men and

¹⁴ Mahram refers to a specific category of people of the other sex with whom marriage is explicitly forbidden, for e.g., for a woman, it is her father and brother, while for a man, it is her mother and sister, and thus, *purdah* is mandated. While *Namehram* are all those categories of opposite-sex people who are not mahram, and therefore intermixing with them is forbidden in Islam (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2001).

women. Maneval (2019) uses the terms strong and weak publics to differentiate between the primarily male sphere of socialization, where commercial and political decision-making takes place, v/s the female sphere of social life that is also part of the domestic space of a traditional Eastern household. Glover (2007) also points out that while a gendered division existed in the constitution of the house, it was not permanently imposed separation as the dervaza acted as a loose screen where women and even trusted namahram entered each other's dwellings freely. He suggests that interior spaces of an ordinary dwelling served for all sorts of purposes throughout the day and night and could not be strictly demarcated along functional lines and even the physical structure was never fully fixed as addition of rooms (kothi) were made vertically as the members of the family increased over time. These insights negate the typical categorization of the public as a male-outside-interpersonal space and private as a female-inside-intimate space, contrarily they pose that many interferences existed between outside-inside, male-female, interpersonal-intimate that constituted the socio-spatial makeup of domestic space in Androon Lahore, which is based on culturally acknowledged boundaries of exclusivity (Figure 3.8).

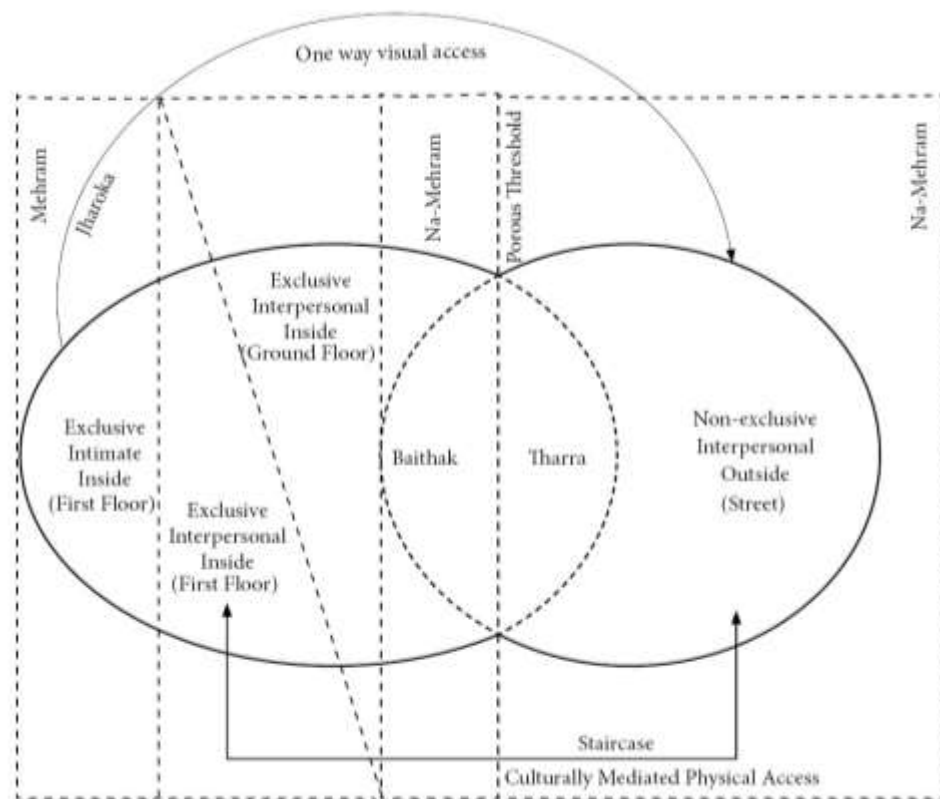


Figure 3. 8 Diagram depicting the relationship among different gradations of privacy divided along the lines of Mehram and Namehram. Prepared by author.

3.2.3. Taming Abjections by Municipal Governance

The problem of translation of European terms to the local practices of inhabitation in Androon Lahore led to a wide gap between the colonial knowledge that desired systematic order and the empirical reality that defied such assertions (Glover, 2007). However, it was not only the problem of social units such as house, family, or divisions such as public and private that were subjected to colonial scrutiny, colonial ideas about the environment, particularly those of hygienic modernity, were also severely challenged in encounter with the densely populated Walled City (Sheikh, 2018; Talbot & Kamran, 2016). Glover provides a passage of a sanitary inspector's report which notes that "house drains are rarely, if ever joined on to the sewers, the bath, cooking, and all water used for domestic purposes, including a good deal of urine, pours out of holes in the walls" (Roe, 1897 as quoted in Glover, 2007, p.113). The visibility of refuse was not only a sight of hygienic threat for the colonial officials but also served as an evidence of civilizational attributes among the local practices of inhabitation in general; as in another place, the report states that "let anyone visit some of the places I have mentioned, breathe its air, taste its water and eat its food; let him enter some of the yards, taking care where he treads....and then reflect such sickening evils that an hours inquiry would have shown him ought to be the habit of the masses of the people, and whether it is not a blot on civilization that such a thing exists in the midst of us"(quoted in Glover, 2007, p.131). The public visibility of the liquid waste, or what Maria Kaika (2012) regards as the domestic nature, was also antithetical to the ideological paradigm of colonial modernity that sought its taming.

It was not only the physical refuse that caused detestation among the officials of the municipality, but even the presence of lower classes in the street was also seen as a sickening aspect of Old Lahore (Sheikh, 2018). In his analysis of poverty and disease in Colonial India, Arnold (2016) highlights a recurring connection between poverty and public health concerns among medical professionals and colonial administration. He asserts that both kinds of thoughts, i.e. (1) Indians are disposed to disease due to the abundance of poverty and their poor ways of living and clothing, as well as (2) poverty is a cause of sapping of human vitality due to the lack of disease-prone nature of Indian bodies and over-crowded settlements. In both cases he suggests that poverty in colonial Indian cities was constructed as one of excess population that were blamed

for their own deplorability. Nevertheless, this linkage was not only a public health concern but also paralleled the aesthetic concerns of the colonial elite as one passage from a news article from 1881 documents: “beggars...are very numerous in our city, and that one’s walk of an evening is robbed of half its pleasure and enjoyment owing to their clamorous and importunate begging...and more so because of the unsightly and indecent exposure of their persons...” (Sheikh, 2018, p.104). This passage shows how poor and poverty were constructed as abjections and nuisance unfit for the public.

According to Ghertner (2015), the politics of abjections is important in urban governance that is involved in social processes that cast out unwanted social groups. The ‘indecent exposure’ of bodies of the poor in the passage is concomitant with the domestic refuse mentioned in the previous paragraph. Where the visibility of domestic nature violates the aesthetic values associated with publicness (Kaika, 2015); its sanctity is also disrupted by unintended exposure to the marginal bodies (Warner, 2005). The two examples reveal how the seemingly utilitarian concepts of sanitation and hygiene were entangled with ideas of privacy and personhood incommensurate with the indigenous practices of habitation, thus necessitating policy-oriented spatial and social reforms (Glover, 2007).

A series of municipal reforms were introduced in the mid-nineteenth century by the colonial administration, which included sanitary policing of practices of waste disposal, development of water supply and drainage infrastructure, building regulations, as well as public awareness campaigns focusing on hygiene and hazards of uncleanness (Glover, 2012; Sheikh, 2018; Glover 2007; Talbot & Kamran, 2016). By the late 1880’s the new house builders were required to submit plans of new residential buildings to the Municipal Committee, showing proper drainage that connected to municipal sewage disposal lines, for construction approval (Sheikh, 2018). With the prevailing ideas of miasma, the traditional building practices changed to include taller ceilings and ventilators, permitting more light and air into the residential space (Glover, 2007). In addition to physical alterations of space, the attitude towards domestic space was also an object of reform; Glover has included a pamphlet published in 1884 (figure 3.9) that discourages the uncleanness of domestic space and its exposure to the street. These reformative measures were not only focused at sanitation but also induced ideas cleanliness of environment as

physical attributes and symbolic virtues associated with the social health of the individual attitude towards domestic space was also an object of reform; Glover has included a pamphlet published in 1884 (figure 3.9) that discourages the uncleanness of domestic space and its exposure to the street. These reformative measures were not only focused at sanitation but also induced ideas on the cleanliness of environment as physical attributes and symbolic virtues associated with the social health of the private space of a house (Glover, 2007). However, while various measures were imposed to alter the local ways of inhabitation, Malik (2009) points out that it was only after the passage of Punjab Municipal Act in 1911 that control over building activity was significantly enforced in the Walled City.



Translation:
 "One lamp. A few earthen and oil utensils. A few
 cases and baskets are cumulative domestic goods.
 Piles of baskets are staggered everywhere and a grind-
 ing mil sits in a corner. Now consider another picture.
 You will know what are those condition which result
 in the mutual intermixing of humen and mice. This is a
 picture of small room."



b. An 1890 illustration showing unsanitary conditions in a dark and damp gali with drain and sewage pipes running along the wall and the other wall shows the municipal chalkings recording the number of rats culled.

a. An 1890 illustration equating the disorderly space of kitchen (top), and conducting domestic chores outside (bottom) with unhygienic living conditions.

Figure 3. 9 Sanitary illustrations published by Lahore Municipal Committee in 1890. From Glover (2007).

including the beating of drums and trumpets, without prior approval from the committee.¹⁷

The committee was empowered to make bylaws for erection of buildings that included the determination of allowable minimum height, the space required of ventilation, the minimum size of rooms, as well as the projections and dimensions of building projections.¹⁸ The Act also empowered the Municipality to draw rebuilding schemes and provide consultation for private landowners who wanted to establish new housing schemes. By identifying streets as public spaces to be appropriated only for municipality-prescribed purposes, the ambiguous boundary between the open outside space and space of dwelling was demarcated along with propriety and institutional definitions of who held the power to transform space.

Patrick Geddes, in his 1917 report to the Lahore Municipal Commissioner, provides an account of some of its measures of municipal improvement projects (Geddes, 1972, pp. 383-447). After examining the municipal scheme of Changan Mohalla (an abadi in close vicinity to the Walled City), Geddes critiques the demolition of existing residential quarters for the implementation of a sanitary layout and instead urges the authorities to pay attention to the existing roads and lanes as they are “the past product of practical life” (Geddes, 1972, p. 396). In another place, commenting on the narrowness of the street in the municipality layout of Gawalmandi, Geddes also criticizes the bylaws inhibiting balcony projection as he writes that “balcony is not merely the main ornament of an eastern home. It is the women's and children's open-air sanatorium and their preventive hospital, let alone their pleasure: and to suppress it or even to repress it is bad hygiene altogether” (1972, p. 402).

Geddes (1972) also rebukes the implementation of the rectangular layouts for municipal infrastructural and property divisions in the rebuilding schemes and suggest that such distributions had nothing to do with the situation on the ground and resulted in wastage of space; what he suggests was a clear problem that arose due to the geometric rectangularity of the drawing board the habit of drawing lines parallel and

¹⁷ See *Punjab Municipal Act 1911*, Chapter x, clause 193..

¹⁸ See clause 170 & 170-a: Punishment over hanging structure of *Punjab Municipal Act 1911*.

on right angles. Pointing to the forced implementation of municipal plans, which were disparate from ground realities, he writes that "Sanitarians and Engineers, and those who accept their plans....are practical men, strict utilitarians, good economists, careful planners, and so on –have thus long been making the most profuse and wasteful expenditures...for their esthetic ideal, that of perfect rectangularity" (Geddes, 1972, p. 405).

We can find in Geddes' descriptions a discontent for spatial rationalization, similar to Lefebvre's idea of conceived space or representations of space that emerge out of bureaucratic and technocratic modes of thinking, that serve as administrative tools to dominate the spatial practice. However, it is important to note that while Geddes as a humanist, recognized the importance of knowing local ways through detailed surveys, as utilitarian, he was a proponent of environmental-causality and the importance of municipality as a way of keeping people from the evils of insanitation and vileness (Huxley, 2006).

3.3. Garden-city in the colony: Cooperative Model Town Society

The sensitivity to local culture, exhibited in Geddes's 1917 report to the colonial municipality of Lahore, as part of his several trips made to India in the second decade of the twentieth century in an advisory capacity to the town planning initiatives of the British authorities, provides a window into a general shift in the epistemology of planning in Britain during the interwar period (Vijay, 2020). Considered a naturalist, Geddes was inspired by the positivist sociology school in planning that saw planning as an exercise in envisioning a bio-social harmony among people and environment (Huxley, 2006). This view supported a naturalist ideal in planning, where through posing the right questions and survey techniques, one could identify the correct configurations among people, as well as determine their relationship to the environment and its functional attributes (Banerji & Ghertner, 2023). Huxley (2006, p. 780) regards this approach as a 'vitalistic spatial rationality' which essentializes the ways in which forms of biological and ecological interactions could be organized to calibrate the social and technical advances. It is through this shift that Municipal improvement trusts were established in all major cities of Colonial India during the interwar period, which, in addition to sanitation, also overlooked improvement,

resettlement, and development of housing projects (Banerji & Ghertner, 2023). In the case of Lahore, following these developments, The Punjab Town Improvement Act was passed in 1922, leading to the establishment of the Lahore Improvement Committee (LIC) in 1926 and the Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT) in 1936 (Malik, 2009). However, Vijay (2020) urges caution, as he urges to not fall trapped to the humanist expression of Geddes' naturalist views on planning, as, according to him, it did not alter the colonial civilizing mission but only amounted to a subtle shift in the power dynamic of the reformist vision.

Scott (1995) has argued that the British perspectives towards colonial governance had largely shifted from repressive to reproductive measures by the interwar period as he emphasizes turning away from governance as a form of active suppression to repressive measures such as management of conduct. According to him the language of 'improvement' was an attempt towards replacing the non-modern forms of life by dismantling their conditions and rearranging them to oblige the colonial subjects into modes of self-governance. He argues that such governance of conduct was crucial to sustaining colonial power and was made possible through introduction of new conditions that included the construction of the notion of rights of property and labor for a desiring subject, which shifted the site of agency from the state to the private sphere of an individual. This required the inculcation of a liberal attitude towards land ownership and relations to private property that become the basis of social and economic distinction (Vijay, 2020). Glover (2005) highlights how the aspiration for individual accomplishment through ideas of cultural and economic progress were largely influenced by the pedagogical intentions of the colonial state and its shaping of a public sphere of civil society. Daeshcel (2012) regards this aspect of social mobility among natives as a crucial character of middle-class development in Colonial India that was primarily linked to the growing services sector of Colonial Punjab under direct government patronage, and for whom "education and self-discipline became the new bywords of success" (p.336).

In discussing how reformist ideology operated under the guise of a humanist shift in colonial planning in South Asia, Vijay (2020) describes the attention to local as a non-coercive means of reproduction of colonial power that reimagined city as a garden, a biosocial environment necessary for the cultivation of a colonial subject. He argues

that Geddes's emphasis on the ground aspired towards inculcating civic goodwill through a verdant imaginary of cities, which was achievable through social cooperation and self-regulation. In the economic sphere such liberal attitudes and self-improvement that compounded moral virtue to economic strife were encouraged since the beginning of the twentieth century in the form of credit cooperative societies in India, in the form of lending schemes for agricultural farming, that sought to teach qualities of thrift, cooperation, and self-help to agricultural classes as the basis of financial autonomy (Kamenov, 2020). According to Kamenov, this cooperative model was extended to all sorts of provisions, including the housing cooperatives in 1912, which motivated an upwardly mobile private home ownership through a model of middle-class civic engagement.

It was in this context of interwar shift in colonial governance and rise of planning as improvement in the first cooperative housing scheme of Punjab was proposed to be built in Lahore by the name of Cooperative Model Town Scheme (CMTS) in 1919 by Diwan Khem Chand (Glover, 2007), in the southern outskirts of Lahore (Figure 3.11). As part of the upper-income group of Indian civil servants, Chand himself was the son of an ICS¹⁹ officer and had attained his education in London (Anbrine, 2014), which made him the perfect example of a hybridized class of interlocutors who—as discussed in the previous chapter—were to be educated into mimicry, the English taste and ways of knowing.

The Colonial mimicry, according to Bhabha (1994), operates as non-repressive mechanism of power that relies on cultivation of a “reformed recognizable other” (p. 86) capable of desire made possible through fetishization of the colonial culture. Khem Chand’s proposal was intended for such a mimicing class of Indian Officers as he writes that CMTS was to be an “Ideal Self-contained Town” (Chand, 1922, p.11) implying “a town with all the conveniences of modern times” (1922, p.14) where

¹⁹ ICS is an acronym for Indian Civil Services, which is a class of bureaucratic office entered after the passing of a competitive exam, initiated in 1858. Before assuming their field duties in India, the candidates that had successfully cleared the competitive examination spent two years' probation at leading UK educational institutions, where they learned about India — its history, society, revenue and criminal laws, etc. — in addition to learning the local language of the place where they were to be posted. After 1947, the same office was renamed Pakistan Civil Services (PCS) and continues in a similar capacity till today (Sheikh, 2023).

"middle-class men, whose incomes were fixed and who by their better training, education and social position desired to live a better life" (1922, p.16). CMTS provides an important key into how the aspirations towards a colonial style of living played into the cultivation of middle-class colonial subjects and their residential environment, and its role in shaping dispositions about privacy and publicness.

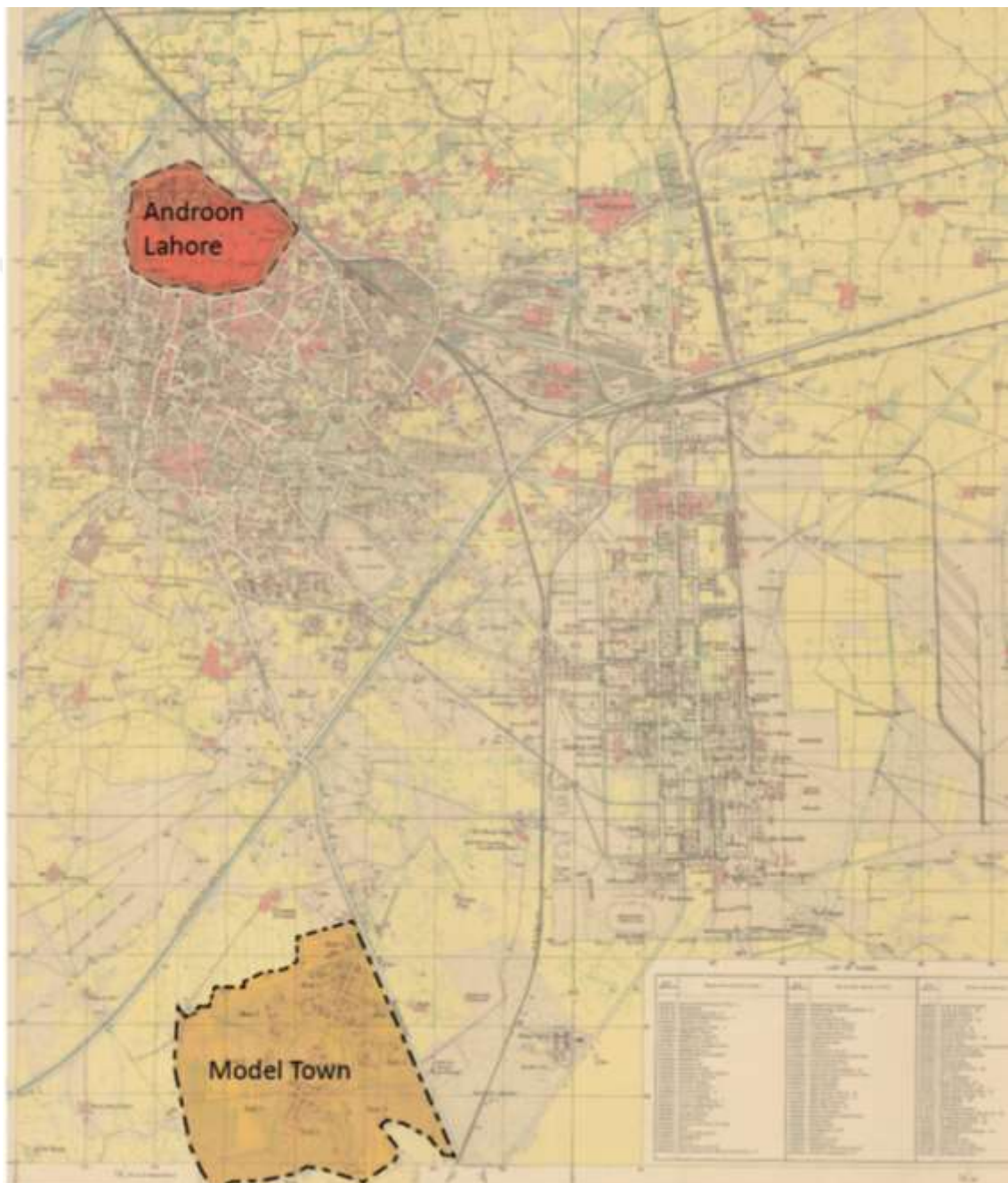


Figure 3. 11 Location of Cooperative Model Town Society marked on 1935 Town Guide Map of Lahore.

3.3.1. Self-Sufficient Suburb and Ecological Modernization

The idea and formal planning of CMTS were inspired by Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, published in 1902, which popularized the garden city model (Figure. 3.12) with efficient and egalitarian radial planning, equipped with modern reticulated infrastructure and ample green spaces (gardens), a schematic confluence of town and country, as a solution to the hygienic and social ills of the Western industrial metropolis (Glover, 2007). The competition brief prepared for the layout of CMTS by Khem Chand narrates design criteria, stating that "the town should be square in shape. In the center of the town there should be a flower garden...around the garden, there should be a circular road, and on the circular road there should be stores, markets, and post offices. Then covering them should come the boys' school and girl's school, and the hospital. All these public buildings being in the center of the town" (Chand, 1922. p. 12). The finalized design layout of the scheme (Figure. 3.13) shows a resultant concentric grid geometry (much akin to Howard's Garden City) with a large central

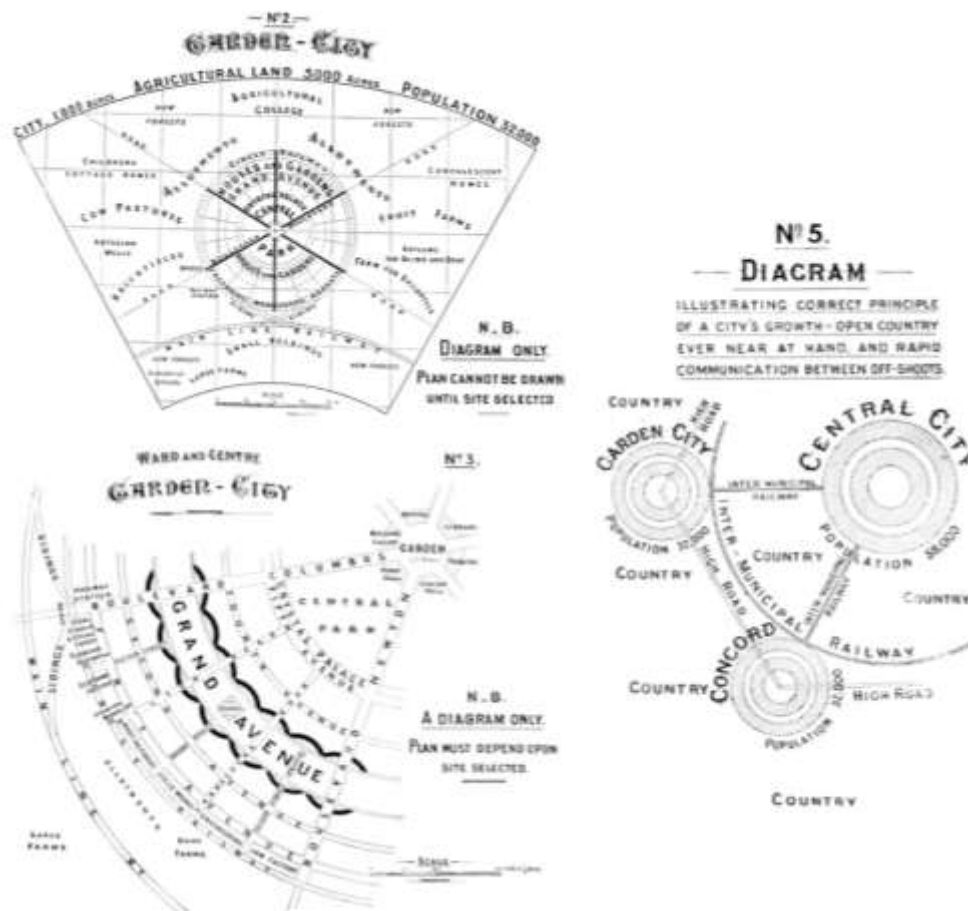


Figure 3. 12 Diagrammatic Illustrations of Garden-city by Ebenezer Howard c. 1902.

open space of public utilities, dividing the surrounding space into eight residential blocks distributed in grid-iron pattern of streets. Glover (2007) suggests that the strict geometric configuration was not merely an aesthetic choice but enabled the physical implementation of a reformist vision that sought planning models as object lessons necessary to cultivate progressive ideals among population. Moreover Vijay (2020) highlights that such object lessons though utopic in ideation were deemed practical through meticulous planning that could make harmony possible among people as well as their environment as a way of achieving a proper colonial subject.

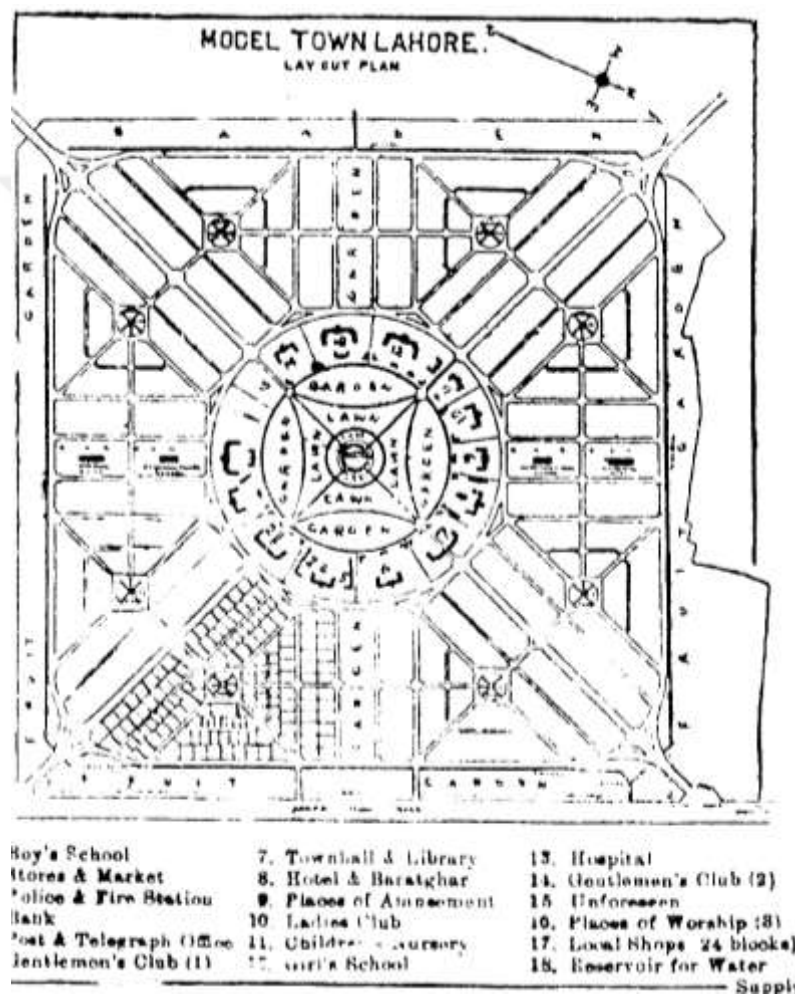


Figure 3.13 Diagrammatic Plan of Cooperative Model Town Society c. 1920.

In contrast to the ambiguity of a mohalla in the Androon Lahore (as highlighted in the previous section), the planning of model town articulated clearly definition of open and enclosed spaces that were distributed into functional zones with the graphic division of land into larger and smaller rectangles representing the sequentially placed individual units of land (Figure 3.13). The larger streets or boulevards occupied higher functional zones of importance, while the smaller streets only served the access to

residential units, and the peripheries were designated for small factories, open air laundry, slaughterhouses, and residential quarters for the labor (Glover, 2007). Schematically, much similar to the Mian Mir Cantonment, the layout served as an enclavement, a uniform whole with clear classifications of the spatial elements, which as Foucault (1995) suggests is necessary for screening of threats and maintenance of a homogenous discipline. According to Rainbow (1982) planning of spatial order is crucial to a disciplinary power as it operates through control and distribution of bodies and individuals by fixing their very location as well as making it easily readable in such a manner that “efficiency, docility, and hierarchy can be simultaneously achieved” (p. 357). In case of Model Town the closed and orderly space played an important part in the residents’ life, as Tandon (1961) suggests that it was inhabited by the retirees of a colonial occupational class who appreciated its well-ordered uniformity.

In addition to the geometric layout the scheme was planned to have its own electricity generation plant and cooperative-owned tube wells for the supply of drinking water, with wide boulevards all connected to a central road encircling a 70-feet-high hill in the central park containing the main water tank, underneath which, a cave restaurant was proposed for entertainment purposes (Groot, 1989). Separate clubs for ladies and gentlemen were proposed along with medicated baths and swimming tanks for relaxation (Anbrine, 2014). In addition to that centrally administered electric clocks were also proposed on all major junctions with Chowkidars (guards) making rounds on their bicycles, making sure of no unauthorized outsiders (Chand, 1922).

The scheme was marketed as a "Self-contained Co-operative Garden Town in the Suburbs of Lahore" (Chand, 1922, p. 15) and was replete with ideas of modern living exemplified in innovative domestic space equipped with modern technologies of sewerage collection, electric cooking, and telephone, as well as modern public infrastructure and civic architecture. Such notion of a clean, harmonious, natural environment that would be disconnected from any references to the traditional city was to be achieved through what Kaika (2012) discusses as the ecological transformation of “making the visible invisible” (p.49) that makes the suburban dream possible. According to her, such transformation works through both hiding away the bad nature of metabolic infrastructure such as electricity, waste, and water while at the

same time fetishizing its transformation that results in the surface of the city where nature is constructed as an aesthetic good in forms of sanitized and clean parks, gardens and avenues. The fetishization of the latter is made possible through the concealment of the source in modernist planning as a strategy that demarcates clarity between functions, between public and private, and by separating nature from the built environment (Kaika, 2012).

Kaika's argument follows Lefebvre (1991, p. 329) who he criticizes the modern planning, which in its pursuit of perfection, transforms nature into a new scarcity and poses environment as a socially vacuous entity that needs to be produced under certain socio-economic conditions. It is this splitting that directly ties suburban homeownership to the making and representing urban natures, i.e., trees and roads do not only serve as visible arrangements but also symbolic entities indulged in the politics of what can and cannot be constituted as urban environments (Kaika, 2012). In the case of CMTS, the good nature and other visible infrastructure served as ways of achieving an ecological modernization, where the colonized mimicking classes could gain access to "all the conveniences of modern times" (Chand, 1922, p. 3).

3.3.2. Cooperative Semi-Municipal Governance

The maintenance and upkeep of infrastructure in CMTS depended on a semi-municipal structure of governance, where a committee of residents—who had become shareholders in the cooperative society by virtue of buying land and building a home—oversaw the matters (Glover, 2007). Therefore, according to Glover, municipal tasks relied heavily on the rules and bylaws that were regulated by homeowners practicing a model of civic engagement where they were responsible for their own day-to-day governance. In other terms, this cooperative model presents the coupling of, what Madanipour (2003) highlights as two versions of publicness that is administrative public such as colonial municipality and the realm of individual expression or collective exchange of reason. The cultivation of such a public sphere, therefore, was necessary for this model, which also required spaces for social interaction (Glover, 2007). The centrality of all public buildings like clubs, post office, and schools and open spaces like parks, were strategically placed to be equally distant from all the residential blocks, thus accessible from all sides (Anbrine, 2014). According to

Anbrine, Khem Chand's scheme was highly motivated by the spirit of cultivating modern civic attitudes among its residents. The geometric plan, infrastructural order, and the verdant imaginary of orchards and gardens, along with social clubs and other buildings designed for public use, were all components of the civic materialism that translated into a civic ideal of cooperation and good will among a homogenous group of professional middle-class residents of Lahore.

While seemingly participatory, Ghertner (2015) suggests that such coupling makes possible the hegemonic public sphere of an aspiring colonial middle class, which, in their newly acquired aesthetic sensibilities, is concerned with an exclusionary implementation of the suburban civic order by eliminating signs of poverty.

According to Kaviraj (1997), the governing conventions of colonial rule applied by the municipality were internalized by the middle-class Indians who constituted a discipline-oriented public sphere that did not only seek to impose its code of etiquettes upon space to eliminate symbolic poverty but also to keep the precise calibration of boundaries public and private from disrupting. However, contrarily, the designed public spaces in Model Town remained exclusive spaces of occasional encounter that lacked public social life. As Tandon (1961) suggests, clubs were hardly used for public activities except for wedding functions; he also points out that politics was limited to the internal affairs of the elected committee, while the rest of the population was only indulged in the day to day affairs, where social life occurred during walks or in the spaces of living. Daeschel (2012) also suggests that by the mid-1920s, due to the availability of radio and popular print media, the bourgeois public sphere, in the case of Punjab, had reached the domestic spaces of the house and was no longer bound to the institutional spaces of the Civil Station.

3.4. Bungalow-Compound: Standardization of Privacy

A bungalow with a garden compound was the housing typology to be adopted in CMTS (Anbrine, 2014). According to Tandon (1961) all the houses built by the new residents looked alike, which he points was also due to their affinity for the bungalow typology as it had been their official residence as part of their service to the colonial state. The guide map of Lahore from 1937 (Figure 3.14a) shows a standardized detached bungalow-compound typology that was followed for house construction in

CMTS. In Lahore, the bungalow typology was first introduced in the Civil Station (Donald Town) in the 1850s and was also the main residential type of Cantonment and administrative enclave of Government Officer's Residence²⁰ (Glover, 2007). Inspired by a vernacular native dwelling "Bangla," the colonial bungalow evolved as a tropical residential typology developed by British engineers, health inspectors, and architects due to the fear of disease, the requirement for sanitation, and the need of an expatriate European population to adapt to the local climate (King, 1976). Unlike Androon Lahore, the bungalow as a house was a discrete spatial unit for a nuclear family (Anbrine, 2014), which is also why it was the perfect typology for a suburban cooperative scheme like Model Town, where each land parcel denoted a single share and right to build an individual dwelling for an average family of five people, as a prerequisite for the allotment of a single share/ vote in the society (Chand, 1922). It was this dedication to the economy of conversion of land into communal credits that made CMTS earn praise as a model housing scheme in Colonial Punjab, and as Tandon asserts that, "Model Town was a place, the like of which had never been and will never be seen again"(1961, p. 236).

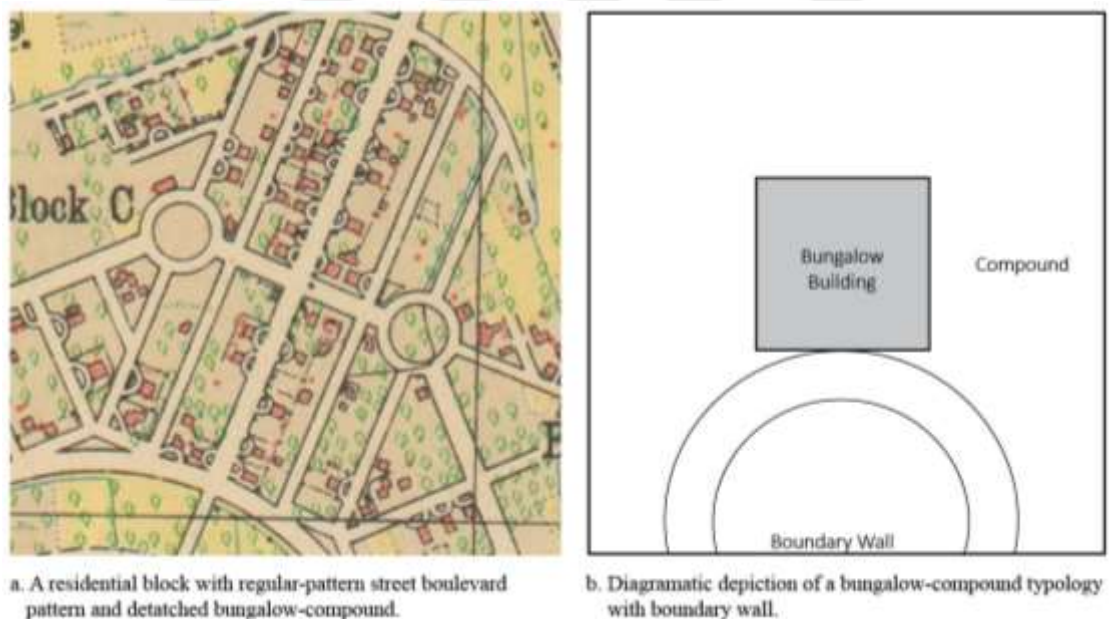


Figure 3. 14 Standardized urban morphology with bungalow-compound in Model Town.

²⁰ GORs or Government Officer's Residece are a beureucrat's residential enclave developed in 1850's in the Civil Station.

3.4.1. Defensive Enclosing

In the finalized proposal of the scheme, three categories of houses (A, B, and C) were finalized as per the size of the purchased land parcel (6, 4, and 2 Kanals²¹) for which the payment was made in four installments with the final one being at the completion of the house building (Anbrine, 2014). Along with the land parcels, the typical designs for bungalows were also standardized as per these categories, however the residents could also employ their own architectural designs, provided, that they follow that (1) each house would be detached or semi-detached in case of smaller houses, (2) the bungalow will only occupy one-third of the area of the land while two-third will be an open space or garden, and (3) it will be a double storeyed house (Anbrine, 2014). The schematic arrangement plans (Figure 3.14 b) of these three class categories show a typical residential compound divided into a main building of the bungalow, which is exposed from all four sides, an expansive lawn occupying the space between the main building and street. A garage that was constructed separately from the main building, a backyard that was hidden from the main entrance and approach of the bungalow, servant quarters that occupied the most rear end of the plot, and a boundary wall that demarcated the extents of the property. This basic arrangement of bungalow-compound in CMTS configured a discrete private unit of home which is more than mere domestic space but carries within itself various other sub-units necessary for its reproduction (King, 1976).

The colonial bungalow was devised as a form of social and atmospheric sequestering that in its logic of atmospheric segregation created a climate of enclosure with help of technological appendages such as water and electricity, which kept both biological and social threats at bay from the interior space (Chang & King, 2011). Even the space of a compound or garden was necessary for the plantation of oxygen-producing trees, which explains, was a direct consequence of miasmatic theories of bad air. However, the garden was more than just a planted space, as Tandon (1961) suggests. It was also a space of hobby and leisure for the residents of Model Town. King (1976) asserts that the garden is a space of territorial marking and a cultured object in the

²¹ Kanal is a land measuring unit standardized during the British period in the Indian Subcontinent where 1 Acre (43,560 sqft) is equal to 8 Kanal.

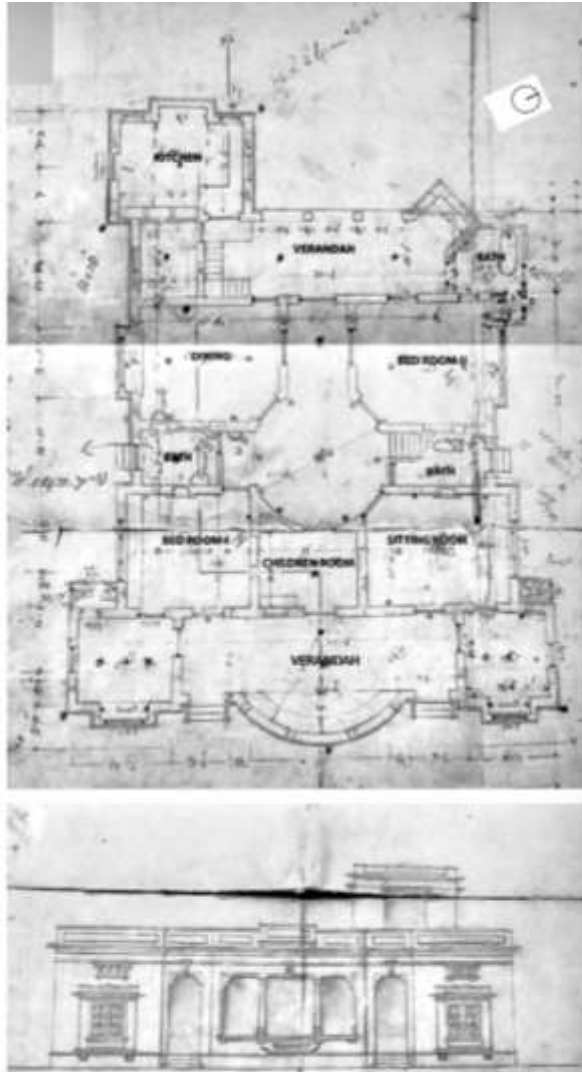
bungalow-compound, which reinforces one's identity as distinct from the indigenous society, as it also separates the domestic space from public view.

This view parallels Kaika's (2012, p. 61) assertion that modern house (bungalow in this case) becomes a private isolated space of home through the process of excluding socio-natural processes. She argues that the homogeneity of home as a space of private reflection or domestic refuge is enabled by both technological advancements that produce good nature of the house (in form of readily available lighting, heat and water) but also idealizing it as a space enclosed solely for domestic acts that needs to be kept clean of societal intrusions. According to Glover (2007) the material culture of the bungalow itself was considered a defense against losing one's culture or threats of miscegenation, and effective in preserving the values of family and domesticity. The bungalow-compound arrangement allows such pervasive separation between inside and outside or what Ghertner et al. (2020, p. 5) regard as a socio-spatial "fortressing," which he describes as the "territories designed to impose constraints through the power of environment." They suggest—as King (1976, ch.6) also highlights—that such fortressing is not only a defense against outsiders but also a preservation of taste and one's social status, a logic that also pervades inside the interior space of the bungalow.

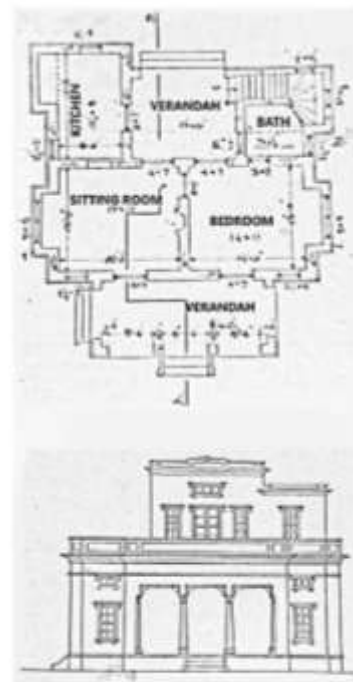
3.4.2. Domestic Enframing

In his analysis of colonial bungalows in India, Glover (2007) points out that the seclusion it afforded its dwellers, required hefty maintenance of domestic labor in the form of servants, as well as, continuous regulation of space to meet the colonial Anglo-European ideas of proper domestic arrangements. Chand (1992, p.6) also promises to relieve its residents of the "servant problem" in his town by incorporating modern facilities and pushing out of domestic tasks, which will not require many servants for the maintenance of the bungalow. King (1976) suggests that the task of etiquette of domestic arrangement of interior spaces in the bungalow was twofold: first, to separate the family from the fleets of servants; second, to protect the intimate sphere of the home, and spaces of household chores from the sight of guests who were often hosted in its interiors. Tandon (1961, p. 237) provides a description of a typical early Model Town bungalow as he writes: "Each house was divided into two parts by

a huge vestibule in the middle. On one side were dining and drawing-rooms and bathrooms. The front verandah overlooked a lawn surrounded by flower beds. Here, male visitors were received. On the other side was a verandah, where meals were served except on winter evenings, and an enclosed paved courtyard, the women's domain with kitchen and storerooms." It can be induced from his description that the spatial geometry of the bungalow was instrumental in the division of domestic functions along a linear gradation from more public to more private.



A-Category Bungalow c.1937



C-Category Bungalow c. 1926

Figure 3. 15 Plan and Elevation layouts of bungalow architecture in Model Town.

The typical layout of Model Town bungalows (Figure 3.15) shows the internal arrangement of the functionally divided domestic space. Even though the area size of the house in A-category bungalow is significantly larger than the C-category bungalow, the plans, show a typical template for arranging internal zones across the

depth of the building. King (1976, ch.6) describes this gradation of privacy in a bungalow-compound to have been distributed on the four important spatial elements of (1) the area between the verandah and the compound wall, (2) the verandah, (3) the hall or the main vestibule (4) the inner sanctum of drawing, dining and bedroom, thus proposing a concentric scheme of spatial privacy where the familial space of bungalow is also viewed as the most private (Figure 3.16). He suggests that these gradations served as the various levels of territorial markings as a method of spatial division that allowed the selective exclusion of the chores and outsiders from the inner sanctum of the living space which was also the space of private relaxation.

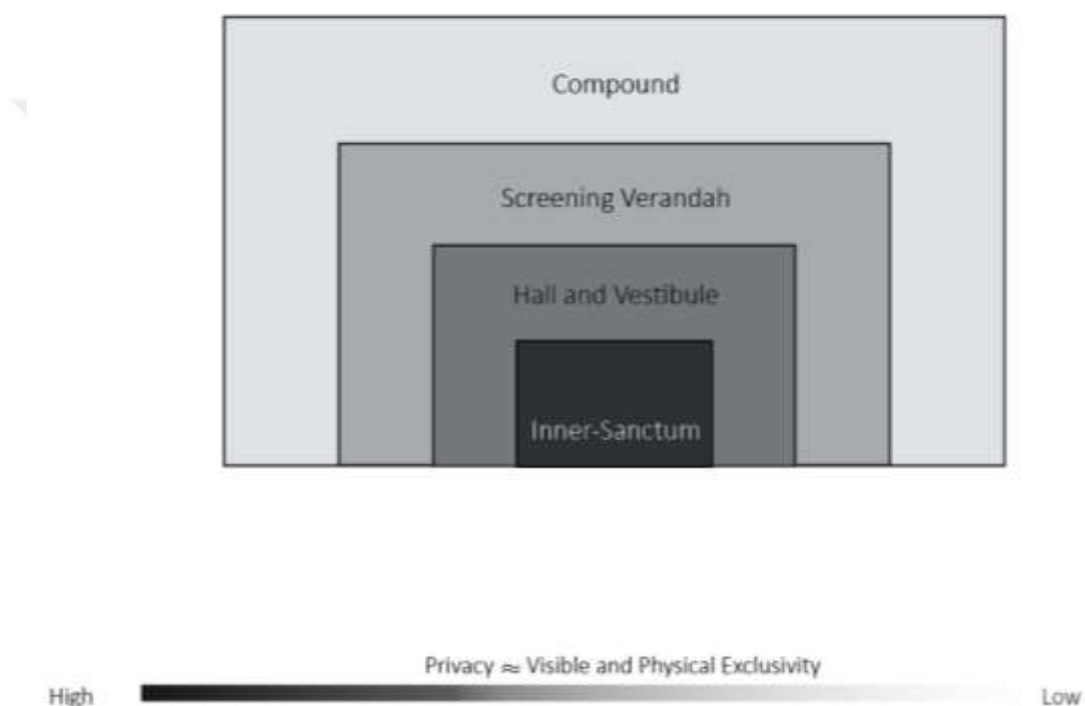


Figure 3. 16 Diagram depiction of King's (1976) concentric model of privacy in the Bungalow-compound typology.

This gradation (Figure 3.16) provides a general schema of privacy in the domestic layout, considering the plans of a typical bungalow (Figure 3.15) in the Model Town, however, while it adheres to the gradation of privacy in King's (1976) analysis, the number of layers and the degree of relative separation between each layer depended on the utility, social interaction as well as the level of enclosure and fixity of space. It shows a clear distinction between various forms of privacies that constitute the cellular layout of the bungalow, making verandah a relatively higher contingency, which is least enclosed, more transitory, and most contingent in its interactivity as it increases the chances of encounter with the natural or social other, and the most non-

exclusive. King (1976) states that the verandah served as an important screening space that decided both the visual and symbolic aspects of the domestic threshold. On the other hand spaces like drawing room which are relatively exclusive, with co-trolled social interaction, enclosed and spatially fixed, constitute the more controlled publics within the private sphere diametrically opposed to service spaces of kitchen which are highly exclusive and least socially interactive which are relegated to staff or the gendered other. The domestic space of the bungalow, therefore, does not only animate a linear gradation of privacy but also forms a zone of control that keeps the different forms of privacies and publics from overlapping or coming into contact with each other (Figure 3.17).

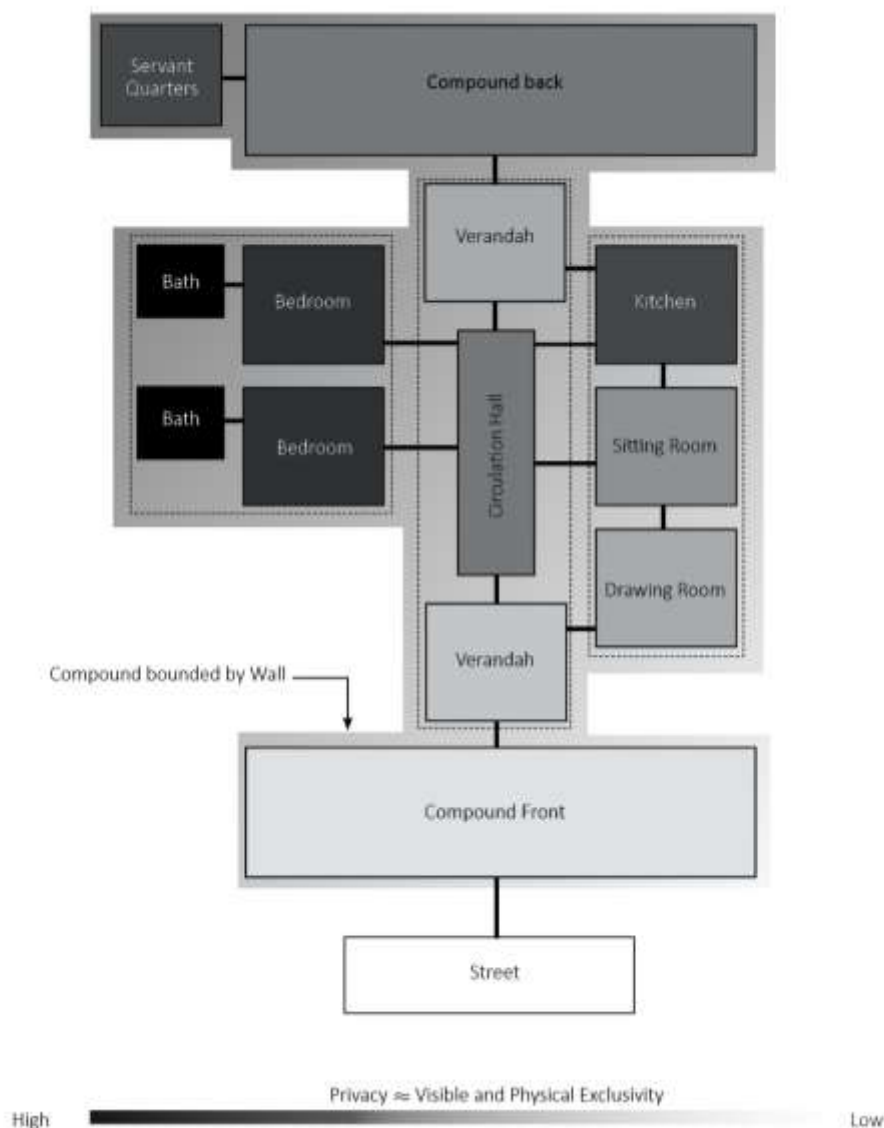


Figure 3. 17 Diagram depicting the cellular model of privacy in a Bungalow with variably controlled zones as per Glover (2007).

Kaika (2012) asserts that this organizational control is necessary to keep the familiar space of home intact and mask the various socio-economic contradictions that enable its making. Glover (2007) suggests that it is not only the physical space but also the inscribed colonial values of housekeeping and domestic etiquette that have become discursive devices of domestic spatial organization. The domestic space, in this way, performs what Foucault (1991, pp.171-2) regards as the "spatial nesting of hierarchized surveillance" organized according to a need to maintain control with the strategically placed observation points within a calculated configuration of filled and empty spaces. It is this aspect of disciplinary power and space that Mitchell (1991, p. 44) defines as "enframing" as system of spatial containment within which "items can be isolated, enumerated and kept" (p.45). He asserts that the real power does not lie in the act of separation but in the seemingly inert appearance of such enframing that maintains order and therefore reproduces power. The domestic space—in keeping its system of privacies intact—acts as enframing that produces a homogenous private space of house within a bungalow-compound configuration. This enframing, as highlighted in Figure 3.17, is a means for compartmentalization of a domestic space into internally enclosed sub-divisions which regulate the exposure of objects, people, and activities as means of control over privacy, which is defined by the visible and physical exclusivity of these compartments within an overall organizational scheme.

3.4.3. CMTS as a Colonial Suburban Ideal

CMTS holds an important phase in the history of residential planning in Lahore due to several reasons. It exemplifies a dual shift, where, on the one hand, decision-making enterprise regarding the design and executioner for a large-scale urban development—for the first time in the colonial history of Lahore—is transferred to an emergent class of native stakeholders. At the same time, it also shows how this relegation of power is instrumentalized by the mimicing class to re-establish the patterns of colonial distinction by transforming space into—what King (1990, p. 56) refers to as—culturally constituted behavioral environments as the set of taken for granted rules and codes which control the use and modification of the environment. These behavioral environments operate through, as argued by Ghertner et al. (2020), ideological and material fortifications against the social, physical, or biological threat of others. Kaika (2012) suggests that such fortifications are embedded in the ideas of modernity that

constitute modern home and urban space as symbolic spaces of good nature i.e. regimes of discipline and environmental control, while at the same time, relegating all that deviates from such standard as source of socio-cultural inferiority and moral deviance. In the scheme of Model Town this disciplinarian regime is actualized and elevated to an aspirational status for the educated section of the Punjabi middle-class in colonial Lahore. The new cooperative spirit and the semi-municipal governance model that is laid at the center of CMTS reveal how the associational power of a group was turned into an effective mode of administration and control for such environmental exclusivity. However, it is not only this semi-municipal governance as even the space of a home in the bungalow-compound typology provides a new framework for domestic enframing that is quite at poles with how attitudes towards privacy, domesticity, and home prevailed in the case of the indigenous built fabric of Androon Lahore. The section ahead helps to understand how these distinctions drive planning in the post-independence era of Lahore's spatial development.

3.5. Housing Middle-Classes in the Post-colonial Lahore

In the colonial history, independence is an important juncture, which demarcates the event of termination of the direct colonial rule over the colonized territory, resumption of political sovereignty as a result of a nationalist anti-colonial struggle in the form of an independent nation-state (Sharp, 2009). However, it is exactly this idea of sovereignty and independence in the shape of a modern nation-state that is challenged by postcolonial theory, which suggests that the political, cultural, and economic domination of the empire persists even post-independence through the modalities of a modern nation-state, which although persists throughout the previously colonized states are particular in the ways ideas nationality and modern state take form (Loomba, 2015). According to Sharp, where postcolonial refers to a mode of critique or intellectual inquiry that investigates these relations of colonization and imperialism, the term post-colonial refers to the particular period after the termination of direct colonial rule and the formation of a nation-state.

In the case of Lahore, post-colonial means the era after 1947, when the dissolution of British India resulted into territorial partition of the subcontinent into the nascent nation-state India and Muslim majority Pakistan, where Pakistan was spread over a

non-contiguous territory of East-Pakistan (present day Bangladesh) and West-Pakistan also resulting in a divided province of Punjab and mass scale displacement of the population (Iob, 2018). It was due to this detached territory and disconnected population—as Daechsel (2015) suggests—that in the early post-colonial period, the task of nation-building through developmental project was of absolute necessity for the new state's survival.

However, the nation-state in the case of Pakistan also meant the continuation of the inherited political power structure of the colonial state which Alavi (1972) regarded as “overdeveloped.” His well-known thesis suggests that unlike the Western European states, where historical conditions of capitalism give rise to the super structure of a bourgeois state, in the post-colonial world such as Pakistan, the state does not directly arise from the capitalist interests of a single ruling class. Instead, he argues what comes to be known as the state in post-colonial Pakistan is an overdeveloped structure of power based on a military-bureaucratic oligarchy that mediates the interests of three propertied classes through the continuation of the colonial framework of institutional practices for regulation and control of the indigenous population.

Khan (2013) shows how the asserted state structure utilizes urban as an active platform for the construction of a national public space. Daechsel (2015) furthers this analysis by exploring how the nation-building project by an over-developed state in Pakistan employs development and economic progress in the construction of ideal citizenship in the form of housing. For Centner (2012), the question of citizenship is directly tied to the power to shape space and its intertwinement with how moral claims to space are asserted by the middle-class in the cities of the Global South.

In his analysis of the post-colonial state Alavi regards the middle class as an educated group of urban ‘salaried class’ whose position is derived from the degree of affinity for Western values (Akhtar, 2018). However, while agreeing with this analysis of a relatively autonomous and overdeveloped post-colonial state, Zaidi & McCartney (2019) disagree with the minimal role attributed to the middle classes by Alavi (1972). They argue for an increasingly mobile and multiple intermediary classes as a result of state's push towards development and resultant urbanization. Maqsood (2017) has also shown how, particularly in the case of Lahore, while there are various tiers of

intermediary classes loosely divided along the lines of old and new, they define the differences within the everyday lived space. Her analysis brings forth many aspects of how ‘middleclassness’—as articulated by Centener (2012)—itself becomes an object of politics in post-colonial Lahore and its entanglements with the nation-building process. In this section, I analyze three post-colonial residential urban developments, namely, Samanabad, Gulberg, and DHA in Lahore within this context to explore the ways colonial institutional practices of planning are continued in production of space and social life, particularly through shaping of dispositions about privacy. Before discussing these cases it is necessary to highlight the official institutions of municipal governance which were inherited from the colonial period and continued to operate after independence.

3.5.1. Inherited Hierarchies and Institutions

By the time of partition, various governing bodies were present in Lahore that performed the tasks of municipal administration, including the Lahore Municipal Corporation (LMC), Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT), Lahore Cantonment Board, and Model Town Society (Malik, 2009), resulting in a complex distribution of administrative power and replication of municipal responsibilities. LMC reconstituted in 1940 under Punjab Municipal Act 1911, and was a partially representative body with both elected members and state appointed delegates, responsible for municipal legislation, sanitary and infrastructural provisions with operational jurisdiction in the areas of old Lahore, Civil Station and adjoining suburban regions (Shoaib, 2016). Whereas the LIT established in 1936 under the 1922 Town Improvement Act was a bureaucratic structure with officially appointed chairman and other technocratic members such as engineers, architects, and planners, which held the effective decision making power in terms of spatial development of the city (Glover, 2007). It performed a consultation role in new private housing schemes and executed tasks of preparing street schemes, removing encroachments, and slum clearance, which was regarded as restricted planning (Malik, 2009). However, its tasks were not limited only to this, as under the 1922 Act, LIT was also empowered to conduct commercial activity through state-facilitated land acquisition, planning and execution of new housing schemes, and

making rules for design and construction.²² According to Daechsel (2015) this split between LMC and LIT was a strategic component of colonial governance, which kept real power in hands of the colonial officials while providing an idea of “limited self-government to ambitious Indians” (p. 119).

Where the two aforementioned bodies operated under the civilian-bureaucratic framework, the region of Mian Mir Cantonment constituted a different administrative unit with its own set of rules under the Cantonment Act of 1924 (Shoaib, 2016; Shehbaz, 2022). The Act necessitated the presence of a Cantonment Board and an Executive Officer, where the Military Commander was also the chairman of the board, who also nominated four other military officers while a magistrate was appointed by the LMC, which gave it relative autonomy over the local government and its officials.²³ According to King (1990, ch.5) this model was an intentional way of separating civilians from the members of the military. On the other hand, as a cooperative society, Model Town—while dependent on the provision of gas, electricity, and water and sewage disposal upon LMC—was empowered to make its own rules and bylaws, by an elected committee comprising the property holding members of the society,²⁴ which was also designed as a planned separation of the members of the occupational middle class from the indigenous population (Anbrine, 2014). These exclusivity of these two models was embedded in the colonial politics of identity oriented difference and segregation, which has been discussed in previous chapter.

By the time of partition, Lahore's administrative zones, each governed to varying degrees, formed a complex state power structure. While, this structure aligns with Alavian's (1972) model of an overdeveloped military-bureaucratic state, additionally, it highlights the presence of an indigenous civil society. These include the technocratic professionals employed in the various administrative units as well as the

²² See Town Improvement Act, 1922 at <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/27.html> as accessed on 06 April, 2024.

²³ Sec. 13-A inst. By Cantonment (Amendment) Ordinance, XLIV of 1979, as mentioned in Manual of Cantonment Laws, 2018.

²⁴ As referred in Cooperative Society Act, 1924 at <https://citylaws.pk/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Cooperative-Societies-Act-1925.pdf> and Byelaws of The Cooperative Model Town Society (1962) at <https://www.mts.com.pk/Downloads/ByeLaws.pdf> as accessed on 06 April 2024.

distinction seeking middle classes who were not directly part of the state but played an important role in the network of power (Armytage, 2019), and also had their spatial imprint on the form of the city and an influence on its making (Maqsood, 201; Qadeer, 2023). Post-colonial Lahore inherited this non-unitary model of municipal governance, where LIT served as the major institution of post-partition development (Malik, 2009; Shoaib, 2016). It was also responsible for tackling the influx of refugees in Lahore as a result of partition, which demanded planning of new housing initiatives, two of the foremost of which were the suburban settlements of Samanabad and Gulberg that emerged in the early 1950s.

3.5.2. Samanabad: Early Suburban Settlement Planning

Partition brought an influx of more than half a million new refugees to Lahore, in need of shelter and housing infrastructure (Qadeer, 2023). According to Talbot (2007), while the affluent refugees were able to recover material losses, a majority took shelter in temporary settlements called refugee camps or resorted to squatting on public land. Iob (2018) suggests that for many of the refugees who ended up in Lahore, displacement not only resulted in domestic precarity but also a loss of privacy, as well as destitution from social public life (p. 46). She suggests that for refugees, ownership of home became synonymous with partaking in nation-building not only through gaining access to alienated rights through the agency of property but also by turning domesticity into an affective domain of reassertion of identity by reclaiming respectability.

According to Maqsood (2017), at the time of partition, more than one middle-class groups were present in Lahore, comprising those belonging to the *ailaf* families of local merchants, traders, and landed gentry, and those who drew their identities from their westernized education and association to positions in colonial government what she describes as *ashraf* groups, both of which constituted the upper tier of middle class or what can be called as indigenous bourgeois and landed classes. The intermediary and lower tier of the middle-class were occupied by the less affluent members of the same groups consisting of professional groups and non-gazetted government officials, who were also part of displaced refugees. Similar to Iob (2018), Maqsood (2017) also suggests that displacement from their social network also caused

a loss of social status for these families, which made the acquisition of a house an important factor of integration and restitution of identity. It was this group which came to settle in Samanabad.

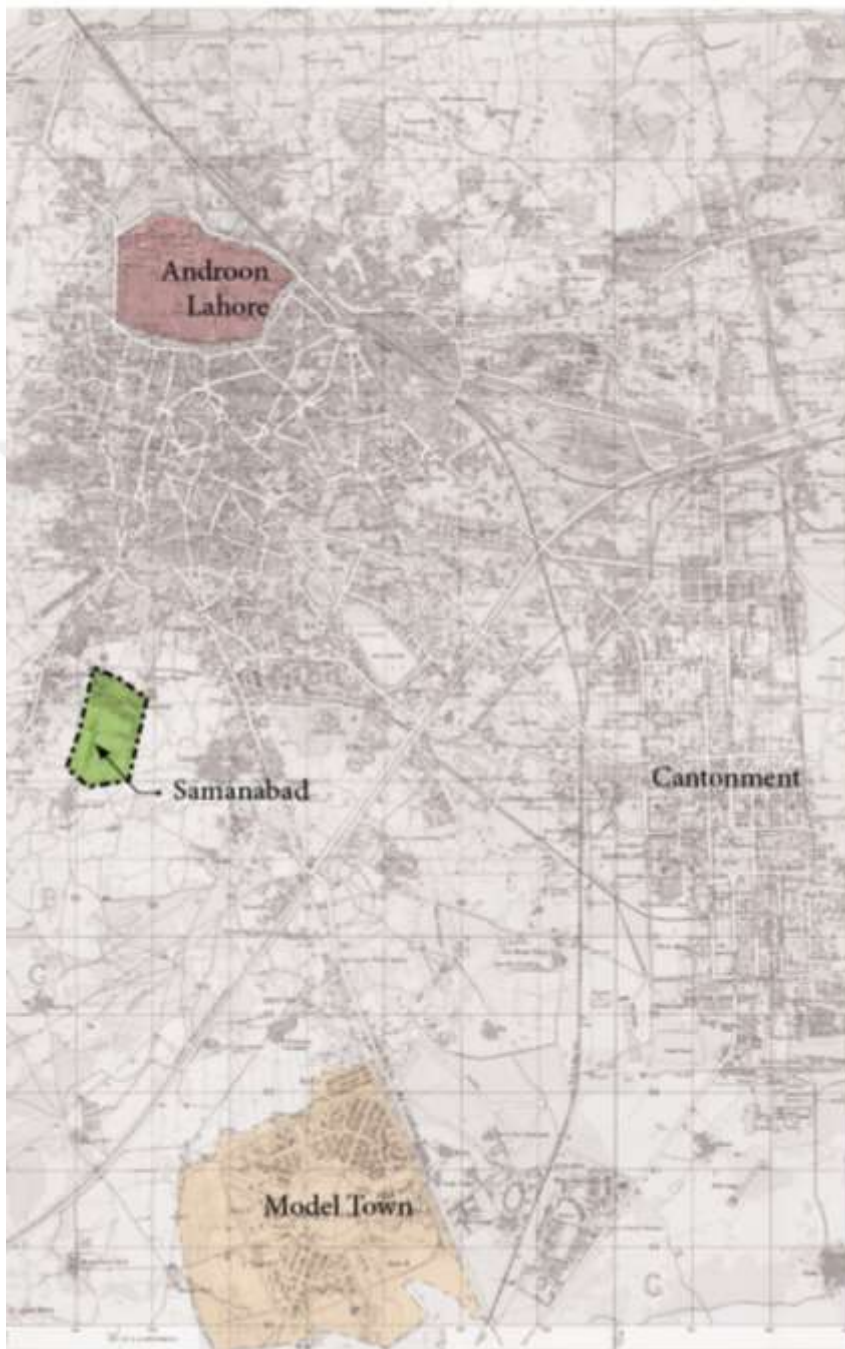


Figure 3. 18 Site of Samanabad Development Scheme as proposed in 1950.

Samanabad, which spans over an area of 71 acres in the southern suburbs of the Civil Station with 289 residential plots, was planned as the first residential scheme in post-colonial Lahore (Figure 3.18), designed for low and middle-income groups (Groote & Jonge, 1988). However, Talbot (2022) suggests that due to the higher prices of land in the scheme, it was limited to upper and middle-income groups. Prepared by LIT, the

scheme was developed in two separate phases (Figure 3.19) and provided pre-demarcated, serviced plots to buyers for the construction of a house with a layout approved by the LIT, in addition to some pre-constructed residential quarters for government officials (Talbot, 2007). The scheme followed what Butt (1992) has highlighted as the planning-service-building-occupation (PSBO) sequence where while allocations might have been still made upon the planning stage, the physical inhabitation of the land was only possible after the completion of service infrastructure and administration-approved building construction.

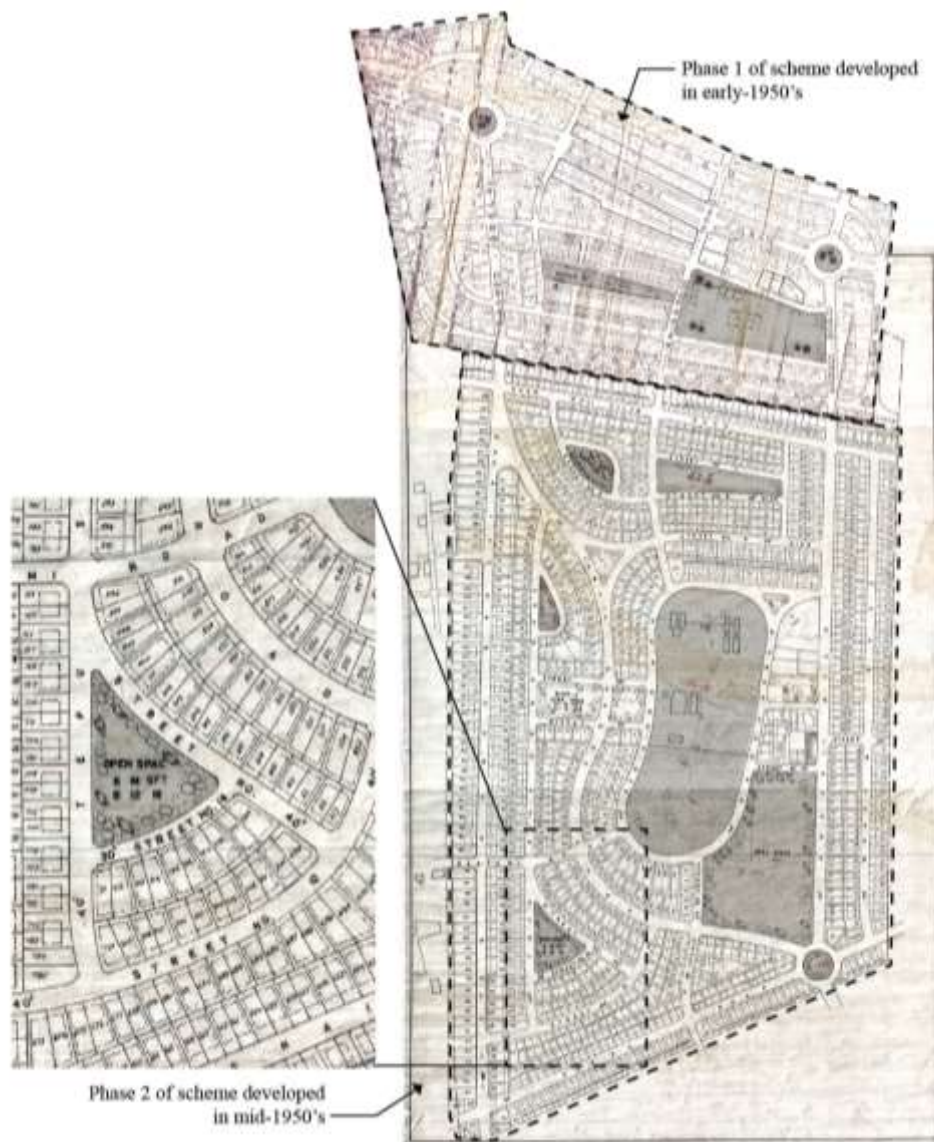


Figure 3. 19 Masterplan of Samnabad Housing Scheme, developed by LIT c. 1950.

Planned by S. A Rahim –who acquired his town planning studies in London and served as the chairman of LIT during the time (Rahman, 2017, p. 213)–the planning layout of the scheme shows many of the features of the garden-city model, which

were adapted from the CMTS with its central park and open space surrounded by a road, joining arterial access streets (Figure 3.19). Nevertheless contrary to the strictly geometric radial planning of CMTS the asymmetric and curvilinear design scheme of Samanabad reveals a clear affinity of LIT's planners for the bending street configuration with detached houses, which—as discussed by Wagenaar (2018, pp. 385-86)—was a popular trend in planning the post-war planning of Western Suburbia which hailed ideas such as garden-suburb and city-beautiful valued the lack of monotonous grid associated with the towns and efficient plot subdivisions. As King (1990, p. 65) discussed, the implementation of the suburban planning model indicates a continuation of the export of town planning and urban forms from the influential imperial cities to the post-colonial world.

Unlike Khem Chand's Model Town, the state-planned Samanabad was not designed for self-sustenance suburbs for retirees but was planned in response to the housing shortage and rise of squatter settlements as a result of post-partition migration (Qadeer, 2023). The overall size of the plots is also much smaller than the CMTS; the division of parcels shows a land distribution ranging from smaller three marla²⁵ to two Kanals, with residential units ranging from pre-constructed three-room quarters with baths and kitchens to more commodious detached double storey dwellings (Talbot, 2022).

Residential layouts for housing schemes like Samanabad were standardized according to categories depending on factors like plot size, number of rooms, and cost of construction into lettered types (Groote & Jonge, 1988). However, data on the exact number of types and their respective layouts is not available. Nevertheless, clear setbacks for construction are visible in the scheme layout, which varies according to the size and type of the dwelling. Figure 3.19 shows the two predominant residential plot divisions as per the scheme plan, revealing a shift from bungalow-compound typology to semi-detached dwellings and a bungalow with a backyard.

A schematic plan of one of the earlier dwellings built in the 1960s (Figure 3.20) shows an open compound space separating the building verandah from the compound

²⁵ Marla is an Indian land measuring unit standardized at 272.5 square feet during the British Colonial period.

wall, followed by a door leading to the drawing room, while another door enters into the living room with two bedrooms placed on the other end of the living room and a kitchen adjoining the drawing room wall. This spatial distribution follows a similar level of privacy hierarchies as previously discussed in the bungalows of Model Town. However, the size of the compound decreased significantly and was reduced to a buffer space between the public street and the domestic interiors. This statutory implementation of setbacks and types also reveals how property, while considered private, was also a constituting administrated unit for the general order. However, given the affordability factor, the plot subdivisions did not allow for extravagant compound space; instead, the smaller block formations show an attempt at imagining an outdoor social life, thus inculcating a model garden-city life on a shrunken scale.

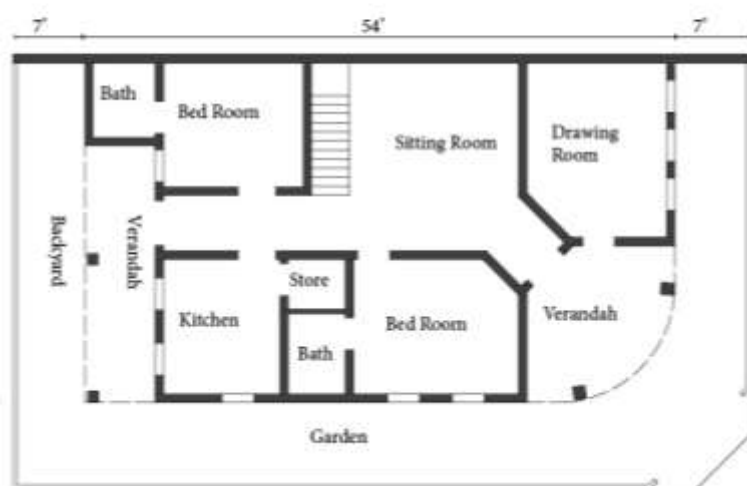


Figure 3. 20 A ten marla one storey bungalow style house built in Samanabad during 1960s.

Talbot (2007) suggests that while developed as a well-planned housing scheme, people were reluctant to move to Samanabad due to its distance from the main city

and saw the land allotments as a future investment, hinting at the speculative practices by the middle-class, which were made possible due to the PSBO model that guaranteed future profit on the state-approved plots. As an image from the late-1950s (Figure 3.21) suggests, while by this time, the major infrastructure was already in place in Samanabad, according to Talbot, it took more than a decade before the area actually came to be recognized as built-up.

Maqsood (2017) points out that even though it was intended as a low-cost housing scheme, along with the government officials who were allotted houses in the developmental scheme, it housed a middle-income group of *ashraf* and *ailaf* families who had access to state-subsidized education in Lahore's elite schools developed during the colonial period, who saw economic uplift as they were employed in the state bureaucracy or other state-run institutions, as well as the growing industry of infrastructural development. At the same time, she also asserts that the same burgeoning urban middle-class also gave rise to a literary public sphere of the leftist social circles in Lahore, which were often at odds with the national culture promoted by the state. However, where Samanabad provides an important point of entry into the post-colonial residential development by LIT, it was the development of Gulberg that had a significant impact on the urban growth of Lahore (Qadeer, 2023. P. 97).



Figure 3. 21 An aerial photograph showing built infrastructure and vacant plots in Samanabad Scheme. Circa 1960 from Malik & Zaidi (2018).

3.5.3. Gulberg: Housing and the Developmental State

Williams (2018) argues that the colonial civilizational project did not diminish after the independence but continued under the guise of development and modernization as the defining features of urbanization in the post-colonial states. According to him, the post-war developmental liberalism, which saw its boom in the 1950s, was not only an economic tool for ascribing low-income countries as under-developed but also necessitated the post-colonial states to aspire towards infrastructural and institutional modernity in a global race to catch up to the minimum standards of development. King (1990, pp. 94-5) highlights that the notions of developmental standards of environment, housing, and infra-structure in ex-colonial states operate through resurrecting Western built-forms as shorthand labels for modernization.

Khan (2019) has discussed how such aspirations for development, while they captured the imagination of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy in the first two decades of Pakistan's independence, its execution was limited to the establishment of an uneven modern infrastructural state. During the 1950s and 1960s, Pakistan was seen as a poster child of development, and urban modernization was a major focus of the state during this period (Daechsel, 2015). However development emerged in post-colonial Pakistan as a set of ideological, scientific ideas and public images devised by state officials and development consultants aimed at the institutional planning of space and population as well as mobilization of the economy (Daechsel, 2015).



Figure 3.22 Site and Masterplan of the Gulberg Residential Scheme.

Pakistan Planning Commission (PPC) was established in 1950 to oversee developmental tasks, particularly those regarding urban improvement, over five-year plans (Qadeer, 1986). Inheriting the colonial positivist planning of the 1922 Town Improvement Act (Malik, 2009), instead of devising a policy to contain urban sprawl, the commission viewed planned suburban expansion as a developmental strategy that sought to utilize planned urbanization as a mode of social and economic improvement; which included the design and implementation of satellite town in all the major cities by converting agricultural land into housing schemes (Qadeer, 1986). Planned by LIT in the early 1950s, Gulberg was the first large-scale settlement in Post-colonial Lahore, with a low-density spacious suburban design layout (Figure 3.22) built in five phases (Naz & Anjum, 2007).

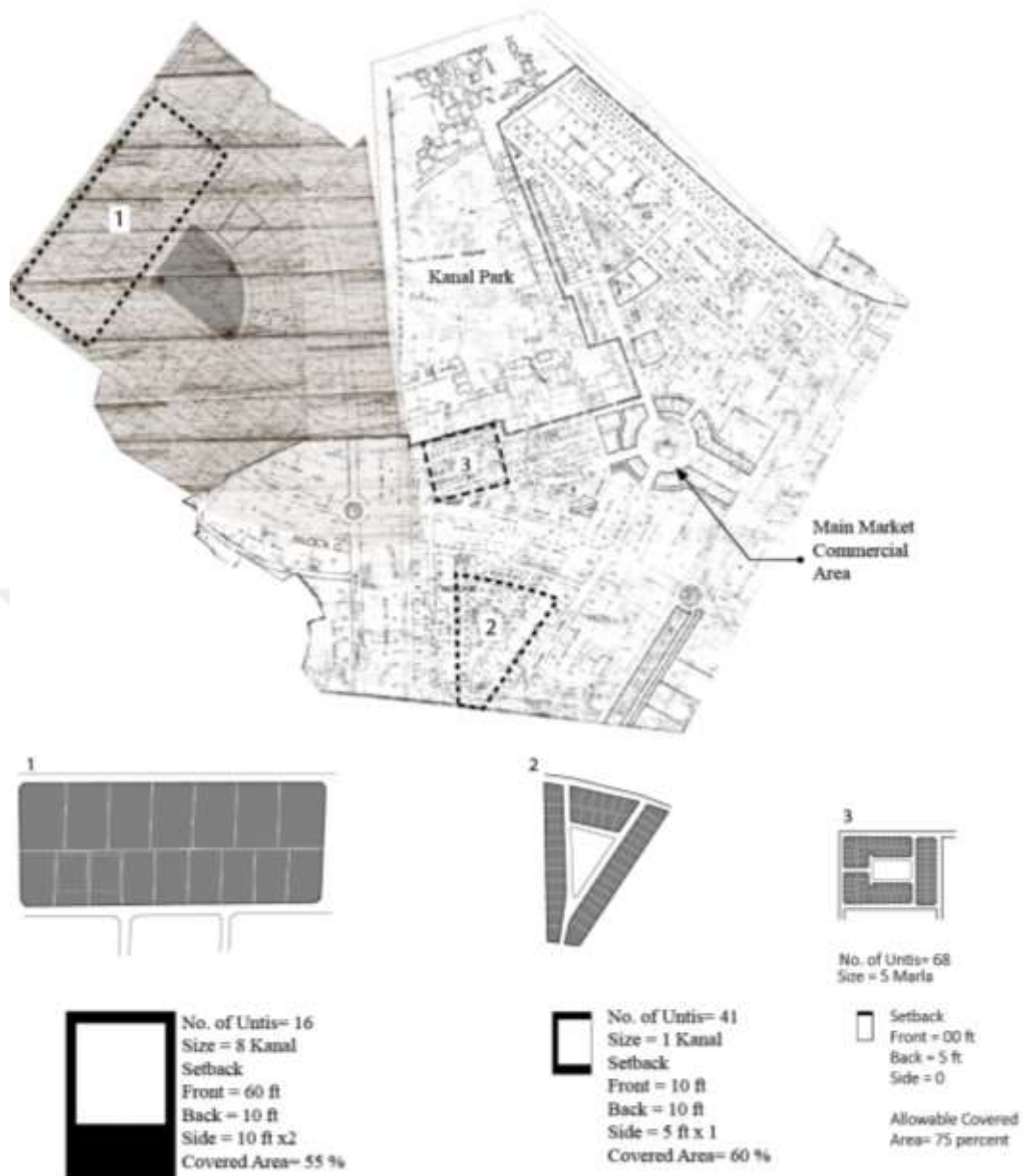


Figure 3.23 Masterplan of Gulberg-2 and Diagrams illustrating the varying building to open space ratio in different residential blocks.

As a regional planning project, spanning over 2,638 acres, Gulberg was planned to integrate the physically disparate zones of Civil Station, Cantonment, and Model Town due to its strategic central location (Qadeer, 2023), as also indicated in Figure 3.22. As a PSBO sequence development, similar to Samanabad, the scheme provided completion of infrastructural services, followed by both built bungalow style single-family housing units for government officials and ready-to-construct serviced plots, aimed mainly at the upper to middle-income groups from both professional and trading middle classes (Qadeer, 2023). The general features of the satellite town

schemes demanded these plots divided into four categories²⁶ to be provided on a no-profit/ no-loss basis, where the overall land under the scheme was to be divided into 50 percent for residential area, 22.5 percent for streets and roads, 12 percent for community buildings, and the remaining for open spaces, which included parks and squares (Rahman, 2017). While most of the area was intended for residential use, the planning of Gulberg was also conceived on a garden-city model with separate industrial and commercial zones and strict land use regulations, which restricted the intermixing of functions (Naz & Anjum, 2007).

The master plan (Figure 3.22b) reveals that each neighborhood block was composed of the same kind of plot categories, where the blocks located on the central spine or abutting major roads accommodated the most spacious plots, while the smaller plot sizes were pushed to the periphery. In this regard, Gulberg's plan follows the same hierarchical organization space as was pointed out in the case of Mian Mir Cantonment in the previous chapter. Regulations regarding building setbacks and floor area ratio also applied to the construction of houses, which varied as per the size of the plot with wider setbacks and lower constructible area on the bigger plots, while wider setbacks and higher construction coverage were allowed for the smaller plots (Groote & Jonge, 1988) resulting in more open space in upper-income blocks and minimal open space in lower income blocks (Figure 3.23).

Moreover, with its wide boulevards (Figure 3.24a), spacious bungalow-compounds similar to the Model Town (Figure 3.24b), modern-appearing commercial areas such as the Liberty market (Figure 3.24c), the physical planning of Gulberg encapsulated a symbolic maneuver of global translatability, which according to Daechsel (2015) reached its peak during the 1960s. He asserts that notions of development were tied to demonstrating success at an international stage through urban reconstruction, which relied on funding and consultations from the Western financial agencies and consultants with surface-level knowledge of local exigencies. Qadeer (1983) argues that under PPC urbanization was viewed as a key indicator for economic growth and even though till 1960s the commission intended on promoting industry through

²⁶ Plots of A category ranging from 40 to 160 Marlas, B category ranging from 10 to 39 Marlas, C category up to 10 Marla, and D-type quarters of 3.5 Marlas as per Rahman (2017, p. 362).

building infrastructure, by mid 1970s urbanization had become a tool for industrialization rather than being prompted by industrialization. According to Daechsel (2015) production of land through urban development schemes served as a primary tool to support other industries which were oriented towards a domestic consumer.



Figure 3. 24 Photographs of planned built infrastructure in Gulberg c. 1965.

3.5.3.1. Rise of a Private Sphere of Consumption

The developmental push towards urban modernization during the 1950s and 60s, while establishing the public infrastructure of serviced land delivery and parcel size regulations as the primary mode of the state-officiated middle-class housing in Lahore, it also entailed two parallel processes: (1) a rise in the household consumption (Khalid & Sunnika-Blank, 2018), and (2) the expansion of public sphere due new channels of communication and new spaces of consumption (Qadeer, 2023). The policy of development-induced economic liberalism pursued during the first two decades aimed

to advance consumer practices among the population to incentivize industrial growth (McCartney, 2019). Consumption of both recreational and utility items became an important marker of middle-class households as being modern was tied to the perception of technological and social advancement, which meant adaptation of new consumer items and separation of personal and public life (Maqsood, 2017).



Figure 3. 25 Advertisements of various household appliances and other products targeting domestic space of middle-class urban consumers during 1960's and 70's.

By the middle of the 1960s, along with the imported items, many locally branded items of everyday domestic usage, such as beauty soaps, packaged tea, cooking oil, and washing powder, were readily available in the market (Figure 3.25), but household appliances like electric refrigerator, ceiling fans, washing machine, and television were also the important constituents of the domestic spaces (Khalid & Sunnika-Blank, 2018). Where the land and housing were turned into consumable goods for the upper and middle-income groups by the mass production of plots and urban infrastructure during the planning phase of 1955 to 1970; the domestic space of

the individual housing unit was also turned into an important site for the consumption-based economy in the coming decade (Qadeer, 1996. pp. 452-453).

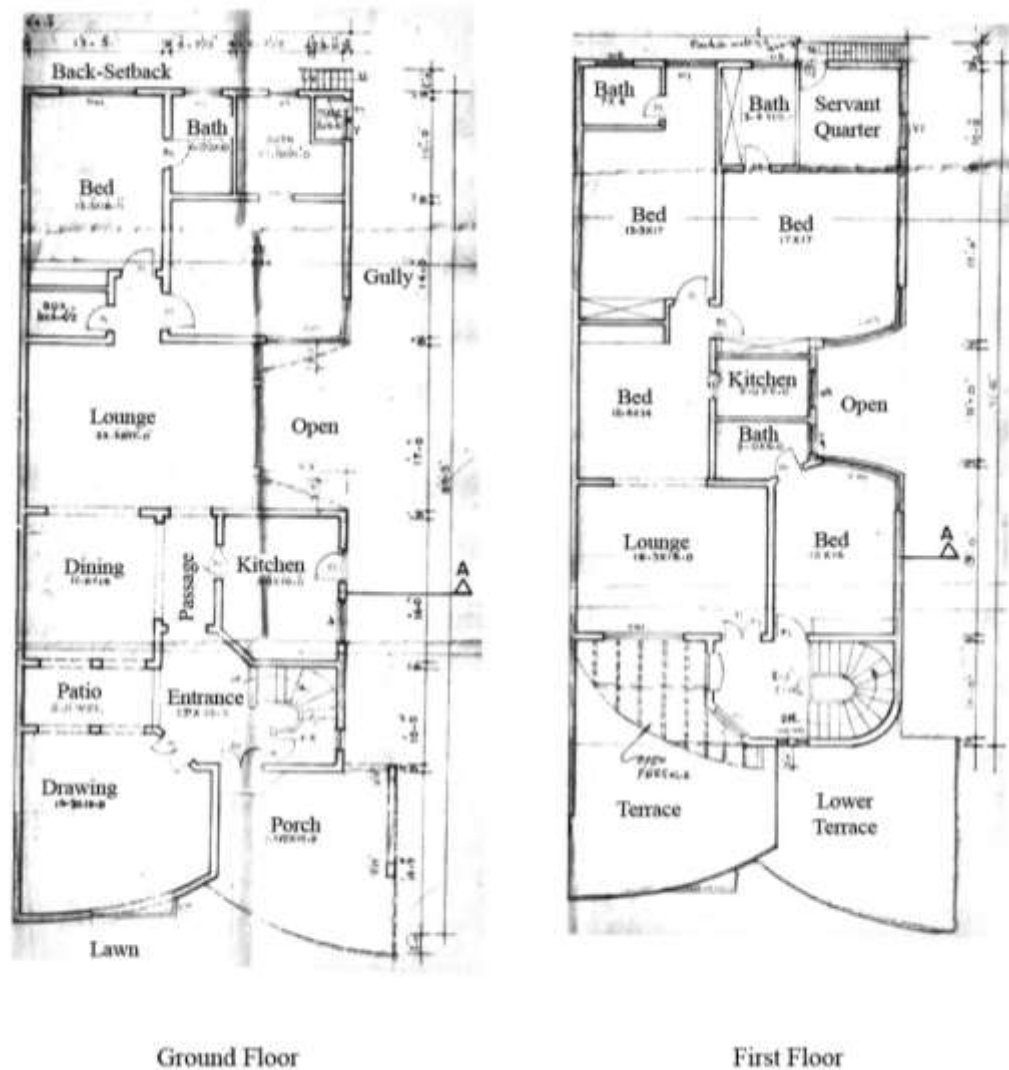


Figure 3. 26 Plan of a one kanal double-storey detached bungalow house in Gulberg-2. Circa. 1970.

The mass availability of new house appliances resulted in an inward domestic culture by decreasing the reliance on outdoor spaces over time, such as backyards and gardens (Khalid & Sunnika-Blank, 2018). A schematic plan of a typical Gulberg house (Figure 3.26) from the early 1970s shows the bungalow house layout with the covered car porch replacing the verandah and an addition of a TV lounge at the center of the domestic space, which is also where the television was placed, while the service such as kitchen and laundry are accommodated at the back of the house. The TV lounge was also an important space as it offered the consumption of the national public sphere of state-broadcasted PTV (Pakistan Television), which was not only the primary mode of shaping consumer preferences through advertisements (Siddiqui,

2016), but also an important state instrument for the ideological construction of a nationalism by the state bureaucracy (Sulehria, 2019).

Zubedi & Shaikh (2013) claim in their study of the discursive impacts of televised drama in Pakistan that PTV served as a discursive apparatus for disseminating socio-cultural values of progress, modernity, as well as religion, primarily to the urban middle-class groups who could afford a television. The state-sponsored media were aimed at cultivating a modern worldview depicted through Westernized mannerisms transversed with the religiously attributed etiquette of domestic life, presented as the ideal attributes of a middle-class self-improving individual (Maqsood, 2017). The domestic space of family life was an important domain of such discourse, which was not only viewed as a marker of one's *adabi* (literary) and *tehzeebi* (culturally civilized) credentials but also a space for new consumer goods and appliances as signifiers of modernity and progress (Maqsood, 2017). Centner (2012) suggests that such cultural attributes are important in the way middle-class residents seek distinction on the basis of moral entitlement over what constitutes as a respectable way of living (p. 252-3).

While the domestic space of a middle-class house was turned into an exclusive private terrain influenced by the physical and intellectual consumption of material, social, and technical goods, Qadeer (2023) points us to the simultaneous rise of the new interior spaces of public consumption in Gulberg, such as tea houses, shopping plazas, bakeries, and restaurants. Maqsood (2017) asserts that such spaces of consumption were an important part of the lifestyle of the established suburban middle-classes in post-colonial Lahore, for whom access to these spaces amounted to ascertaining higher family status and social respectability, as opposed to the outdoor bazaar culture of the lower income settlements or those situated in Androon Lahore.

Madanipour (2003) points out that such consumption-oriented spaces form hollowed-out publics, which are the impersonal sphere of sociability in contrast to the community-oriented public spaces of everyday social life in small towns or traditional cities. This impersonal public realm of consumption was enabled by the land-use restrictions imposed by LIT, which aimed to constraint commercial activity such as indoor retail shops, restaurants, and offices within the allocated commercial zones such as Liberty Market and Main Market (Figure 3.27), which was not only a method

to regulate the unchartered commercial activity but also created a dearth of space on which such activities could take place, thus making shops and plots in the legal commercial zone a scarce commodity. Moreover, the architectural typology of such commercial spaces in the form of a plaza surrounded by retail shops followed a central organization of space where private commercial interiors facing a vacant impersonal public space formed clear boundaries in contrast to the indigenous bazaar typology which, as Chakrabarty (2002) suggests, was a relationally constituted outside of the interpersonal street space.



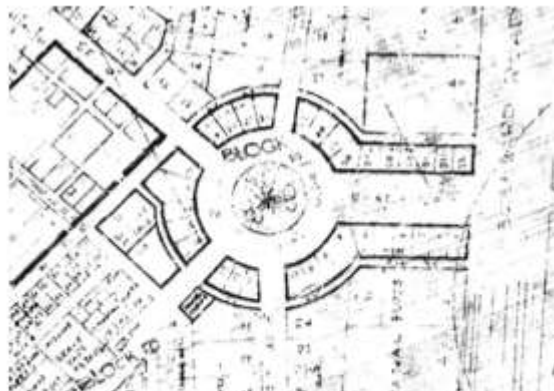
a. A photograph of Liberty Market (c. 1960's) showing under-construction standardized commercial buildings with ground level arcade and a central green space. From Naz & Anjum (2007).



b. 1954 Plan of Liberty Market in Gulberg-3, designed as a commercial public plaza with central open space surrounded by shops and offices. From LDA Digital Published Archives.



c. A photograph of Main Market Gulberg 2(c. 1960's) showing privately developed modern commercial buildings with ground level arcade surrounding a vehicular space.



d. 1954 Plan of Main Market in Gulberg-2, designed as a public square with circular open space surrounded by commercial plots. From LDA Digital Published Archives.

Figure 3. 27 The new spatial typology of commercial public spaces in Gulberg scheme.

The developmental planning in the Gulberg residential scheme in the first three decades along the garden city model played an instrumental role in defining middle-

class livability by the state institutions in post-colonial Lahore. Along with the production of land and housing, aspiration for new consumer goods and modern consumption practices—while were already a mark of Punjabi middle classes in Lahore during the later period of colonialism (Daechsel, 2012)—it was through large-scale urban planning projects like Gulberg that the consumption was spatially integrated into the cultivation of post-colonial middle-class subjectivity. The rise of a private sphere of property with the domestic space of consumption and cultural modernity influenced by the state-managed public sphere accompanied by an indoor public realm of consumption and impersonal sociability served as crucial distinguishing factors of middleclassness. Therefore, the sequence of infrastructural development, the scale, and land-use restrictions implemented in the Gulberg scheme, which categorized and separated residential and commercial zones, were part of the spatial apparatus that shaped a post-colonial middle-class's dispositions towards modernity through both economic, social, and cultural institutionalization of modern ideas about privacy and publicness.

3.5.3.2. Improvement Trust to Development Authority

Qadeer (1983) suggests that the developmental commission (PPC) and LIT had failed significantly in providing housing and shelter for all. By 1975, more than half of the housing plots developed by LIT were above one kanal, which was only affordable for 3 percent of the population (Butt, 1992, p.46). According to Qadeer, not only were LIT efforts for housing and shelter needs for the poor minimal, but they also failed to provide substantial housing and infrastructural provision for lower and middle-income groups. This is why in 1975, developmental tasks were taken over from LIT by the newly constituted Lahore Development Authority (LDA), which, according to Shoaib (2016)—while operating on a similar bureaucratic structure—held more political power due to the patronage of provincial government, and could circumvent legislation for its developmental objectives which relied on the production of plots under the regulatory framework of comprehensive master planning.

Building Regulations	LIT	LDA	
	1940–41	1976	1984
2kanal +			
House Line	20 ft	20 ft	20 ft
Space (rear)	15 ft	15 ft	10 ft ^d
Space (sides)	5 ft	10 ft x2	10ftx2
Area covered (%)	30%	50%	55%
Floor-to-area ratio	N/A	1:1.25	1:1.25
< 2kanal			
House Line	20 ft	10 ft	-
Space (rear)	15 ft	10 ft	-
Space (sides)	5ftx1	5ftx1	-
Area covered (%)	50%	60%	-
Floor-to-area ratio	N/A	1:1.25	-
1kanal – < 2kanal (changed to “10marlas – 30marlas” in 2007)			
House Line	-	-	10 ft
Space (rear)	-	-	10 ft
Space (sides)	-	-	5ftx1
Area covered (%)	-	-	60%
Floor-to-area ratio	-	-	1:1.25
10marlas – < 1kanal			
House Line	-	-	10 ft
Space (rear)	-	-	10 ft
Space (sides)	-	-	5ftx1
Area covered (%)	-	-	65%
Floor-to-area ratio	-	-	1:1.3
< 10marlas			
House Line	-	-	Building Line
Space (rear)	-	-	10 ft
Space (sides)	-	-	5ftx1
Area covered (%)	-	-	70%
Floor-to-area ratio	-	-	1:1.4
< 7marlas			
House Line	-	-	Building Line
Space (rear)	-	-	10 ft
Space (sides)	-	-	0 ft
Area covered (%)	-	-	75%
Floor-to-area ratio	-	-	1:1.5

Table 3. 1 Residential Setback Regulations in LIT and LDA period. Sourced from Khalid & Sunnika-Blank (2018).

Building regulation bylaws were published by LDA in 1976, followed by similar area-based calculations of building setbacks and heights, along with the submission of architectural, structural, and drainage drawings for pre-approval of construction of both residential and commercial buildings.²⁷ Khalid & Sunnika-Blank (2018) show

²⁷ See Lahore Development Authority(LDA) Building Regulations, 1975 republished in 1984 as accessed at [The Lahore Development Authority Act, 1975 \(punjablaws.gov.pk\)](https://www.punjablaws.gov.pk/lahore-development-authority-act-1975) 30 April, 2024.

(Table 3.1) that even though new plot categories were added by LDA, it followed the residential setback rules similar to LIT, which were not only limited to the larger plot sizes but were also applied to construction on smaller footprints of less than 7 marla plots. Along with the authorization for removal of any encroachments and building violations, the 1975 Act also adopted a new language of beautification, where the authority was empowered to execute and prepare residential schemes and prescribe environmental standards for the purposes of beautification of the area,²⁸ without any further definition, leaving it to the subjective imagination of the policy-makers and planners. Even though numerous area development schemes were executed by the LDA as per the 1976 master plan, it failed to address the basic issues of housing and infrastructure for an urban majority, and the plot-based economy also resulted in an increased role of other private actors in the organized production of housing including the emergence of cooperative housing societies (Qadeer, 2023).

3.5.4. Cooperative Housing and the role of Private Sector

The policy of development and economic modernization pursued during the 1950s and 1960s had a huge impact on the urbanization of Lahore, with increased in-land migration from rural areas and small towns (Maqsood, 2023). In addition to the least affluent and economically vulnerable classes who migrated to urban centers like Lahore seeking a living, this induced urbanization also emanated a newly educated class of mid-level professionals, employed in the government and private sectors (Qadeer, 2023). Maqsood suggests that unlike the ashraf or a'ilaf families, this new middle class, which emerged over two decades, grounded their identities in national and religious values and differed from the established groups of the old middle class in Lahore.

²⁸ Clause 21 of the Lahore Development Authority Act of 1975 states "*The Authority shall also undertake beautification of the area or part thereof, in any manner it deems fit...to undertake any improvements or activities for beautification of the area or part thereof*" as accessed at [The Lahore Development Authority Act, 1975 \(punjablaws.gov.pk\)](http://punjablaws.gov.pk) on 30 April, 2024.

During the same period, Akhtar (2018, p.64) points out at the rise of internally differentiated “intermediary classes”, which he describes as the group of “merchants, traders, transporters and various types of petty producers”, of both organized and unorganized kinds. While different, from the professional new middle class analyzed by Maqsood (2017), these intermediary classes of self-employed and labor-exploiting kind constituted an intensely upwardly mobile section of urban majority (Akhtar, 2018), and played an important role in how spatial politics of difference takes form in the Post-Colonial Lahore. Qadeer (1983) suggests that during the 1970s, the new private actors had emerged to fill in for housing shortage and land development beyond the official purview of LDA. By the 1980s, the urban land in Lahore was highly contested among various resourceful groups of multiple cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, competing for both physical and symbolic differentiation through space (Qadeer, 2023).

According to Butt (1992), while the popular politics during Bhutto’s period (1973-77) aimed at providing tenure and land rights to squatter settlements, it gave way to an administratively and politically patronized real-estate and land speculative sector consisting of illegal housing colonies. As the politically mobile group, the intermediary classes seem to have benefitted the most from of such populist urban enterprises (Akhtar, 2018). On the other hand, a developmental cooperative sector—which aimed at the state-facilitated conversion of the sub-urban land into residential schemes through plot subdivisions—sponsored by employees and retired officials of various public and private institutions also saw an upheaval (Qadeer, 1983). Shoaib (2016, p. 20) points out that in addition to the provision of subsidized plots to its employees, the cooperative housing schemes also sold plots to non-employees through open balloting. While the development of all the cooperative schemes had to be approved by LDA,

Javed & Riaz (2020) indicate that neither the process of conversion of land nor the allotments of plots was a transparent process and depended on the political connections of individuals. According to Maqsood (2017), while the old middle-class families continued to reside in the state-developed schemes such as Samanabad and Gulberg as well as Model Town, many of the families belonging to the new

professional middle-class came to settle in these suburban cooperative residential developments.

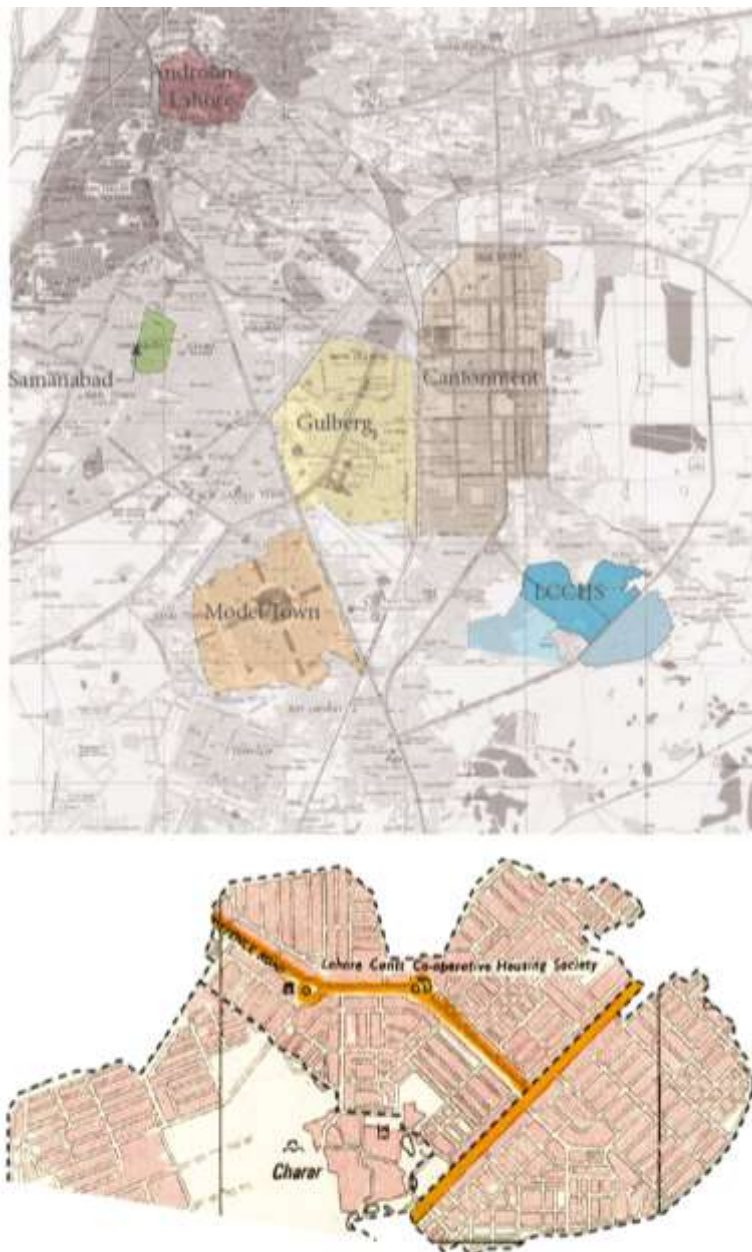
The institutional cooperative schemes offered membership-based plots to its serving and retired employees at lesser rates than the market, where the purchase of plots preceded the physical development of the scheme (Maqsood, 2017). This model did not remain limited to the cooperative sector but was also adopted by the private corporate sector, which saw an exponential increase due to policy shifts during the 1980s that turned to a speculative land and housing market as a source of economic sustenance and decreased the state's role in the housing sector (Qadeer, 1983; 1996). During the 1980s and 1990s, the planned and unplanned illegal settlements, co-operative schemes, and private corporate sectors were responsible for the production of more than 85 percent of the urban land and housing infrastructure, a dominance which still continues to date (Qadeer, 2023, p. 98).

Since the early 2000s, the gated residential societies have become the primary urban frontier of an economic restructuring towards investment-friendly infrastructure fueled by real-estate speculation of insulated private housing enclaves (Malick, 2018). According to Malick, this neoliberal turn towards the reliance on the private sector for the development of housing is also accompanied by an increased influence of middle-class, who are the primary consumers of these private societies, on the previously isolated institution of bureaucratic planning, along with the replacement of state by the other hegemonic actors which came to dominate the processes of spatial structuring of the middle-class housing, and –as Maqsood (2017) asserts–Defence Housing Authority (DHA) is the most influential of such actors.

3.5.5. LCCHS and DHA: Middle-class suburb to Fortified Elite Enclave

Among the various cooperative housing schemes that emerged during the 1970s in Lahore for the employees of public institutions, Lahore Cantonment Cooperative Housing Society (LCCHS) was registered in 1975 to provide subsidized plots for house construction to the serving and retired military officials (Maqsood, 2017). Under the Cooperative Societies Act of 1925 (same as CMTS), the cooperative housing scheme had a semi-autonomous structure comprising inhabiting members and

an elected registrar, who were to be responsible for the planning and physical execution of the scheme.



Site of Lahore Cantonment Cooperative Housing Society in relation to Cantonment, Model Town, Gulberg, Samanabad, and Androon Lahore (Top) with Zoomed in Map of LCCHS and its phased expansion (Bottom) as per Town Guide Map of Lahore, 1990.

Figure 3. 28 Maps showing the Location and Site boundary of LCCHS settlement.

As Figure 3.28 shows, LCCHS was planned on the southern outskirts of the Cantonment on agrarian land, next to an existing rural settlement of Charrar Pind. The area of the settlement fell under the municipal jurisdiction of the Cantonment Board, which continued to operate under the Cantonment Act 1924, autonomous from LDA, providing it control over the construction of buildings, land-use regulations, and

infrastructural delivery in these areas (Javed & Riaz, 2020). This institutional independence of cantonment boards is of strategic importance—as suggested by Farooq (2023)—allows military bureaucracy an extra discretionary power over the policies regarding urban and infrastructural development within cantonment areas in Pakistan. Any building activity in LCCHS, therefore, could not be conducted with a NOC (no-objection certificate) from the Cantonment Board and required adherence to building standards defined by the Board, which—as highlighted in Chapter 2—required uniformity and discipline and were based on the colonial ideas of racial and hierarchical segregation.

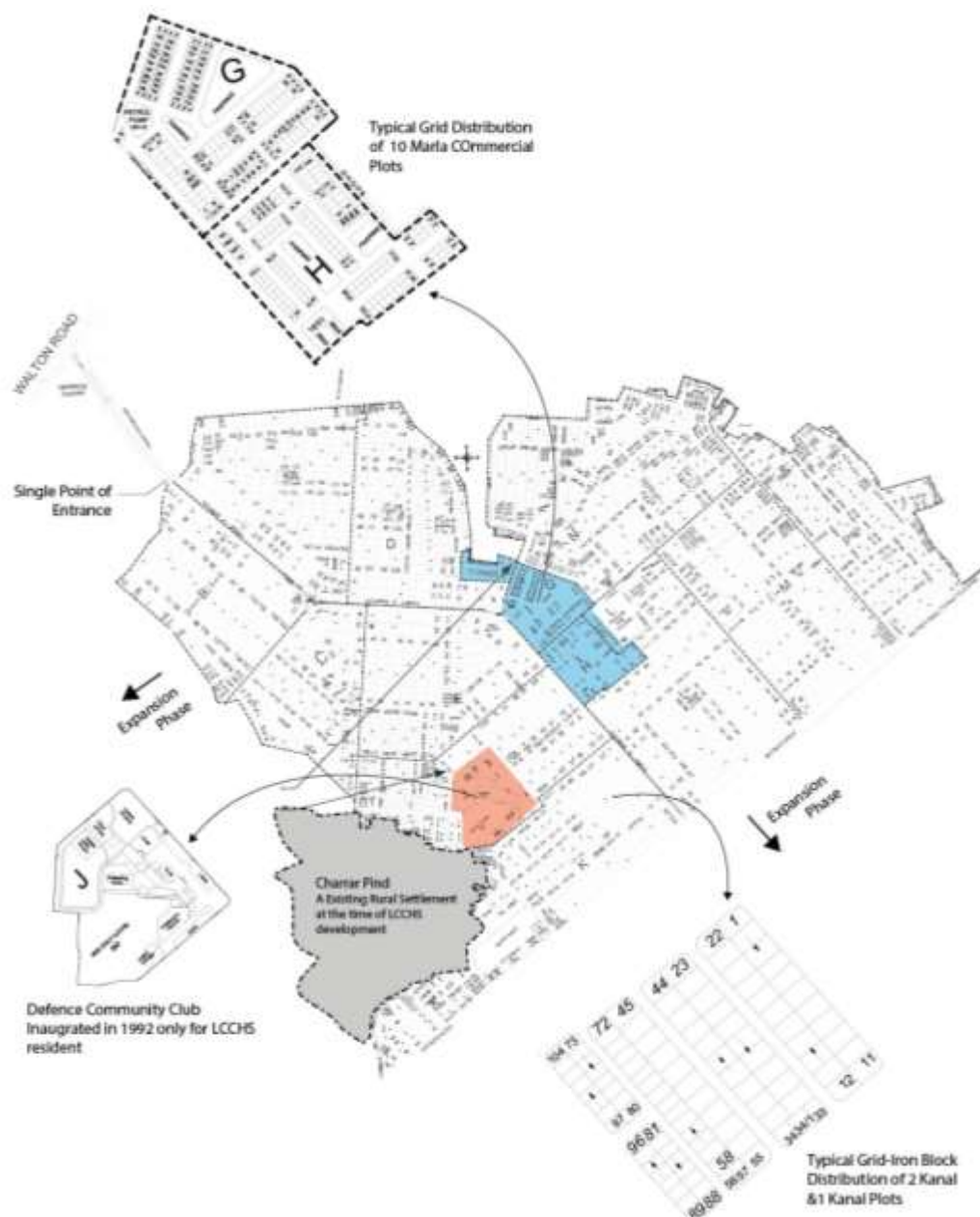


Figure 3. 29 Grid-Iron Master Plan of DHA Phase-I (formerly LCCHS) showing typical rectangular plot divisions.

The master plan of LCCHS (Figure 3.29) shows a similar land-use planning as the Gulberg scheme with distinct residential, commercial, and communal zones with maximum area allocated for residential plots subdivided into two kanal, one kanal, and ten marla plots. According to Maqsood (2017, p.161), even though LCCHS was a scheme for military officers, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, new incoming migrants from other parts of the country, return migrants from Gulf States, and local upwardly mobile families also bought plots within the scheme. The grid-iron layout of the housing parcels was not only a way to achieve efficient subdivision, but its perpendicularity also exhibited the fondness for discipline and regularity among military officials (Maqsood, 2017).



Figure 3. 30 Plan and Front Elevation of a one kanal house in LCCHS Scheme, 1975.

The commercial area was designed differently from the circular commercial markets in Gulberg, where the adjoining commercial buildings with shops on the ground floor were distributed around the linear circulation space wide enough for vehicular traffic. Moreover, while no significant focal green space is provided—as had been the case in Model Town, Gulberg, and Samanabad—the plan shows an exclusive community club for the members of the housing society, which still operates to date.

A residential layout of a one kanal house (Figure 3.30) shows a semi-detached bungalow typology with a setback of 20 feet from the front, 10 feet on the rear, and 5 feet on the side. Much similar to the bungalow-compound typology of Model Town, the cellular residential layout can be divided into functional zones of hierarchical privacies along the depth of the house. Moreover, the front elevation drawing shows a ten-foot ceiling height for the two-storey dwelling with an overall height of 22 feet. The cantonment board required the house to be constructed within an allowed building period as per the approved design, and building inspections were made regularly by a surveying team to ensure no unapproved construction activity took place in the areas that fall under Cantonment regulations.²⁹

This model of planning, as it had been implemented in LCCHS, became a typical standard of professional middle-class suburban housing schemes as LCCHS was expanded into four more phases during the 1980s during a military government (Kazi, 2022). The private corporate sector rose during this period due to the adaptation of neoliberal economic policies, which relied heavily on the property market of real-estate housing (Qadeer, 1983). In 1999, during another military government, the LCCHS was included in the DHA, which abolished the cooperative structure and turned it into a corporate governing body, which was to include the Military Corps Commander of Lahore, a Provincial Secretary, and a board of appointed officials.

As a corporate governing body consisting of both military and civilian bureaucrats, DHA was empowered with planning and regulatory powers, allowing it to make its own building bylaws and regulations (Maqsood, 2017). In 2001, another ordinance enabled DHA to acquire land under the 1894 Act, which had previously only been

²⁹ As per Chapter XV Powers, Procedure, Penalties and Appeal in Cantonment Act 1921 as accessed at [cantonments-act-1924.pdf \(lcb.gov.pk\)](https://www.lcb.gov.pk/cantonments-act-1924.pdf) on 30 April, 2024.

applied to municipal bodies, improvement trusts, and LDA (Shehbaz, 2022; Farooq, 2023). It was these legislations, along with the political patronage by the Pakistan Military that made DHA the largest corporate developer of private housing in Lahore, as well as Pakistan (Qadeer, 2023). According to Farooq (2023), the institutional structure of DHA, which operates within an ambiguity of state and private interest, is a strategic maneuver for the centralization of authority. While DHA enjoys both the state's political and administrative power and the financial backing of the private investors to pursue its speculative developmental schemes, unlike LDA, it is not liable for the city at large, thus limiting its governance to the physical territories of its low-rise, and low-density housing enclaves (Qadeer, 2023). According to Javed and Riaz (2020), while the rest of the housing schemes have witnessed spatial irregularities over time due to the lack of implementation of bylaws by LDA and lack of infrastructural maintenance due to the stress of rapid urbanization, it is not the case in DHA. Maqsood (2017) also contends that, unlike the rest of the city, the residential environment of DHA has not deviated from the initial standards due to its strict surveillance of irregularities and monitored compliance to building layout, which means routine building inspection surveys and strict fines upon violations.

It is not just the administrative efficiency or the capacity to deliver infrastructural services that make DHA an effective top-down governance model. As Maqsood (2017) suggests, its distinguishing feature lies in capturing the desires and aspirations of the new middle-class groups, who derive their status from values of economic mobility and religious piety. Such claims and values are embedded in the spatial articulation of the middle-class ideal city (Centner, 2012). In the case of DHA, this is tied to the material and discursive standardization of a secured gated community lifestyle (Kazi, 2022), serving as fortified urban enclaves for the elite—as Teresa Caldeira (1996) terms it.

Caldeira (1996) asserts that such fortified enclaves are private collective zones of restricted access, which are turned inwards from the street and are guarded by security systems that enforce rules of inclusion and exclusion. Just like Ghertner et al. (2020), who argue that security regimes utilize aesthetic forms to manage and control life, Caldeira (1996, 2000) contends that security is not only a process of physical fortification but also a politically motivated aesthetic coding of lifestyle. She suggests

that in the urban realm, security serves symbolic means of asserting social distinction, in the ways architectural and spatial devices for exclusionary control are made visible. Where on the one hand, DHA offers its inhabitants a gated lifestyle secured by a boundary wall and private security enforcement, with controlled points of entry and exit (Kazi, 2022); it also provides symbolic security to one's higher status through its maintenance of a uniform, disciplined space in contrast to the disorderly spaces of the city (Maqsood, 2017).

According to Madanipour (2003, p. 137), the gated neighborhoods, by setting their clearly demarcated exclusive areas, which serve as extensions of one's private sphere as a source for claiming the right to remove others from the public, lead to the collectivization of difference and a vehicle for real-estate market operation. It is through this mutual interdependence of public safety with the private social status in these gated residential enclaves that results in a space needs to defend against both external and internal threats, where access to security becomes the new commodity and a basis of cultural and class-based exclusion effected through the keeping of order inside the walls (Caldeira, 2000).

3.5.6. Securing Privacy through Staging Security

Security is not merely an operative measure of defending oneself by the screening and elimination of physical threats but is embedded in the material and ideological process shaping security aesthetics as a new code for expression of distinction (Caldeira, 2000). Ghertner et al. (2020) argue that the aesthetics of security is embedded within a disciplinary domain that imposes a spatialized sense of order as a way of normativizing all things properly. They argue that aesthetics of security are a key instrument through which codes of civility are translated into mechanisms of spatial governance aimed at moral and behavioral regulation of space to eliminate objects, actions, and people on the basis of violation of an aesthetically constituted image of security.

Appel et al. (2018) suggest that such aesthetic standardization relies on the linking of normative notions, such as securing a good life with environmental orderliness that relies on the security of infrastructural flows, where even minor deviances or

interruptions are of serious risk to the security. Here, by infrastructure, they do not only mean the material flow of services such as gas, electricity, water, etc., but as Larkin (2013) suggests, infrastructure also assumes a symbolic role that is not completely associated with its technical function. According to Larkin, the physical infrastructure, such as roads, pipes, and water tanks, has fetish-like qualities, turning them into an aesthetic vehicle to mobilize the affects and desires of individuals, which makes them an important tool for advancing an aesthetic order where the functional security of basic flow of utilities is inscribed in the visible order of through staging of infrastructural modernity. For him, infrastructure holds a symbolic efficacy due to its power to impress and become a fetishized object once signification overtakes its technical functional roles.

In Chapter 2, I discussed how the infrastructural distinction of the Civil Station became a colonial tool for domination, as it afforded the colonial government a symbolic efficacy, to impress the indigenous classes and justify the spatial rationalities of planning. Thus, where Caldeira's (1996) analysis shows how security objects such as gates, barriers, and cameras assume a symbolic quality, Ghertner et al. (2020) argue that aesthetics of security rely on the maintenance of an aesthetic order, which according to Larkin (2013) is inexorably tied to the visibility of an infrastructural order. Security, in this way, assumes a fetishistic quality that relies on the management of a securitized public by keeping an aesthetic order intact through



Figure 3. 31 An Image from DHA Lahore website showing the complete roads, water tower, and gated entry, 2008.

physical and behavioral regulation of space (Ghertner, 2015). It is these fetish-like security aesthetics that earn DHA its rank as the top private housing infrastructure developer in the country.

Kazi (2022) suggests that DHA utilizes architectural and technical objects of physical security, such as guarded gates, boundary walls, barbed wires, security checkpoints, and security cameras, along with private security forces, as the primary distinguishing features of its marketing. However, the aesthetics of security demand us to go beyond these physical/ technical aspects to inquire about the symbolic factors that construct security as an aesthetic fortification. According to Maqsood (2017), the residents and officials of DHA Lahore view it as the successor of the state's developmental aspirations, which began in the 1960s, which also means physical development is viewed as key to social progress.

In its marketing advertisements, DHA projects such developmental ambitions as the images of infrastructural completeness (Figure 3.31) for new buyers and investors. Such images are of particular importance in understanding the current patterns of urban growth in Lahore, where the state's capacity of delivery has been severely truncated since the neoliberal shift toward the private sector (Malick, 2018). Infrastructure is, therefore, part of a real-estate speculative strategy that ensures the security of financial investments and safety from regular disruptions as part of the rhetoric of a safe and secure community (Maqsood, 2017). On the other hand, it is also the state's incapacity for infra-structural maintenance and security that makes affluent middle-classes from the older parts of the city under LDA's control (like Samanabad) move to DHA as they seek access to better infrastructure and social security (Qadeer, 2023).

The gated walls, clean roads with green dividers, and manicured lawns are all part of the construction of infrastructural aesthetics of security, which signify DHA's capacity to deliver and maintain a smooth flow of services necessary for an ordered environment (Figure 3.31). Such order also relies on keeping a disciplined public space, which, in this case, means an exclusive outdoor space of common infrastructure, such as roads, streets, parks, as well as building fronts. While DHA, following in the footsteps of the colonial municipal committee, has laid down several punitive

regulations that aim at getting rid of nuisances, such as noise, waste, and physical encroachment, it also necessitates the maintenance of visual discipline by imposing fines on acts and bodies that violate security aesthetics (Farooq, 2023). According to Farooq, as per the DHA regulations, they discriminate against the poor, where, on the one hand, people belonging to poorer subsections are denied entry on the basis of their vehicle of transport and general appearance; the housekeeping servants are mandated to keep an employee pass for entry. One of the rules also restricts house servants from gathering and holding meetings outside the houses of their employers in order to avoid discomforting the residents.³⁰ Practices like cloth lines on building fronts, washing cars outside the house boundary wall, as well as raising political flags in front of buildings are also fined.³¹



Figure 3. 32 Marketing Images included in the DHA Lahore 2020 Brochure.

The aesthetics of security in this way depend upon the maintenance of a sanitized infrastructural image, which is also projected in the fetishized marketing images of an uninterrupted residential environment (Figure 3.32). This is also why, in contrast to the LDA, DHA enforces strict adherence to construction bylaws, which include the acquiring of a NOC prior to construction by submission of detailed construction layouts as per the architectural design prepared by a DHA registered architect

³⁰ See Residents Employee Section in Defence Housing Authority Lahore Revised byelaws and regulations 2014.

³¹ See Defence Housing Authority Lahore Revised byelaws and regulations 2014.

(Maqsood, 2017). Maqsood suggests that while each house can be different as long as it is in keeping with the construction bylaws, DHA is hesitant to approve non-rectangular layouts, and beyond setback restrictions, designs are also evaluated on the basis of their appearance as modern. She points to how it's not only the authority but also community policing of lifestyle that results in a homogenous space of surveillance. As Figure 3.32 portrays, DHA markets house a standardized symbol of social status with access to a good lifestyle (Kazi, 2022). The house, in this case, is seen as a domestic unit of private space whose privacy is only secured by participation in the general aesthetics of security, which relies on an infrastructural order that necessitates the exclusion of the public at large.

3.6. Spatial Hegemony of Middleclassness

Where in the early decades after independence, development and urban modernization became state tools for the cultivation of citizen subjectivity through the planning of middle-class housing schemes, DHA shows how, even within contemporary times, the ideas about urban modernity and modern living continue to shape the socio-economic features of middleclassness in Lahore (Maqsood, 2017). According to Armytage (2019), middle-class is neither a single group nor a homogenous category in Pakistan, as it is divided into the categories of old and new, upper income and lower income, professional and entrepreneurial, and public and private sector. In addition to that, Maqsood (2017) asserts that the subdivisions within the urban middle-class in Lahore also vary on account of the spaces they came to inhabit and what forms of social and economic alliances were available to them for the articulation of identity. She argues that where the old established middle class of pre-partition educated and merchant families, which came to inhabit the early settlements and some of which still continue to reside in Gulberg and Model Town, embodied a commitment to progressive ideals and came to distinguish themselves from the lower and upper classes through the practices of self-improvement, a literary cultural sphere and association with a public sector.

However, the new middle classes, which have risen to prominence since post-liberalization in the 1980s, articulate an independent political identity of modern citizen subjectivity that relies on the discourse of rationality defined in opposition to

rural backwardness or religious fanaticism (Malick, 2018). According to Maqsood, the social basis for this new middle class goes beyond state institutions, with social and spatial articulations in the form of hegemonic aspirations of partaking in a globalized culture of consumption expressed through modernizing infrastructural projects such as DHA. Where the old groups depended on the military-bureaucratic oligarchy for the hegemonic articulation of space through developmental projects, as Malick (2018) suggests, new groups of middle-class have also entered the hegemonic project of spatial restructuring as a result of neoliberal real-estate and property.

Nevertheless, space for both of these groups is a domain for the concentration of social, economic, and cultural capital, which is employed in service of shaping and redefinition of middleclassness as a basis of distinction and an avenue for the assertion of hegemonic construction of space as private and public. As Centner (2012, p. 249) suggests, while definitions of which groups count as middle-class are disputed, middleclassness itself becomes an important object of exclusionary urban practices through aesthetic and behavioral coding of space as means of shaping judgments about what constitutes a desirable way of life.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter set out by claiming that within the postcolonial urban context, spatiality and identity are intertwined within a historical matrix of colonial power relations, which are targeted at the epistemological and ontological destitution of the indigenous and their simultaneous reconstitution as self-regulatory docile subjects. Such reconstitution is actuated through micro-practices of power, which are effected by defining the correct conditions of life by governing indigenous bodies and spaces (Scott, 1995). This mode of governance, which Foucault (1991) identifies as a distinct form of governmental rationality, aims at shaping the right manner of disposing of things (conduct of conduct) through techniques that transverse government institutions.

Urban planning is a form of spatial apparatus that produces governance effects through both material/affective and discursive/symbolic disciplining of conduct (Ploger, 2008). As highlighted by Lefebvre (1991), space is both an instrument for

technical-scientific rationality and ideological appropriation. The extensive history of Lahore's urban development presented in this chapter shows how ideological and material differences of colonial state and civil society, effected through regulatory policies, political rationality of institutional bodies, and discursive dispositions towards what constituted as modern life, continued to define space even in the post-colonial era through the cultural institutionalization of public and private life as a form of social distinction.

The indigenous urban fabric of Androon Lahore was a source of colonial anxiety due to its lack of definite boundaries. Where neither mohalla presented an easy mode of classification as a spatial category due to its relational configuration, nor did a typical indigenous dwelling offer a clear definition as a static spatial unit divided across a legible line of public and private. The municipal committee and sanitary reforms became institutions for the production of the public by regulating and controlling the process of production of space. Moreover, these institutions were also responsible for the discursive constitution of a hygienic and moral space through sanitary reforms and object models in the form of municipal settlement planning. The colonial reforms were based on strategies of spatial distinction, where ideas of enlightenment also necessitated a modern space.

This pursuit of modernity also became the marker of a professional middle-class that was educated in European values of Enlightenment and Western mannerism, which have been described as mimicing middle-classes. The practice of planning and urban development was not only limited to the British colonial state but was also employed by the members of this class for suburban residential planning in the form of the Cooperative Model Town Society. With all aspects of a garden city, CMTS became a successful model of corporative development. Not only did CMTS implement utopian ideas of modernity in the form of a suburban enclave, but it also promoted ideas about self-sufficiency through technical and physical infrastructure. The space of the house was also standardized through plot categorization and bungalow-compound typology as an inviolable private space of domestic life. Model Town laid the foundations for how a colonial middle class came to distinguish itself from the subordinate indigenous classes through the institution of planning.

Meanwhile, the colonial state had itself begun development schemes under the new bureaucratic structure of LIT by the mid-1920's. The partition in 1947 even led to the formation of a new nation-state, i.e., Pakistan, which inherited the same class structure along with an elite-centric power structure. Urban modernization became the central feature of state-pursuing developmentalism, which resulted in middle-class housing schemes such as Samanabad and Gulberg. While the scale and income level of both the schemes differed, they both had the same development paradigm of production plots for low-rise, detached housing units, where infrastructure preceded the actual construction and occupation. During the same time, the values of the middle class also came to be associated with the proprietary notions of the house, which was both a zone of participation in a literary public sphere as well as domain consumption for newly emerging consumer goods. The middle-class house became an important tool to mobilize the economy and shape consumer preferences. However, the lack of the state's capacity to provide for all sections of society also led to a rise of other actors in housing and infrastructural development.

The cooperative scheme, which aimed at providing subsidized plots to the serving and retired officials of public institutions, started to emerge in the 1970s, which was also when LCCHS, what is now known as DHA (Defence Housing Authority), was developed as a scheme for military officers belonging to middle-class. Over time, the cooperative suburban housing model, due to its success as a profit-making enterprise, developed into a full-fledged corporate development entity fueled by the liberalization of the real estate market and housing market during the 1980s. This corporate development, under the patronage of military employees, was given the status of state-backed corporate authority in the following decade, which allowed it to pursue developmental planning for politically and administratively facilitated land speculation. The model of gated housing societies for upper and middle-income groups became popularized with new middle classes. DHA became known for its capacity to deliver infrastructural and physical security, which also became the primary spatial capital of the new middle-classes. The sanitized image of the public lacking any notions of privacy except within the house has become one of the primary features of security aesthetics in DHA, which resonates with the colonial ideas about discipline and public order.

Through physical control, policy regulation, and discursive normativism, the hegemony of middleclassness, which is embedded in the colonial history of the production of clear spatial boundaries between public and private, is still reproduced as a mode of socio-spatial distinction. The domestication of privacy is therefore tied to a historical project of constructing a formalized process of infrastructural development, utilizing both instrumental and associational power to restrict the capacity to transform space through the hegemonic intertwining of spatialities and identity associated with, as a means of asserting the right kind of city. The next chapter discusses how counter-hegemonic ways of production challenge such notions within these five cases.



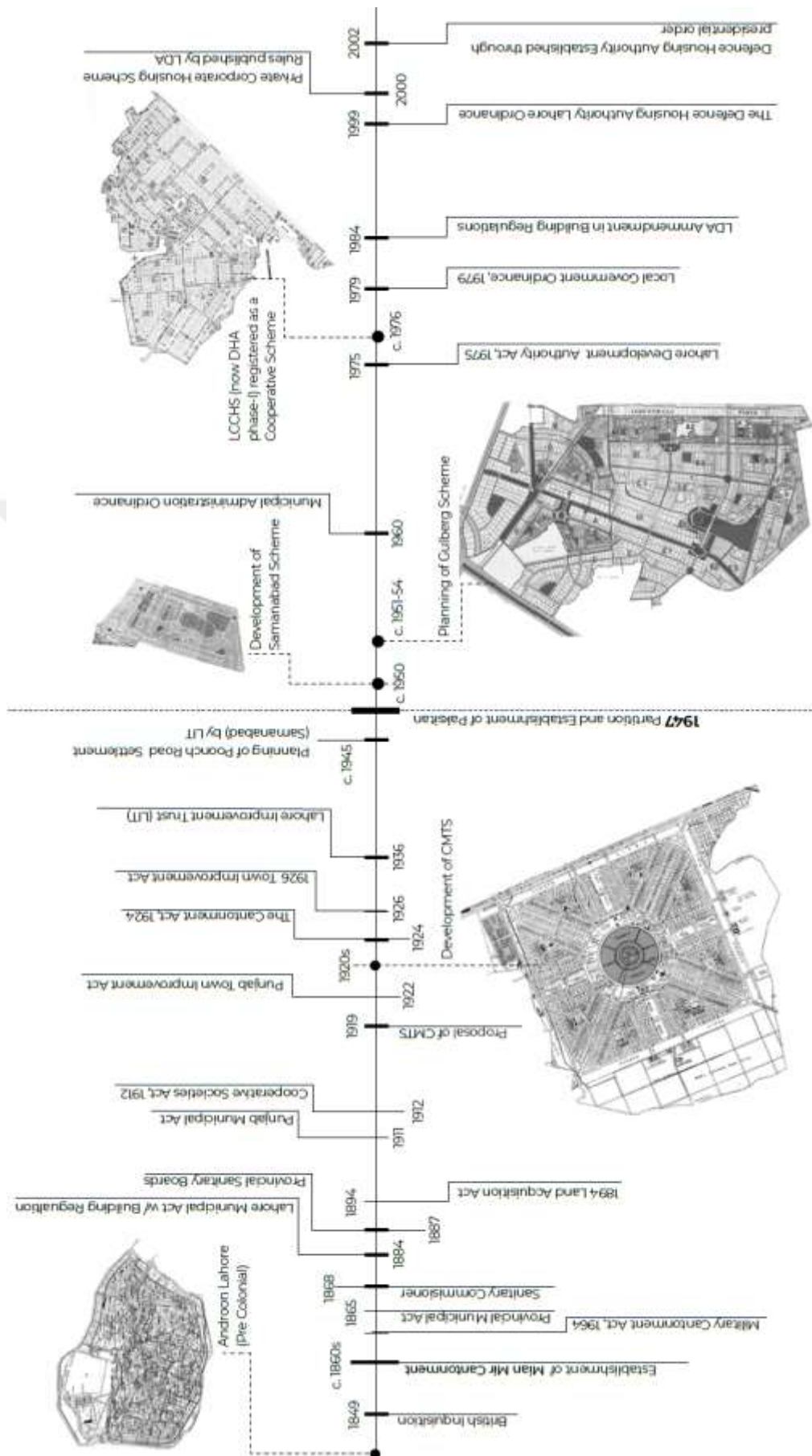


Figure 3. 33 Timeline showing evolution of Planning in Lahore

CHAPTER 4

SPACE, DIFFERENCE, AND EVERYDAY INFORMAL APPROPRIATION OF PRIVACY/IES

The planning history of the production of the residential built environment, in the previous chapter, has revealed how the organization of domestic space serves as a key instrument to the operations of power through which space is segmented into public and private. The historical analysis of the five sites has traced chronologically the motivations and political rationalities of municipal planning and urban development from the colonial state to the early post-colonial state-led settlement planning and the later phase of neoliberal urban development driven by the state-facilitated private corporate sector. By focusing on the informal practices of everyday territorial appropriation in these five settlements, this chapter highlights the differential aspects of informal privacies that shape the contemporary urban space in Lahore.

From the urban morphology of the indigenous settlement (Androon Lahore) to the development of fortified suburban enclaves—following Lefebvrian (1991) dialectical model—I have highlighted how an abstract space of middle-class residential environment was produced both through colonial distinction, spatial rationality of techno-bureaucratic planning, colonial and post-colonial institutions of reform and development, as well as shaping of desires and dispositions about modern citizenship. Kipfer (2008) argues that while Lefebvre's deployment of abstract space in everyday life is crucial to understanding how the capitalist and state modes of production make hegemony possible through alienating the separation of commodities, it is not definitive in its claim to totality. Urban space, according to him, is central to hegemony as it fuses the immediate realm of lived space with multidimensional processes and strategies for producing conceived and lived spaces. However, it is “hegemonic to the extent that it envelops and incorporates daily aspirations, desires, and dreams of the subaltern population” (Kipfer, 2008, p. 200). This is also why totalizing accounts of spatial productivity are problematic due to their all-

encompassing claims, as they vary due to historical and geographical factors (Chattopadhyay, 2012).

Ploger (2008) also pointed out this constraint as intrinsic to Foucault's (1995) notion of governmentality as a material and discursive assemblage of power in his discussion on planning as a spatial dispositive. He writes that "space does not determine; it signifies, it disposes, 'allows' more than 'forbids' specific practices" (p.60). Moreover, the scholars of Southern urbanism also highlight the limitations of governmental operations in the post-colonial world where due to the lack of resources and incapacity of the post-colonial state to penetrate all aspects of everyday life (Hosagrahar, 2005; Chattopadhyay, 2012; Bayat, 1997). Thus, if the power is always qualified to its extent, it also means that space, rather than homogenous, is replete with the residue of that which is left over or not entirely subsumed by the instrumental apparatus of power.

4.1. Informality and Differential Space

Everyday life for Lefebvre is the domain where, due to the contradictions of the alienating production of abstract space, differences, and conflicts are engendered, which are at once tied to the logic of production but also form the antagonistic openings for de-centering of authority and achievement of self-management (Goonewardena, 2004). Even though homogeneity is the end goal of the capitalist and state mode of production, which emanates abstract space, in reality, it is not homogenous (Lefebvre, 1991, p.51). From within the contradictions of abstract, he points at the possibility of the emergence of a differential space, which, in contrast to the disembodied technical rationality of dominant space of expropriation for exchange-value, affords the restorative space of embodied appropriation, self-management for use-value (Wilson, 2013). It is this embodied-appropriative character of differential space that also incorporates Lefebvre's assertion for the Right to the City (Purcell, 2013) and the Right to Difference (Butler, 2020; Leary-Owhin, 2020).

However, are we to assume that all differences seek to overcome the imposition of abstract space? Lefebvre (1991, p. 371) counters such a simplistic definition of difference and argues for a more complex relationship between difference and

dominant space in two ways. First, he distinguishes differences along the trajectory of their extent, i.e., minimal difference, which occurs through simple logic of repetition and maximal difference driven by a stark contrast (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 371). Second, he also draws a distinction between induced and produced differences, where the former remain within the system and are complementary to the striated production of abstract space or what can be described as alienated particularity (individual or group particularism) that tends towards difference as sameness (Kipfer, 2008, p. 201) the latter “presupposes a shattering of the system”(Lefebvre, 1991, p. 371) and is productive of a transformative potential which is incompatible with relations of private property and decorporealized knowledge which sustain abstract space and thus are unacceptable by the hegemony of dominant space (Kipfer, 2008).

This idea of produced difference is exemplified in transformative politics in the ways urban space is appropriated for coalitional struggles in the form of organized protests as well as insurgent practices of informal urban settlements, which directly challenge the state and capitalist modes of production (Stanek, 2011). This linking of informal settlements as differential spaces is founded on the way popular politics of poor classes is involved in the appropriation of space for The Right to the City through the bottom-up and self-organized assembly of informal urban zones such as squatter settlements and shanty towns (Huchzermeyer, 2020; Butler, 2020). However, this notion of productive/ maximal difference attributed either to direct modes of conflict in the form of organized struggle or insurgent form of urbanism is subject to wide criticism among scholars of Southern Urbanism and postcolonial studies of urbanism.

On the one hand, by limiting resistance to public acts of negation, scholars like Chattopadhyay (2012) argue that tactical forms of everyday resistance are overshadowed by the grand claims of political movements. On the other, Roy (2011) suggests that the simplistic association of informal settlements as sites for the collective agency by the urban poor is problematic because (a) it heroicize the actual struggles of the poor, (b) it forecloses inquiry into the many configurations of power which are involved in the production of urban informality, and (c) they fall into the territorial trap by resurrecting a binary formal/informal opposition which is far from the urban reality of the Southern cities. Bayat (2010) and Alsayyad (2004) suggest that Southern cities differ significantly from Western metropolises in terms of the

sheer pervasiveness of informal modes of urban production in the post-colonial world. Huchzermeyer (2020) suggests that the minimal difference is crucial to understanding how productive conflicts are shaped in the everyday urban space in the cities of the South.

Picking on the differential possibilities that lie within everyday life, Leahry-Owhin (2016, p. 278) argues that a more open reading of Lefebvre's differential space is also required to include spatial encounters rooted in counter-representations (as opposed to the representation of spaces), which may result in spatial, dialectic tensions necessary for its emergence. He highlights four critical aspects of differential space: (1) the unexpected and spontaneous character that results from the appropriation of space for its use value, (2) the ability to imprint meaning on abandoned or new public space; (3) its capacity to make visible the marginal identities; (4) at its full democratic potential, it results in the "collective appropriation of public space for expressly politicized purposes" (2016, p. 278). While Leahry-Owhin does not mention urban informality and is concerned more with the differential potential of everyday acts of embodied appropriation, which may act as bridging factors from minimal to maximal difference, it has some crucial insights for repositioning the political agency towards a more pervasive form of informal transgressions which—are not bounded to a particular settlement type, but as highlighted by Bayat (1997; 2012) —are characterized the lived experience of a majority of the residents of the Southern cities.

Shifting the focus from a consolidated form of politics for urban transformation, Bayat (1997) highlights the agency of always ongoing everyday acts of socio-spatial improvisation embedded in the resourcefulness of the disenfranchised in their opportunistic endeavors through processes which involve adjustment and violation of legality, land-use planning, and spatial regulations such as building lines, plot size, what he regards as the “free-form mobilization” (p.55). Bayat (1997) links the temporary instantaneous and incremental appropriation of space with the ways in which the sub-ordinated classes make their presence visible in the city through individual—yet non-individualizing—encroachments as calculated maneuverability for the contestation of authority. Pointing out the spontaneity of the shifting temporal practices of autonomous and transitory production of an ever-transforming space by street vendors, cultural festivities, hawkers, and squatters, juxtaposed against the

official space of state-regulated infrastructure and modern architecture, Mehrotra (2008) foregrounds a representational kinetic city of constant negotiation between formal and informal use, over-layered upon the represented static city.

Where Mehrotra's assertion of kinetic and static is reminiscent of the conflicting duality and dialectical tension of appropriated and dominating space witnessed by Lefebvre in the case of favelas, his description does not envisage a contradiction that results in the triumph of one over the other. Instead, he suggests that the urban reality within the cities of the Global South is a mode of inhabiting a simultaneous duality where the kinetic and the static are in a constant dialogue and a field of negotiation, what he regards as a mode through which non-antagonistic contestation is converted into a symbiotic relationship (p. 213). Thus, moving away from everyday space is a terrain for overturning the dominant logic of spatial production; this view reframes everyday space as a domain of overcoming the strategies of control by escaping the staticity imposed by the dominant order.

Urban informality, viewed through the lens of ordinary everyday appropriation (as discussed in the previous sub-section), ties agency to provisionality of practice, where, according to de Certeau (1984, p. 94), everyday tactics, linked to the spatial dimension of a place, constitute possibilities of resistance through a constant manipulation of events into opportunities in response to the strategies of spatial production. According to Gardiner (2000) de Certeau's foregrounding of the quotidian practice of everyday life is intended to drive a wedge between the representations of formalized discourse and the multiple practices through which they are appropriated, between the city as a visible and readable text and the city as a practiced space. Thus, the strength of practice lies within its non-discursiveness and the inability of the dominant order to repress the tactics that cannot be calcified into a whole (Gardiner, 2000). Thus, for de Certeau, tactics due to their un-signed, unreadable, and unsymbolized nature grant invisibility to the quotidian practice of everyday life for creative appropriation (Gardiner, 2000, p.177). However, according to Chattopadhyay (2012), where the practice of denying representation remains outside the realm of control of the dominant order, the practitioner too is blinded by the provincality of these tactics, thus keeping the practitioner from a view of the whole, which may only be cured by aspiring to become the dominant order (p. 46).

Chattopdyay (2012) draws an issue with agency tied to the pre-given invisibility of practice, as suggested by de Certeau. Instead, in discussing James Scott's (2008) theorization of infrapolitics that distinguishes between public and hidden transcripts of power, where the former is the theatrical zone of compliance and naturalization of power in full view of the dominant group, the latter is its obverse, i.e., a hidden realm which provides room for the dissonant political culture of low-key forms of resistance; she notes that invisibility on behalf of the marginalized group is tactical rather than an effect of practice (p. 53). While not an equivalent to a public form of resistance, for Scott (2008), the disguised resistance of infrapolitics, through its constant yet silent pressing against the material and ideological limits imposed by the strategies of domination, without making any public claims, is effective through its own disavowal as a form of political resistance (p. 199).

Contrary to de Certeau, invisibility is not a given for practice but a tactical cover employed by the marginal to evade the surveillance of institutional power. Thus, where the public is the zone of formalized politics of the elite, infrapolitics belongs to the hidden realm of informal and "surreptitious resistance" (Scott, 2008, p.200). Here, it is important to distinguish that where Chattopdyay argues for the importance of visibility for popular acts of resistance, she contends that the politics of resistance is not necessarily open to public view. However, Chattopadyay argues that resistance requires a manifestation of political agency, and instead of taking invisibility for granted, she argues that resistances that constitute infrapolitics also suffer from a crisis of representation, which can only be recovered, by paying scholarly attention to those agential moments of popular practices through which the hidden potential of such power is brought to the plane of visibility (2012, p. 62). Her response to this crisis is to navigate both material and symbolic inscription of agency embedded within a historically specific reading of the inner-working of such inscriptions, such as street cricket, automobile calligraphy, or festival pavilions, as discursively visible acts of resistance, i.e., ascertaining the conflicting right to difference.

Chattopdyay's discussion of invisibility from a practical imperative to a discursive obfuscation is critical for the analysis of everyday informal acts of appropriation because (a) it recovers the transformative potential of quotidian by reframing practice

as infrapolitical rather than prepolitical resistance and (b) it repositions agency within the domain of material and discursive acts of appropriation, who's visibility is subject to the vantage of the viewer—thus provincializing the differential potential of tactics to particular socio-spatially situated modes of informal practice. Such provincialization is critical to distinguish those practices that pave the way towards the actualization of the Right to the City through the negation of the logic of reproduction of dominant space from those that are complementary to its production. The most apt example of such informal practice can be examined in the work of Asef Bayat and the way he affords political agency to the quotidian acts of everyday practice that characterize urban informality in the post-colonial world.

4.1.1. Everyday Spatial Appropriation

Bayat (1997) associates Scott's work on the silent forms of resistance with the way the micro-existence of informal appropriations within the city animate the everyday street politics of the patient yet protracted advancement of the ordinary people. For him, the practices of squatting and appropriation of public land and utilities through building streets into an arena of informal economies of subsistence is part of an atomized but prolonged mobilization with episodic collective action without an ideology or structured organization (Bayat, 1997, p.57). However, while they might not be ideological or concerted or organized efforts, they are neither completely arbitrary as they might be motivated by non-coalitional yet collective aims to attain cultural and political autonomy from institutional regulations and state discipline which limits access to consumption, public space, and opportunities, thus restricting life in general (Bayat, 1997). He suggests that such molecular yet persistent contestation with state is made possible not by an active network of organization among individuals but by a passive network of communication undergirded by the common position of the atomized individuals, which may spontaneously turn into an active network of collective action under the threats posed by state and other state-like actors (p.65).

Highlighting the various tactics—from minimizing spread to bribing of officials—which animate everyday informality of discreet transgression as a way of keeping appearances within the tolerable limit to avoid crackdown, Bayat (1997) suggests that the politics of such passive network remain under the radar by adapting tactics to

maintain invisibility while at the same time seeking expansion. In another essay, Bayat (2012) associates street politics with the ways in which the informal practices of lower classes disrupt the culturally and legally enforced public-private boundaries of civil society by turning outdoor space into the zone where the lower classes engage in practices of cultural reproduction from below. Here, instead of invisibility, Bayat (1997, 2012) highlights agency within these clearly visible acts of appropriation through a pervasive invasion of the public by the lower classes, turning them into private economies by putting them into different functions of subsistence, livelihood, and habitation. This inversion, on the one hand, defies the normative construction of public and private; it also becomes a crucial mode of conflict through which the lower classes claim space in the city by an insurgent part-taking in the social, cultural, and sensory shaping of the urban texture, usually at odds with the normative attributes of public-private distinction imposed by the dominant order. Bayat (2012) does not only limit this form of disruption to how the state is contested in the violation of the regulatory legal structures necessary for the maintenance of private property, but he also highlights the material-affective domain of urban transformation, which subverts the discursive and aesthetic boundaries of public-private, which are upheld by the civic culture of the subordinating classes (p.116).

It is within this account that we find both resonance and dissonance with Lefebvre's differential space. (1) Lefebvre, in pointing out the real (productive) difference as an contradictory appropriation of space interrupting the organizing logic of production of abstract space, politicizes the immediate everyday space as a domain for organized resistance; however, even though everyday minimal differences are crucial, such account, it does not provide any recognition to the passive politics of agonistic appropriation. (2) While Lefebvre highlights the complexity and transformative potential of the minimal differences (Beveridge & Koch, 2019), the historical specificity of these acts, objects, and practices that constitute such differences as alternative ways of doing things remain obscured from the discourse. Similar to Chattopadhyay's contention, where she distinguishes visible acts of popular resistance from the tactical hidden transcripts of power, Bayat's analysis of street politics and city inside-out highlights both these aspects of appropriation. The short-sightedness of discrete everyday practice is supplanted by an informal infrapolitics of non-coalitional collectivity on the grounds of relational passive networks undergirded by the common

positions of the practitioner. On the other, by highlighting how its manifestation of this politics in the form of gradual material transformation of the city as both physical and symbolic acts of appropriation, which disfigure the economic, legal, social, and cultural logics of the dominating space, Chattopadhyay (2012) asserts that resistance can also occur materially present yet discursively invisible, territorial practices of asserting a spatial claim to the right to difference. While not denying the popular resistance, both these authors frame agency within quotidian practices of everyday life in the way territorial claims are made through agential tactics, which are not part of a transformative goal towards de-centering of the dominant mode of production but are agonistic to the logic of its reproduction.

4.2. Lahore: A Differential view from Below

To analyze the differences in everyday practices appropriation requires going beyond the static top-down conceptualization of territories as a socio-economic delineation of topography to a processual understanding of territories as material inscriptions of social relationships which are always in making (Brighenti, 2010). Territories are a way of establishing a zone of order through an inscription of boundaries (Dovey, 2013, p. 18). Contrary to the statism of the object-like imagination of territory as a spatial container, Brighenti (2010), a processual-relational conception of territory allows to capture the dynamic complexity of the territorial process embedded within the acts and practices in intersection with the materials and their arrangements in a distinct process of articulation of boundaries (Brighenti, 2010). Such a conception of territory enables a movement, where territories can be made through a shaping of practice, then can also be unmade and remade into new territories through acts of doing/assembling things differently.

This notion of territory as a way of holding things together is closely associated with Deleuzian-Guattarian ontological theorization of assemblage, which prefers an interconnected and fluid view of reality, where difference is marked by an escape from a fixating dominant apparatus, a movement along the lines of becoming something new (Purcell, 2013, p.27). Delanda (2016) suggests that assemblage may be considered as wholes (social or otherwise) consisting of parts, where the properties of the whole depend upon the interaction of its components, and provides an example

of a neighborhood whose definition as an entity depends as much upon the members and the density of the connection among them (Delanda, 2016, pp. 11-12). The same can also be applied to urban space, where a host of heterogeneous factors, such as historical power relations, built environment, imaginaries, and everyday routines of groups and individuals converge to form territory as a whole or deviate from it to constitute a new one (Schwarz & Streule, 2022)

According to Dovey, the order is achieved through a process of stratification of assemblage into rigid and supple segments. Rigid segmentations are diagrammatic divisions, i.e., binary (simple opposition of two distinct positions), concentric (nested within a hierarchical structure), and linear (i.e., sequential divisions), whereas supple segmentation is a result of being formed by the fluidity and lateral connections (2010, p.19). However, where there are lines of segmentation, there are also lines of flight that threaten the very stability and identity of the assemblage through an escape from the territory and turning into flows and aggregates oriented towards its transformation (Delanda, 2016, pp. 128-9; Purcell, 2013, pp.26). This space of connections, released from the territorial bounds of segmentation and thus permeable, is a smooth space of becoming, inscribed by movement and instability and which folds onto the hierarchical striated space (Dovey, 2023). Thus, where territorialization is a synthetic process of the stabilization of boundaries that enables the formation of wholes from parts or identities from differences, any process that destabilizes spatial boundaries or increases internal heterogeneity is considered deterritorialization (Dovey, 2013, p. 18).

The domestication of privacy (as highlighted in chapter 3) is part of a larger territorialization of urban space in general, where the one's capacity to transform space (agency) is restricted through stabilization of power assemblage which through particular expressive codings and material devices segments space into public and private. The difference, then, also needs to be addressed within the context of how the reproduction of such hegemonic constructions of space is unsettled in practice or, in other words, how the territorialization of privacy as bounded is challenged in everyday practices of appropriation. The next section examines how informal everyday appropriations can be understood as territorial processes that destabilize the rigid territorial segmentation of space into public and private through a historical production of abstract space. It reveals the differential side of everyday urban reality

in contemporary Lahore by highlighting how the boundaries of privacy are assembled differently and the ways in which they deviate from the organizing logic of material and discursive domestication of space necessary for the maintenance of the right kind of city.

Territories are produced by social relations, and can be destabilized as much from external invasion as from increasing the internal heterogeneity or difference of parts (Brighenti & Karrolm, 2022). How urban territories are appropriated, adapted, and transformed through everyday practice can be understood as a socio-spatial process of territory-making, which is embedded in wider power relations that seek to dominate and restrict this process (Schwarz & Streule, 2022). This this section of the thesis, focuses on an ethnographic exercise in search for such differences. However, a simple exercise of classifying urban informality as acts which physically transgress the delineations of the public-private does not suffice the epistemic grounds for difference as highlighted in the previous section. While differences might occur as empirical variations of practice, their transformative potential cannot be ignored, thus requiring one to go beyond mere documentation of divergences to an analysis of the practices that animate such conflicting appropriative territorialization. Therefore, this section focuses on the differences in both these aspects: a recognition of diverse spatial attributes through which privacy are made and unmade in everyday urban space and an unearthing of the deterritorializing tendencies of these appropriative practices.

To explore everyday appropriations of urban space in Lahore, five settlements (Androon Lahore, Model Town, Samanabad, Gulberg, and DHA) were studied through fieldwork over three weeks. Site visits involved walkthroughs, direct observation, field notes, photography, and unstructured interviews with randomly selected local residents. These methods allowed for first-hand witnessing of physical appropriations and practices shaping them. Conversations focused on history, lifestyle, and perceptions of municipal administration and legality of appropriations. Each site was chosen based on available archival plans, varied urban morphology, and mixed land-use. Factors like physical access, walkability, and suitability for visual documentation were also considered. Multiple walks through each site facilitated observation of spatial appropriations, enabling comparative analysis. Before delving into the details of appropriations it is necessary to highlights the morphological

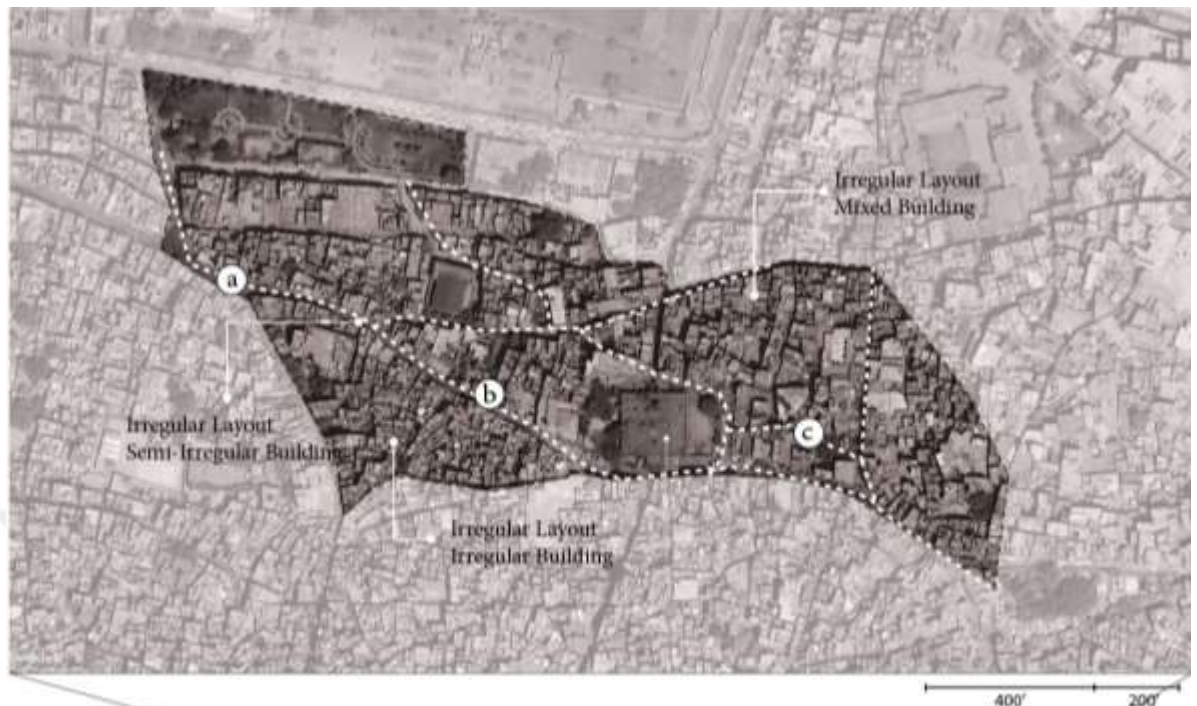
variations of the urban fabric in these selected sites for fieldwork, and how do they defy simplistic definitions of formal and informal.

4.3. Morphological Variations and Divergences

The morphological differences between the sites have been previously highlighted in detail in their histories of planning in Chapter 3. The Androon Lahore is an unplanned historic settlement with its irregular mohalla configuration, the other four settlements of Model Town, Samanabad, Gulberg, and DHA were developed as planned neighborhoods with designed street infrastructure, lot sizes, and construction bylaws. Besides the notions of legality or ideology, the former exemplifies an informal urban morphology, with incremental growth of built fabric, whereas the latter characterizes the standardized morphological attributes associated with formal urban development with its particular sequence of planning, building, service and occupation, as elaborated in Chapter 3. However, the selected area for site study, in the case of Androon Lahore (Figure 4.1), adheres to the irregular spatial configuration of buildings and street networks, while the other selected areas show a range of both regular and irregular spatial configuration of access networks, as well as types of building construction, which cannot simply be characterized as formal or informal (Figure 4.2-4.5).

Dovey and Kamlipour (2018) argue that morphological distinctions between formal settlement, as the planned development of regularly built infrastructure in accordance with building bylaws, and informal settlement, as irregular bottom-up accretions configured with self-organization codes, do not explain the range of in-between urban conditions characterized by a mix of formal and informal morphologies. Instead, they suggest that by distinguishing between formal and informal morphologies along the two domains of urban design (i.e., layout of streets, grain size, and organization of parcels) and architecture (i.e., construction of buildings), a range of intersections can be identified among formal, informal, and mixed morphologies. These intersections can assist a closer understanding of the variations and divergences in the spatial configurations of each site across four distinct categories of regular (formal), semi-regular (formal with varying informality), mixed (partially formal and partially

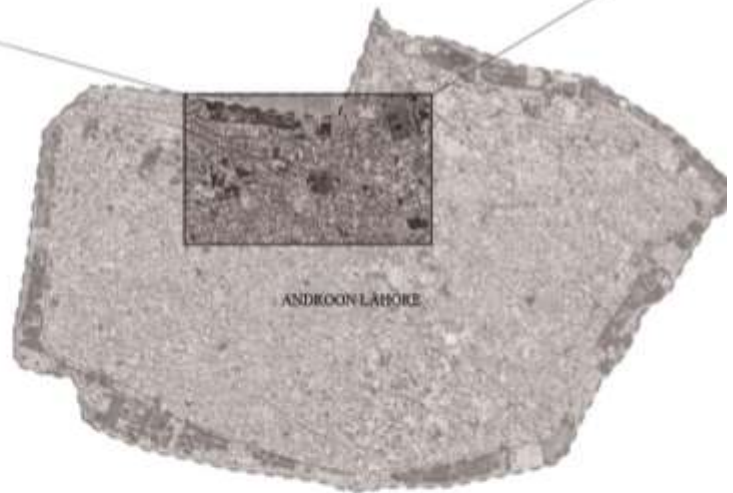
informal), semi-irregular (partially informal with a varying degree of formality), and irregular (informal).



Map of selected area for site-study along highlighting the general route for documentation and morphology



Key map of all sites



Map highlighting the location of selected area within Androon Lahore



a. New commercial building with formal appearance



b. Incremental and irregular residential buildings,



c. Typical narrow street with set-forwards and set above thresholds.

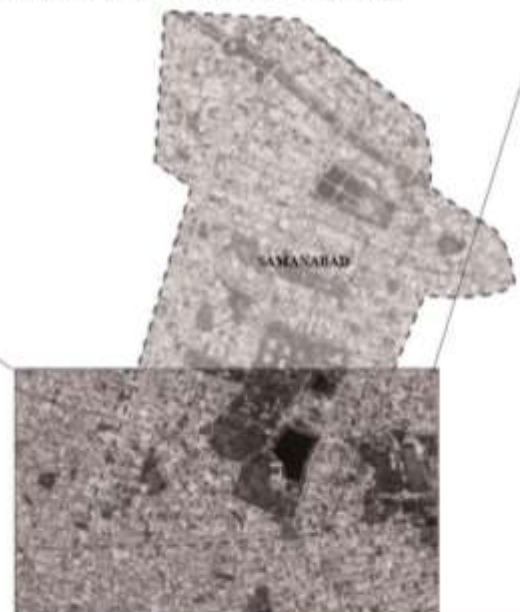
Figure 4. 1 Androon Lahore case-study area for fieldwork with spatial and morphological attributes.



Map of selected area for site-study along highlighting the general route for documentation and morphology



Key map of all sites (above) with Map highlighting the location of selected area within Samanabad (Right)



a. Typical residential architecture of improvement and upgradation

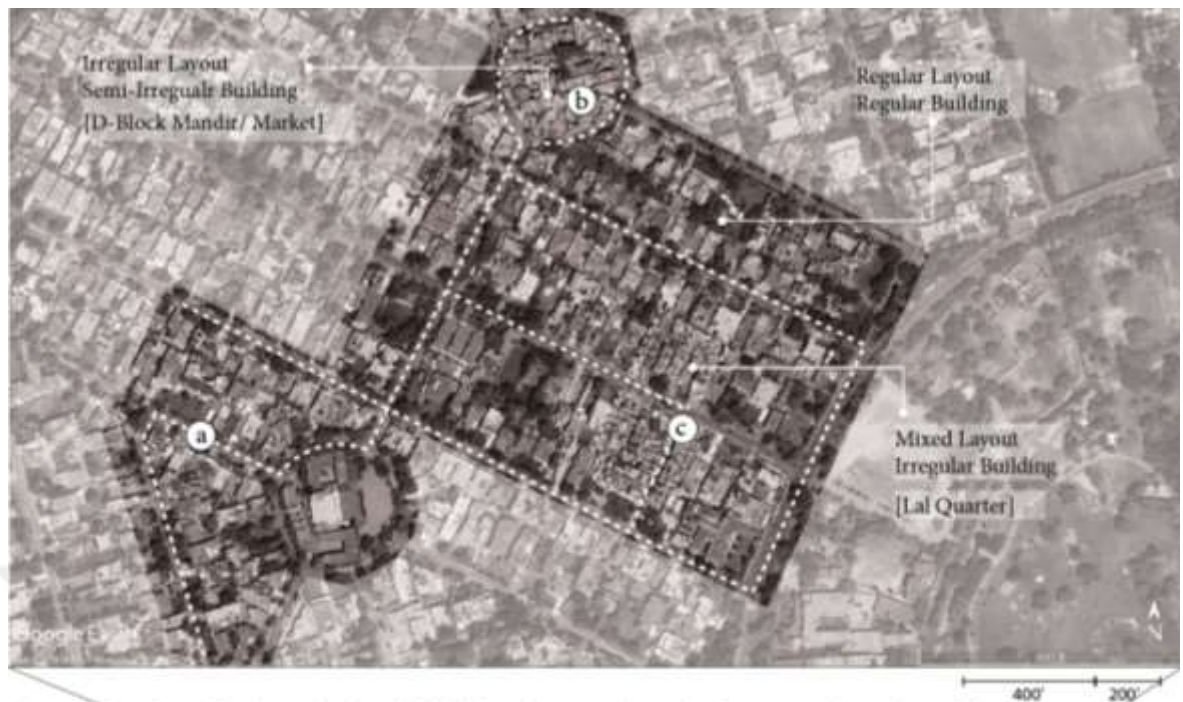


b. New construction with set backs and set forwards with irregular division



c. Incremental construction with ground floor conversions along the main streets

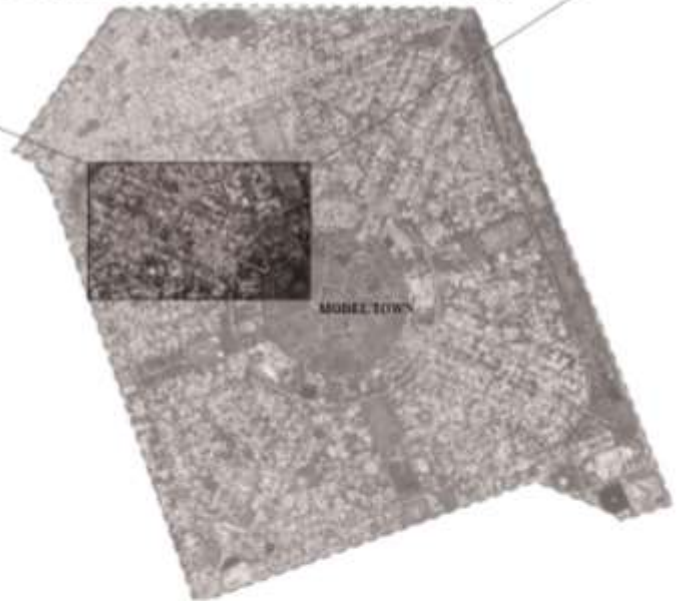
Figure 4. 2 Samanabad case-study area for fieldwork with spatial and morphological attributes.



Map of selected area for site-study along highlighting the general route for documentation and morphology



Key map of all sites (above) with Map highlighting the location of selected area within Model Town (Right)



a. Typical residential architecture with modern bungalow-compound typology

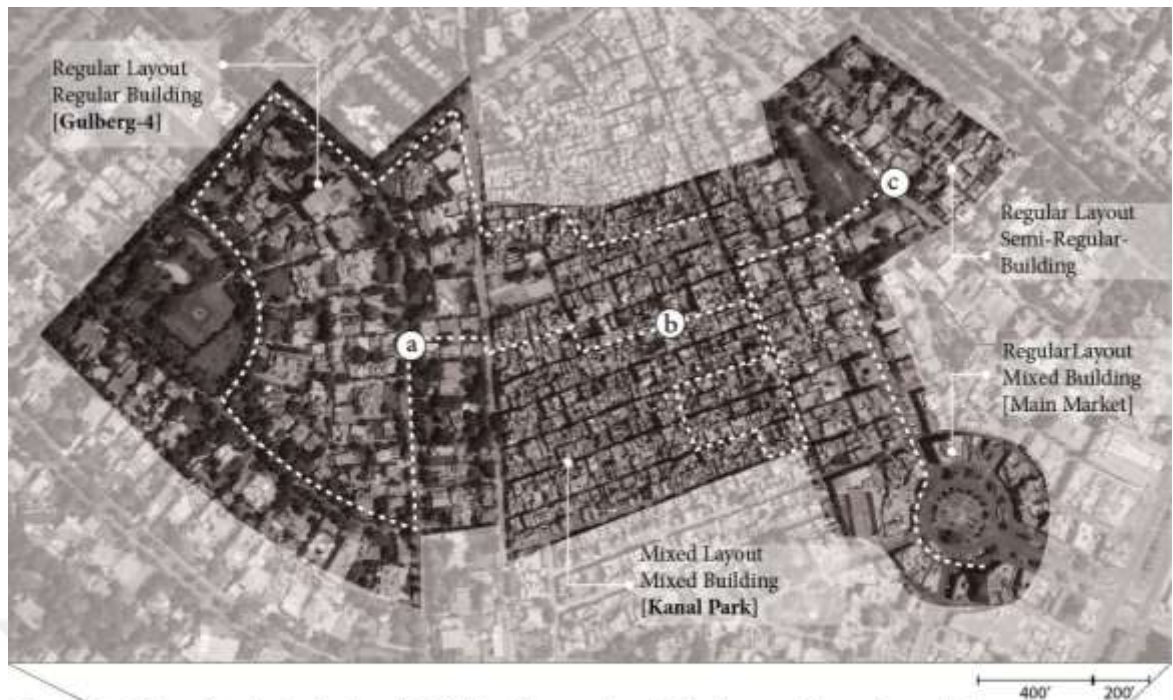


b. An irregular street in with informal incremental construction



c. Overtime irregular accretion in the planned residential quarters buildings

Figure 4. 3 Model Town case-study area for fieldwork with spatial and morphological attributes.



Map of selected area for site-study along highlighting the general route for documentation and morphology



Key map of all sites (above) with Map highlighting the location of selected area within Gulberg (Right)



a. A residential street with garden and boundary wall edge in blocks with higher income and large lot-sizes

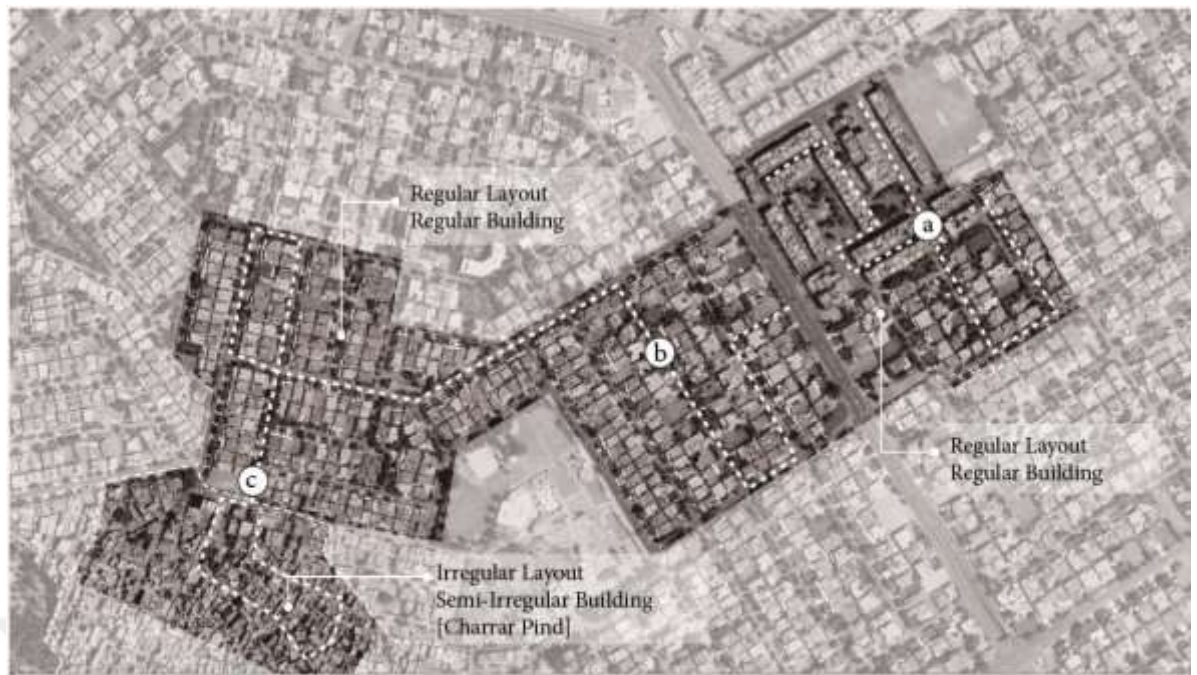


b. A semi-regular street in with mixed building construction type and use-conversions in the Mixed Settlement



c. Incremental floor additions and set-back violation in residential blocks with mid-range lot sizes.

Figure 4. 4 Gulberg, case-study area for fieldwork with spatial and morphological attributes.



Map of selected area for site-study along highlighting the general route for documentation and morphology



Key map of all sites (above) with Map highlighting the location of selected area within DHA (Right)



a. A typical residential street with front garden and boundary walls, with clear building line



b. Commercial area with controlled building activity and formal public-private interface



c. Security barricades segregating the Charrar Pind from DHA

Figure 4. 5 DHA-I (LCCHS), case-study area for fieldwork with spatial and morphological attributes.

In Androon Lahore, the chosen site area incorporates spatial mixed features (Figure 4.1). While the street networks are irregular and unplanned, the building activity takes place through both informal accretion as well as pre-planned one-time construction. In the case of Samanabad, multiple mixtures can be found (Figure 4.2). While in the planned scheme area, the street layout is mostly intact, the plot subdivisions and vertical growth have resulted in a mixed architecture, the adjacent areas with semi-regular access infrastructure incorporate both mixed building of both incremental and planned kind.

On the other hand, in Model Town, where the general urban spatial pattern and the architecture are formal, both mixed and irregular patterns were identified in the two settlements during the fieldwork (Figure 4.3). Even though the built infrastructure in these settlements contrasted greatly with the surroundings, they were confined to the administratively restricted boundaries of these settlements. Similarly, in Gulberg (Figure 4.4), while the residential blocks with large footage had regular layouts and building architecture, the smaller foot-print residential blocks incorporated various divergences in the form of plot subdivisions and incremental additions, at once maintaining a formal architectural appearance while transgressing on building and construction bylaws. However, the partially planned areas like Kanal Park, which was initially kept out of the Gulberg Master Plan but was later incorporated into it in 1976 by LDA, holds a great degree of variation in both street network as well as building construction, thus identified as mixed (Figure 4.4). In the case of DHA, no instances of irregular morphology were identified within the zone administered by the authority. The settlement of Charrar Pind (Figure 4.5)–with an irregular street form and semi-irregular building infrastructure of largely incremental/unplanned construction– is physically contained and segregated from the formal enclave.

These morphological variations show that more than simple binary categorization of urban form as formal and informal is required to grasp the complexity of the spatial configurations in the city. However, they can also not be ruled out, as a settlement may incorporate multiple intersections between the formal and informal shaping of space. Where a regular, planned settlement like Samanabad can become host to increments and encroachments, the irregular settlement like Androon Lahore can also incorporate various non-incremental, planned construction of built infrastructure.

Nevertheless, these categories are by no means fixed typologies but rather modes of distinguishing among the morphological variations that occur in these different areas of study and identification of divergences embedded within them. In everyday urban space, the divergences occur in all sorts of variations, which sometimes are either morphologically cohesive or physically permanent, yet they serve as integral parts of the morphology and cannot be separated from the daily lives of the residents. Therefore, it's important to understand how the formal and informal intersect in the everyday production of territories, both as variations of boundaries as well as morphological divergences.

4.4. Looseness and Tightness of Territorial Appropriation

Karrholm (2007) suggests that instead of material delimitation, territories emerge from an interplay between physical space and the organizing of social relations, which can be planned through procedures and norms as well as unintentionally established as practices and ways of doing things. According to Lefebvre (1991) abstract space is produced through a top-down imposition of order, facilitated by the technical and aesthetic rationalities of architects and planners, implemented through the production of space envelopes (p. 176) which partition the space between inside and outside and serve as the social building blocks of space with both use value and exchange value (p.329). In another place, Lefebvre associates this enveloping with the building of homogenized spatial containers "which envelops all products, like wrappings of indestructible plastic stuff that serve as packaging for so many things" (Lefebvre 2009/1980, p. 213). Foucault (1995, p. 172) relates the establishment of sealed compartments as a spatial strategy of confinement and enclosure crucial to the dissemination of control. In both cases, the authors (though undergirded by a different motivation) point to the rigid territorial segmentation of urban space by the planning apparatus, which tends to code the material and expressive components of space into territorial organizations of the environment.

A public street, free of any encroachments lined, with two-story detached residential bungalows, is still the defining feature of these middle-class neighborhoods, as can be seen in figures 4.2-4.5. The boundaries between inside and outside are asserted as much by the physical dividers such as pavement, boundary wall, and building façade

as it is done by the routinized aesthetic of the overall assemblage of a planned and ordered environment with clearly defined segmentations.

Based on the analysis presented in chapter 3, there are five key characteristics of such planned space envelopes: (a) a formalized space precedes its actualization and occupation, (b) they hierarchize space into legible levels, (c) spatialized identities are produced through imagination and implementation of visually and technically ordered environment, (d) they reify the boundaries between inside and outside through institution of public and private, and finally (e) they restrict the transgression of already established spatial segmentations through institutional regulation and aesthetic governmentality which maintain a formal interface between public and private. These five attributes also define the material and expressive coding of privacy, which result into rigid segmentations between public and private as mutually exclusive realms, where any overlaps between the two are regarded as informal (Figure 4.6). In everyday informal practice, these attributes are appropriated, causing a disturbance in the presumably stable topology of space envelopes and resulting in new codings of the territories, which do not interrupt the ideal interface between public and private but also indulge territorial practices that are incompatible with the standardized practices of prohibitive compartmentalization of space, an aspect which Frank and Stevens (2007) highlight as loose space.

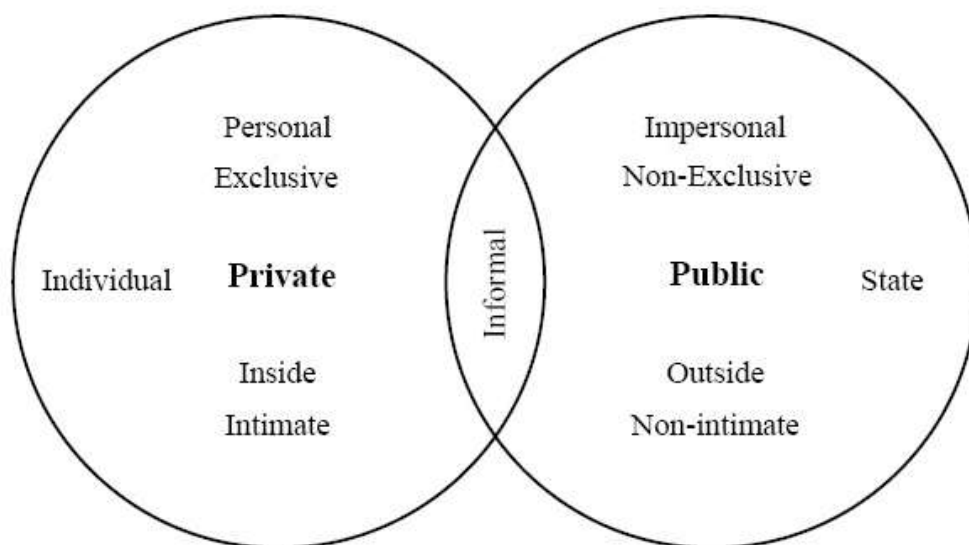


Figure 4. 6 The Formalized production of mutually exclusive public and private. Drawn by Author

Frank and Stevens (2007) contrast the tightly coded spaces, which have fixed boundaries and only allow certain types and ways of doing things while prohibiting others, with loose spaces, which occur as instances of appropriation of those coding through people's activities. For example, they suggest that where the architecture of prison is in its intended use and rigid physical geometry exerts strong control over what can take place there, in case of riots, prisoners take over this tight space, thus making it loose. The same schema can also be extended to the urban space, where even though the prohibitive protocols of the planned space envelopes produce tightness, they are loosened in the everyday practice of appropriation, where space is brought into all sorts of uses and unpredictable activities. These appropriations, which range from pavement dwellings and incremental upgradation of housing to individual encroachments by street vendors, as well as the shared occupation of open space through improvisation of built fabric, result in multiple degrees of looseness and tightness which require a deeper examination of how these topologies function as territories with both loose and tight boundaries (Kamalipour, 2023).

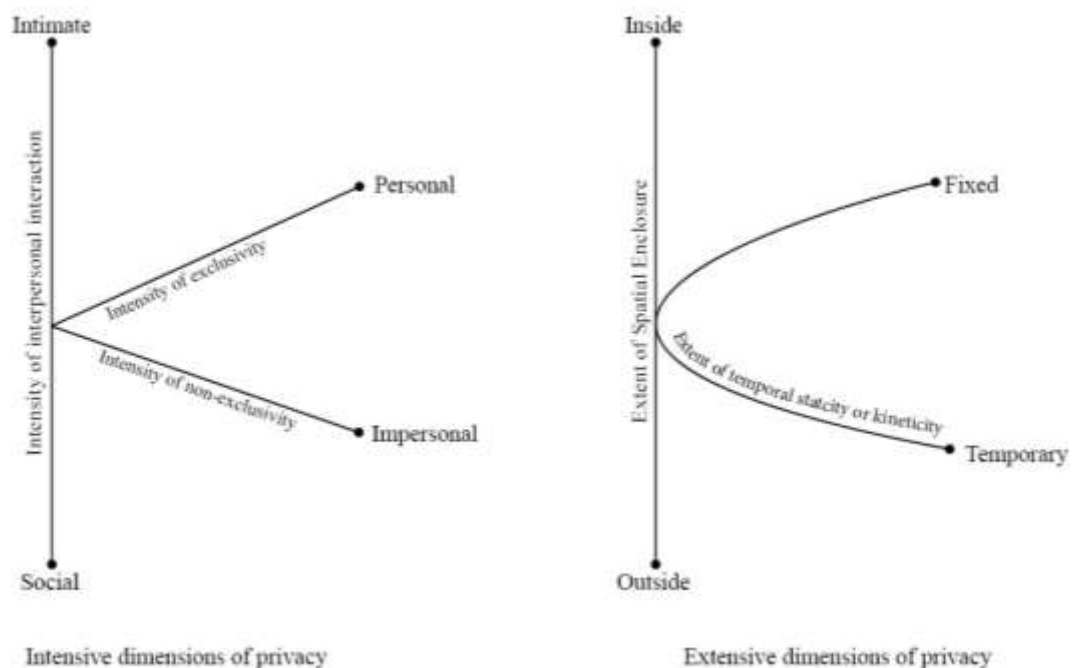


Figure 4. 7 The Intensive and Extensive dimensions of territorial looseness and tightness of informal privacies. Drawn by Author.

These boundaries cannot be reduced to spatially demarcated walls and fences but have to take into account the repertoire of ways through which boundaries are established, transgressed, and redrawn within everyday practices of appropriation (Shafique, 2022; Boccagni & Brighenti, 2017)). Therefore the looseness and tightness of territory

has to be examined across both intensive and extensive dimensions of how privacy is spatially territorialized in everyday urban space (Figure 4.7). Where the intensive dimension constitutes the degree of interpersonal interaction as well as movement along lines of exclusivity or non-exclusivity, the extensive dimensions of privacy comprise of the degree of spatial enclosure as well as the degree of its temporal stability. Focusing on the everyday urban informality observed during the fieldwork in these five sites (Figure 4.1-4.5) the next seven sections highlights both the morphological aspects of such territorial looseness and tightness as well as the appropriative practices involved in their production.

4.4.1. Attachment and Detachment

The public-private interface of the indigenous urban fabric was not strictly defined, as discussed in Chapter 3, through the institution of municipal regulation and modern planning, which sought physical disciplining of the public space by getting rid of any excesses of privacy. This division is made possible through building regulation bylaws, which enforce building setbacks, heights, and covered areas, as well as the middle-class etiquette of cleanliness, safety, and private property. Unlike the geometric layout of well-demarcated boundaries and planned construction of formal built infrastructure, the everyday appropriations occur in relation to an already existing territorial configuration. They occur as a process of additions to an existing territory (a house, shop, or street), as well as acts of separation from the other territories. Consider Figure 4.8, which shows two instances of improvisation. In the first case (Figure 4.8a), the leftover area between the road curb and the building line of the house has been appropriated with a fence to increase the internal compound space of the house; at the same time, the fence also acts as a wall separating the street from the improvised zone.

Therefore, on the one hand, the expansion through taking over is an instance of attaching to an already established territory; on the other, it is also a move towards detaching this zone from the rest, i.e. (street). In the other case (Figure 4.8bt), the same curb is appropriated by a vegetable vendor to set up his stall, which is physically connected to the front wall of the house. However, the physical connection, in this case, does not result in attaching, i.e., enhancing the boundaries of the house in any

way, but instead is only limited to physical connection, whereas the appropriated space of the vegetable stall is attached to the street, turning it into a pocket of loosening of the spatial boundaries of the street rather than the house. In both cases, the staticity of the nominal public-private interface is interrupted; however, in one case, the attachment is oriented inwards and is a stabilization of the privacy inside; on the other, the attachment is outwards, which disrupts the clean articulation of inside and outside.



Figure 4. 8 Two instances of street level appropriation in Samanabad with varying attachment and detachment.

However, these improvisations are not always inwards or outwards-oriented one-way instances of attaching or detaching but can occur in a mixture. Figure 4.9 shows two typical streets in Kanal Park Gulberg, where the set forwards and set above on the street result in an appropriation of thresholds that operate as two-way attachments of linking the outside street life with the inside. The steps on the street level and slab extensions above, even though legally speaking, are physical encroachment, can be read as two-way instances of attaching, which also allow chance encounters.

Meanwhile, there are also loosely attached components that serve to define the territorial boundaries, such as vehicular parking (Figure 4.9a), and other objects, such as vending displays, signage, and containers (Figure 4.9b), which demarcate the loose physical limits of such informal appropriation, constituting a certain level of privacy without establishing a clear spatial inside or outside.



Figure 4. 9 Attachments and thresholds in Kanal Park, Gulberg.

Replacing encroachment with the degrees of attachment and detachment to an established zone enables a closer understanding of the physical configuration as relatively determined boundaries spread across a gradient within which slippages may occur rather than stand-alone encroachments of property lines. Dovey & Polakiti (2013, p. 179) characterize this flexibility afforded to an informal territory as a "looseness of form," which allows a movement of parts and meanings. This quality of looseness helps explain appropriations as both attached and detached. However, it also requires a shift from boundaries as delineated to concentrations. The following section explores this further.

4.4.2. Distributed and Discrete

The articulation of territories through improvisation is not limited to fixed parts, such as the construction of fences, thresholds, or slab extensions, but relies on also relies on loose parts, such as storage of furniture, clothing, parking, etc. (Kamalipour, 2023, p. 17). This can be seen as a regular occurrence in the everyday urban practice of Lahore, where the street outside is often appropriated into a concentrations of parts. Figure 4.10 exemplifies two such conditions. The first condition (figure 4.10a) shows a group

of street vendors who have occupied open street space for setting up of stalls. Instead of acting as extensions for a shop or dwelling, these stalls are arranged without any wall or fence separating one stall from the other or from the flow of pedestrian and vehicular movement. Each stall acts as a physical assembly of objects organized around a node, which are configured into an overall cluster formation of these assemblies, where each sub-territory is marked through loosely attached objects.

Characterizing similar physical borders, another configuration (Figure 4.10b) is highlighted in Samanabad, where a non-consolidated pavement dwelling was set up by a family of waste pickers next to the fence of the central ground. Between the road and the fence, this dwelling uses the already built infrastructure, as well as the tree line foliage, for the assembly of basic household items, which also serve as the spatial boundaries, as well as the elements contained within it.

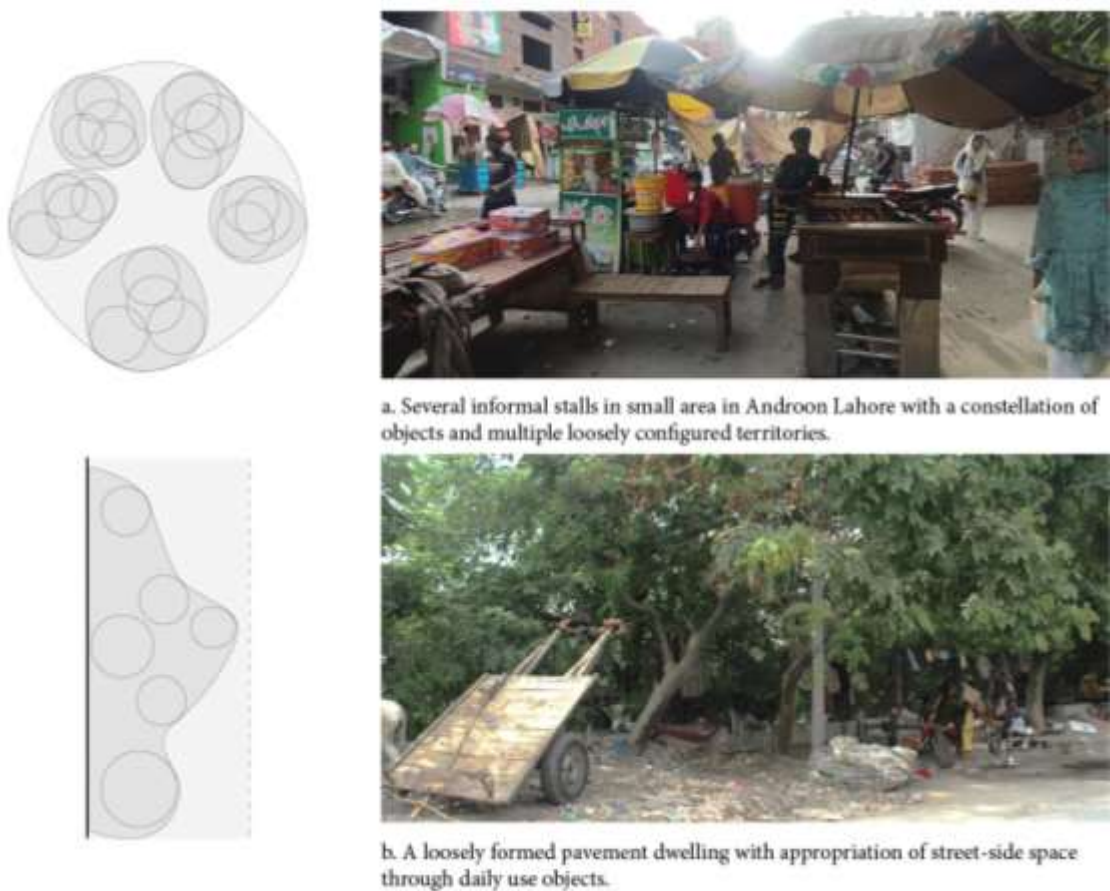


Figure 4. 10 Two instances of territorial distributions via discrete informal appropriation.

Both of these examples shared above show how privacies may be generated through appropriation without any preceding claim to territory and the erection of borders through a simple arrangement of discrete objects attached through patterns of practice.

However, the same arrangements could also be utilized to intensify the claim to an existing territory. Figure 4.11 shows a street in the worker's settlement (Lal Quarters) in Model Town in which the loose objects, like stairs, bikes, and clothline, serve as an outward expansion of each dwelling, which also attaches the out-door to indoor; however (collectively), these individual objects also define the overall territorialization of the street by the residents of the quarter. Therefore, the overall assembly of these distributed attachments, bounded by established private territories on both ends, shapes a shared territorialization of outdoor space that is unique to the appropriation of the dwellers.

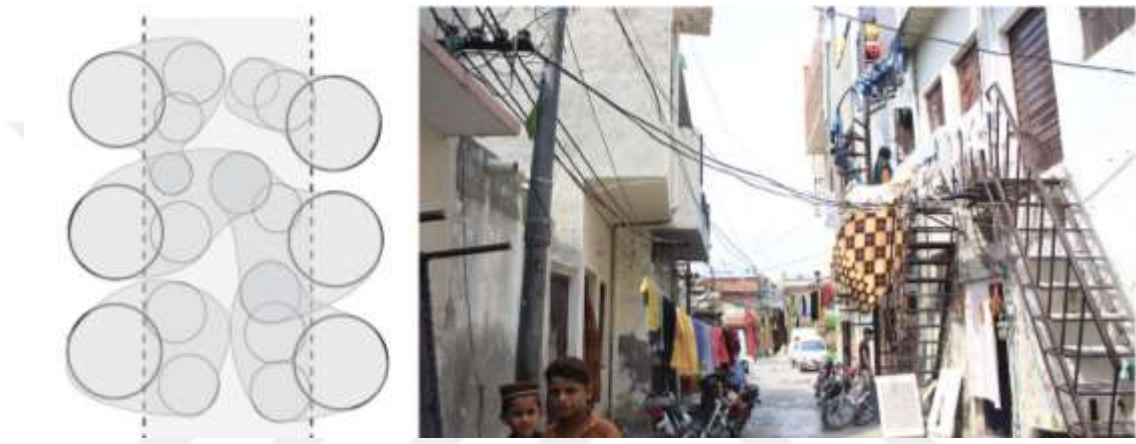


Figure 4. 11 Shared appropriation of outside space by multiple extensions of distributed territories in Lal Quarter Settlement in Model Town.

Nevertheless, during fieldwork, there were also conditions where the overall territory was spread across more than one sequence of open and enclosed spaces with defined spatial boundaries yet dispersed across more than one territorial zone, with each holding its own assemblies of loose and fixed assemblies. Pointing to the various ways physically disparate zones are connected through spaces of circulation, Pramita (2022) argues that territorialization can also occur through stretching of one's boundaries beyond the immediate through patterns of sharing and dispersal of territories. Thus, instead of boundaries as concentrations of immediate objects within one defined space, she suggests these territories can be distributed across space.

As shown in Figure 4.12, the residential compound in Kali Beri Bazar in Androon Lahore is a key example of such distributed boundaries. The compound consisted of two open courtyards (Figure 4.12c and 4.12d), accessible by a single entry from the main street (4.12b) and eleven dwellings connected via a single passage, where – even though each dwelling belongs to dwelling families – the open spaces were shared by

Discreteness and distribution, therefore, are a matter of scale through which the extensive boundaries and intensive boundaries of a territory are observed. Physical borders of spatial appropriations characterized by an uncertain center and multiple loosely attached elements are more distributed, whereas one with a fixed center and tightly attached elements is more discrete. However, distributedness and discreteness are not limited to the material articulation of the territorial boundaries, but also the temporal and functional dimension of informal appropriation, which is a crucial part of everyday practice.

4.4.3. Intended and Unintended Production

The hegemony of abstract space is not only limited to the production of space as physically segmented but also how the processes of subdivisions and parcellization subsume the rhythms of everyday life and alienation of the lived, through the strategies of producing material (perceived) and institutional (conceived) spaces (Kipfer, 2008, p. 200). Land use planning is central to the production of abstract space, as, without it, the social and economic reproduction of hegemony is rendered impossible in everyday lives. Abstract space controls the transformation of space by laying out prohibitive restrictions on the productive consumption of urban space, which is deemed a threat to the socio-spatial order (Leary-Owhin, 2016). Ghertner (2015, p. 3) discusses that land use is also necessary for keeping an aesthetic order guided by the planning-based codes of appearance and functional division of land.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the historical development of urban morphology has moved from intermixed spatial usage (Androon Lahore) to a strict standardization of use through colonial and post-colonial administrative regulation, which not only results in use-based segmentation but also restricts personal and productive use of space to the territories of legal ownership. The right to the city, therefore, also encapsulates the appropriative transformation of space through collective use (Butler, 2020). The studies of informal settlements highlight the multiple creative ways outdoor space is utilized for personal and collective practices of livelihood and socialization (Kamalipour, 2023; Dovey & Polakit, 2013; Paramita, 2022). The two aspects these studies place stress on, are the multiplicity of functional appropriations

and the spatio-temporal flexibility (looseness) of appropriative territorializations. Due to their interrelation, these studies of informal improvisation view practice and utility as intertwined processes of territory-making; however, this interrelationship can itself serve as a basis for distinguishing among appropriations for use.



a. A shop in the standardized commercial shop of DHA, with both impersonal and personal territorialization.



b. Personal territorialization by an informal vendor in Samanabad, with his impermanent road-side stall.



c. A loosely assembled food stall in Androon Lahore, while more distributed on the edges when unoccupied (left) becomes more discrete once occupied (right).

Figure 4. 13 Intended and unintended appropriation of space in everyday practice.

Here, it is important to distinguish between different vantage points through which space and use are interrelated. Karrholm (2007) distinguishes between the intended production of territories and the production of territories through the use of the two dimensions of personal and impersonal control. He suggests that the usage could be predefined externally through impersonal strategies, such as land use and zoning, whereas territorial tactics are how spaces are knowingly improvised by a person or group as part of their everyday lives (Figure 4.9, 4.10). On the other hand, Karrholm (2007) argues territories can also be produced in unintended ways, either by way of association, i.e., an area comes to be identified with particular usage by others (i.e., an informal settlement can also be associated with cheaper markets), or by way of appropriation, i.e., defined through the everyday practices by the persons or groups belonging to that territory.

However, while this distinction between intended and unintended territorialization of space is helpful in differentiating between territory as a codified spatial container for the strategic practice of everydayness and territorial practice as a tactical use-based definition of space, it also highlights the territorializing potential of spatial practice characterized by the immediacy of the rhythms of daily life. Consider Figure 4.13; the upper two images (4.13a & 4.13b) show two differently territorialized spaces: one is a shop in the planned Commercial Market in DHA, and the other is an informal temporary food stall in Samanabad. In the first image (4.13a) most of the physical extents of the shop are predefined (i.e. impersonal coded), and are only brought into a territorial configuration for an intended use through further personal coding by additions of attachments such as the signage, table, and chairs. In the second image (4.13b), however, while the road embankment and tree line precede their territorialization into the space of the food stall by way of attachment, there is no prior impersonal coding for an intended use; on the other hand, the existing regulations are violated (decoded) for the improvisation of the stall as a distributed territorial assembly.

While one is strategic (Figure 4.13a) and the other tactical (Figure 4.13b), in both cases, the discrete elements of the territory are pre-coded into physical distribution for the intended use, which may vary from permanent to temporary. However, a focus on

the intention does not encompass the ways in which the territories are coded through spatial practice. In the images of a food kiosk in a dense junction of Androon Lahore provided below (Figure 4.13c), space is itself enlivened within practice defined by simultaneity and instantaneous assembly of components, both: material and animated. In this case, the territorial extents are defined less by the discrete physical objects over which the kiosk is distributed but more by the rhythmic movement of the vendor, customers as well as the pedestrian and vehicular traffic through which they are drawn into an attachment and dethatched from the surroundings to define the discreteness of the overall assembly. Thus, in addition to intension, which constitutes the coding of a territorial assembly, practice is also a territorializing movement of drawing the extensive distributed configuration into a territory. It can be induced that practice is an animated component of territorial assembly in addition to the physical objects, crucial to the processual constitution of the spatial territory (Schwarz & Streule, 2022).

4.4.4. Embodied Practice

Butler (2020, p. 457) argues that the crucial argument of Lefebvre is that, whereas abstract space is produced by technologies and practices that prioritize domination of nature and body, creating differential space involves restoring the relationship between the body, seen as a deployment of energy, and its own space. Sharp (2009, p.64) links colonial control over bodies and bodily imagination with the abstract space which necessitates the creation of 'abstract bodies'—individuals who are compliant, efficient, disciplined, rationalized, normalized, and sexually controlled. Essentially, these bodies are seen as economic assets to be maximized for their utility and safeguarded for optimal performance. The embodied space of everyday life (spatial practice) is where space is intimately bound to the sensuous quality and physiological rhythms of the body, despite the homogenizing process of systematization and bureaucratic domination (Gardiner, 2000, pp. 96-7). Where Lefebvre, paves way for a possibility for differential space through embodied appropriation to “produce differences unconsciously out of repetition – out of gestures (linear) or out of rhythms” (1991, pp. 395-96), it also opens up a window into how interiorized forms governmental strategies for disciplining of bodies might also be resisted through bodily appropriation.

In the everyday lived experience, space is continuously appropriated for meeting the basic needs of survival by a class of dispossessed lacking access to shelter or the normalized notions of privacy. The city infrastructure, such as parks, walkways, undersides of bridges, and green spaces, serve as their zones of inhabitation. From outdoor bathing (4.14a), temporary occupation of green spaces (4.14b) and footpaths for sleeping, as well as setting up of bare minimum shelter (4.14c), and temporary occupations to fulfill the basic needs of living which defy the standardized patterns of consumption (4.14d), they appropriate the urban space through practices of bodily transgressions which defy the bio-social conduct defining the discipline of the modern urban environment. While these practices loosen the space, they also produce amorphous territories of loosely attached and highly distributed appropriations, which can neither be drawn into consistent borders nor be ignored in their constitution of very visible privacies of bodily practice.



a. Two men taking a bath at an open water tap installation, next to a public park in Androon Lahore.



b. The arcade of Gulberg Main Market is appropriated for sleeping by the dispossessed men and women after the shops are closed.



c. Footpath in Model Town Lahore, is temporarily appropriated into an impermanent pavement dwelling.



d. Road-side appropriation by a food vendor converting the open space by temporary bodily occupation in Androon Lahore.

Figure 4. 14 Instances of bodily Appropriation by temporary occupation.

These amorphous territories do not amount to any permanent physical establishment of territory through their bodily presence and creative appropriation of urban space for personal use; however, in their invasive exposure of privacy, they complicate the spatial divisions imposed by planners and city authorities. Through exposure to the practice of living only deemed proper for the stabilized privacy of home, they disfigure the binary segmentations of public-private. While they do not trespass the legal, they constitute detached and discrete micro-territories of insurgent privacies produced in instances of appropriative use, where the basic claim to space is defined by one's body. While these appropriations were most prevalent in the open spaces of Androon Lahore, in the middle-class settlements like Model Town, Gulberg, and Samanabad, such micro-territories were observed primarily in the commercial areas, where public visibility is at its highest; however, none of such appropriations for bare subsistence were witnessed in DHA.

One of the shop owners in Gulberg Main Market, when asked why there were so many people sleeping in that area at night, responded, *"This was not the case ten years ago, but now you can find homeless all over Lahore. No one bothers them here, and they don't bother anyone; this is a marketplace, sometimes people give charity and even arrange for food"* (R1). This response shows the general acceptability of such bodily appropriation among the legal shop-owners who themselves encroach the outdoor space (as explained in the section ahead) unbothered by their presence. However, it also highlights the tactical nature of such appropriations which occur in a busy market place rather than in a residential area where the visibility will be much lesser. These embodied privacies cannot be confused with the idea of personal space as the psycho-spatial territory of every individual, as highlighted by Madanipour (2003, p. 19). In contrast, these privacies are intertwined with bodily practices which contradict the normativising dispositions of bodily conduct, and lie in tension with the colonial/modern notions of public space seeking a selective erasure of bodies and embodied modes of spatial appropriation.

Beyond survival, the embodied appropriations of space also serve as a mode of achieving livelihood for many as they improvise open space to establish territorialization of minimum assemblies of labor in the form of temporary, ad-hoc, and recurring presence of bodies, as indicated in Figure 4.15. While driven by

necessity, these appropriations are agential tactics of becoming seen not for any long-lasting goals but for subsistence. In doing that, they also expose the tensions of social inequality through invoking the inversion, Bayat (2012) has characterized as the “city inside-out.”



A shoe repair vendor in Model Town Lahore has appropriated the boundary wall of a school for personal use (Left). A barber has established a minimum territorial assembly for an inside-out shop with an awning, chair, mirror, and himself in Androon Lahore (Center). In Charar Pind (DHA) a street curb is appropriated by various men offering construction labor, waiting to be employed for a day's wage (Right).

Figure 4. 15 Instances of loosening through bodily appropriation for livelihood oriented practices.

4.4.5. Practices of Performativity

Where the logic of necessity is an important driver for the appropriation of space, the urban fabric for a city like Lahore is also replete with the intended and unintended production of informal territorialization through the performative appropriation of space. Rather than the need for basic subsistence, this everyday performance of territorialization is sustained through the staging of a visuospatial counter spectacle similar to Mehrotra's (2008) theorization of the over-layering of a kinetic city. The shop owners, street vendors, as well as hawkers regularly indulge in practices of spreading their territorial boundaries through outward attachments in the form of loose objects (first of all) to claim more space, (second) to become legible for customers and buyers.

In the traditional bazaar of Androon Lahore (Fig. 4.16a), the boundaries of the fixed-built infrastructure are rendered completely illegible at the street level through the intended arrangement of loose elements into the legible distributions of optical displays constituting an inverted spatial out-side characterized by concentration of physical objects. The distribution, in this case, becomes both a mode of adjustment of

territorial boundaries as well as a performance to attain legibility in the overall dense surroundings. However, in the case of the privatized commercial market of DHA (Figure. 4.16b), boundaries are pre-given, and territorial distributions are restricted to a staticity inside private space of the arcade. As discussed in Chapter 3, the arcade is also an architectural tool applied by modernist development planning to create modern commercial zones with clear public and private zones. However, the tension between the performative territorialization and static configuration of official boundaries also animates the shades of informal appropriation in Lahore.



a. A typical informal Bazar in Androon Lahore with maximized outwards extension of shops with their performative display of objects.



b. A formal Commercial Market in DHA with contained territorial arrangements into pre-demarcated boundaries and legibility restricted to the standardized visual signage.

Figure 4. 16 Performative distributions in Androon Lahore Bazar vs Formal Legibility in DHA Commercial Market.

The LDA bylaws restrict commercial activity in the declared residential zones; however, in many of the denser localities of smaller plot subdivisions in Gulberg and Samanabad, property owners commonly convert the ground floors into shops (Figure. 4.16a & 4.16b). Bypassing the legal restrictions, the shop owners occupy the outdoor space for personal use; in most cases, the outdoor utilized space was equal to the width of the shop abutting the street, without overlapping with the spread of the

adjacent shop. As shown in the images (Figure 4.17c), rather than permanent expansions, loose attachments (like awnings and moveable stations) are tactically assembled to gain maximum legibility while at the same time ensuring their withdrawal in case of a municipal cleaning drive or bad weather. The owner (R2) of the restaurant in the image stated that people like to see what they are eating, which is why he cooks out on the street in front of everyone. While cooking became part of the performative distribution of the shop and therefore required an open presence on the street, the washing was tactically tucked away into a corner with minimum visibility (Figure 4.17d).

When asked whether the municipality caused any problems with using the outdoor space, the owner (R2) responded, "We pay our electricity bill, and we keep our area clean. The municipality had fined a few shops for encroachment on the main road, but no one has come to this bazaar." Thus, where there was a tacit realization of the violation of municipal codes, the shop owners also enjoyed freedom due to their location not being under direct LDA surveillance. In the more duly surveilled areas like Model Town, such performative improvisations only became legible during the night, with the restaurant owners converting the outdoor footpath and street into dining areas with moveable furniture past sunset (Figure 4.17e & 4.17f). Where the arrangement of physical attachments as well as the practice of cooking become a visual and spatial spectacle of attraction, such performative practices of territorialization are made possible by both an intended occupation of public space for entrepreneurial use and the appearance of a temporary improvisation.



a. A shop owner in Samanabad improvises street for temporary territorialization for visual display



b. A shop owner in Kanal Park Gulberg has rented out immediate outdoor space to a vendor.



c. A local restaurant in Kanal Park Gulberg has appropriated the street for performative practice of cooking.



d. A building plinth is used by the two shop owners simultaneously for appropriative use.



e. A local restaurant in Model Town has improvised a portion of road to setup outdoor dining during the night.



f. Moveable furniture is set up by a restaurant improvising the front entrance of a school after the closing-hours

Figure 4. 17 Improvisation of outdoor space through performative practices of appropriative use.

However, territorial legibility is also a commodity in these urban configurations and an object of exchange among individuals. The shop-owners, who in some cases also own the building, rent out the space of the public street right outside their property to vendors to set up stalls on rates relative to the traffic and degree of visibility of the

location. For example, the vendor at the milkshake stall (Figure. 4.17b) did not own the immediate property to which his stall was attached and was paying monthly rent and utilities to the owner in order to utilize the outdoor space for the establishment of a non-permanent territorial configuration. While these improvisations, in their foregrounding of the temporary and the performative appropriation of the space, challenge the standardized notions of public/private and legal/illegal, they also become opportunistic zones of profit-making. At the same time, these densities of loose attachments, which are improvised through performative practices of visuospatial appropriation, also highlight an affective dimension to the right to the city (Leary-Owhin, 2016) expressed through their playful tactics to attain prominence and legibility. Dovey and Polak (2013, 176) highlight how such appropriative practices engender territorial slippages between legal and illegal come into contact with the tacit claims of vendors over the right to appropriate. They suggest that these practices also imprint a dynamicity onto the rigid urban forms, resulting in supple segmentarity between the public and private whose boundaries rely more on the intensity of performative distribution of territorial configuration than the physical division between territories.

4.4.6. Practices of Adjusting

In contrast to the appropriative territorialization for legibility, made possible through an intended foregrounding of practice as optical, spontaneous, dynamic, and versatile territories of income generation, informal improvisations also occur through modalities that neither seek legibility nor are they performative. On the other hand, these territories are achieved by claiming space through what Rao (2014, p. 45) has regarded as the continuing "practices of adjusting" as material ways of accommodating livability in the face of unpredictable socio-spatial densities of everyday urban lives. Even though most informal improvisations occur through processes of legal and social adjustment, the practices of adjusting are concerned with the territorialization of space, which is intended to achieve stabilization and longevity through the appropriative use of space. In Lahore, such adjustments are visible in the incremental upgrades and modifications through room-by-room additions and subdivisions of houses to meet the needs of the expanding family, as the



Incremental accretion of room have been made to a house Androon Lahore as adjustment of dwelling sapce (Left). A door threshold to a house in Kanai Park Gulberg, has been adapted to personalized needs of physical and visual access between outdoor and indoor space (Center). The outdoor street is turned is modified through of domestic chores as an adjsutment of congested indoor space in Lal Quarters Settlement, Model Town (Right).

Figure 4. 18 Informal everyday territorial improvisation through practices of adjusting.



a. Interior Domestic Space of a Model Town Bungalow with Manicured Private Lawn (Left), Furnished indoor drawing room with a window oversseing the Lawn (Center), and properly equiped service space of a kitchen with an adjoining grease kitchen for cooking (right).



b. Images showing typical informal additions to the domestic space of Middle Class Houses. In Samanabad a house owner has occupied the outdoor building line setback through fencing making it part of the indoor garage space (Left); In Model Town side-setbacks have been consumed through informal additions to the service areas such as kitchen and laundry (Center); In DHA a house-owner has informally turned stair railing into a fence wall to prevent viewability of domestic space from the street (Right).

Figure 4. 19 Enframed Domestic space of a Bungalow and adjusting modifications.

number of members increase with time. The house shown in Figure 4.18 (left) is an example of such incremental construction in Androon Lahore, where each floor was added over a period of thirty years, according to the local resident (R3). However, beyond spatial expansion, adjusting also occurs in the small incremental acts of making room through appropriative use, as ways of managing domesticity between inside and outside. These can vary from simple configurations of threshold which allow visual and physical penetration of the domestic space (center), to the transgressive territorialization of the outdoors through spilling over of the household objects and domestic routines (right).

The domestic space for an ideal upper middle-class bungalow in areas like Model Town (Figure. 4.19a), with its manicured lawns, furnished interiors, and proper placement of things, is characterized by an appearance of lack of such adjustment. This appearance is achieved through its rigid segmentations of domestic space into compartments of privacy, highlighted as domestic enframing in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Throughout the fieldwork, numerous instances of informal appropriation of domestic space were observed, both intended and unintended, which differs from an ideal constitution of domestic space as a private homogenous interior. Compared to that, adjustments vary in the middle-income to upper-middle income middle-class areas. In upper-income areas of Model Town and DHA, adjustments to the spatial layout of the existing domestic territories are made through impermanent additions to enclose the setbacks, which are appropriated to accommodate extra usage, such as the addition of a dirty kitchen, storage, or rooms for the house staff. These additions, however are built out of reusable materials like sheet metal and fiberglass to achieve an appearance of loose additions to avoid notices of violation (Figure 4.19b). Unlike incremental use-based appropriations, such adjustments occur as intended modification of private property for personal use as inwardly oriented attachments.

In pockets of lower-middle class mixed settlements with minimal municipal oversight, like Kanal Park in Gulberg, owners modify their dwellings by the informal addition of floors, which are set forward to accommodate the expanding joint families as well as renting purposes (Figure 4.20a). The electricity and water connections are usually redistributed through the installation of sub-meters. The interior private space is also



a. A typical street showing overtime vertical addition of 3 to 4 floors per dwelling with set forwards and set aboves protruding onto the street for maximization of slab footprint.



b. The street has been appropriated for temporary extension of domestic territory after a death in one of the houses.



c. The interior space of a house showing several acts of adjustments of domestic space. in a joint-family dwelling The densely fitted room used for sleeping also serves as a drawing room as well as a television lounge (right); the courtyard is used for both stroing of objects as well as a space for domestic chores which are concealed from the guest's view using temporary cutrain partitions (center); the above floor occupied by the other family is partially constructed with several incremental additions.

Figure 4. 20 Improvisational domestic adjustments in the lower to middle-income settlement of Kanak Park, Gulberg.



A partially completed house constructed on a subdivided plot has converted a portion of groundfloor into rental shops (Left); The outdoor space is modified into a parking shed by a house-owner (Center); A house building is used as a primary school for children during the daytime, while residents continue to reside on the upper floor (Right).

Figure 4. 21 Modification of house and outdoor space through informal adjustments in Samanabad.

subject to continuous adjustments, where the usage of the rooms may change as needed. The bedrooms are also used to receive guests, kitchens also serve as storage spaces, and curtains are utilized to draw temporary partitions when needed (Figure 4.20c). On significant events like weddings or funerals in the family, the outdoor space is temporarily appropriated as short-lived extensions of the domestic space utilizing tent enclosures (Figure 4.20b). Similarly, in the case of middle-income localities like Samanabad, not only are setbacks consumed through incremental phase-wise modifications of the building property, but the outdoor spaces are also adapted to adjust the spatial needs of the household in the form of partially enclosed parking sheds (Figure 4.21).



A house in Samanabad is informally converted into a commercial office space utilizing glazing and glazed tile work (Left); An informal rental apartment building in Kanal Park, Gulberg with monolithic facade-uplift by a local developer (Center); A developer constructed house in Samanabad with ornamental facade-work and tinted glass aluminium windows.

Figure 4. 22 Gentrification through improvisational improvement by re-building and facade-uplifts in Samanabad.

However, where adjustments occur as informal modifications of space for personal use, governmental oversight has also led to gentrification activities. Small-scale developers renovate the old residential buildings into new edifices with the application of glazed tiles with pattern-work and aluminum frame tinted glass windows, as aesthetic upgradation compatible with the market trends (Figure 4.22). These modifications tend to erase the spatial adjustments made to these dwellings over the years and replace them with renewed rigid segmentation of exclusive insides and outsides. This state of affairs was lamented by a local resident of Samanabad, ac-

cording to whom “*most of the original residents have left here and settled in the new gated societies. Now property dealers rule around here. They have turned this place into a jungle. As you can see, there are five-story buildings here now, which is against the LDA rules, but no one cares because everyone is making a profit from it*” (R4). In contrast to the practices of incremental adjustment, which are not primarily motivated by seeking legibility but by the need to manage the components that constitute the domestic territory, such speculative practices of gentrification attempt to achieve legibility by appearing distinct from the territories characterized by adjustments.



a. Instance of attachment between shared outdoor and indoor domestic spaces where courtyards are used as shared assets for performing daily domestic chores (Left and Center), and indoor space (Right) is also incrementally attuned through customization for everyday needs.



b. Outdoor practices of Child-rearing in the shared residential compound where courtyards are appropriated into play-fields for children (left), doors are left open for keeping and eye on the free movement of children between inside and outside (center), and inner galis are used as outdoor zones of safe enclosures attached to the indoor domestic space via activities of children (right).

Figure 4. 23 Shared adjustments of Domestic space in Kali Beri Bazar Residential Compound, Androon Lahore.

In the incrementally constructed mixed residential areas of Androon Lahore (such as Kali Beri bazar), the domestic space is neither homogenous nor confined to an interiorized space of the house but subject to continuous adjustments. As Figure 4.23a shows, the shared outdoor space of passages, courtyards, and roof terraces act as important zones for conducting domestic routines for daily cooking, washing, and drying of clothes. The interior space of dwellings, in this case, were overwhelmed with fixed and moveable furniture, which were regularly brought in and out of the dwelling for the performance of the basic domestic tasks. Moreover, outdoor space is

not only territorialized through such tasks and inanimate objects but also serves as crucial domestic territory for raising children. The streets and courtyards outside the dwelling are turned into playfields by the children and convivial zones for mothers who also put in the labor to keep the open areas, such as passages and courtyards, clean for such use (Figure 4.23b). A resident of the shared dwelling compound in Kali Beri Bazar stressed that "this area is never empty, it is always filled with liveliness (Urdu: ronaq); even if you come at 10 pm the night, you will find children playing here"(R3). Territorialization occurs through intended adjustments of appropriative domestic overflows among different stakeholders. Unlike the discourses of modern planning which inscribe domesticity within the boundaries of private, rendering it invisible from public gaze, domesticity is subject to a continuous task of bit by bit adjustments throughout these shared distribution of territory.

Practices of adjusting are not limited to a single territory or class but occur through intended or unintended changes to the territorial arrangement for personal use. From inward and exclusive additions to private domestic space, which detach inside from outside, to the distributed attachments of outside and inside through processes of sharing, these informal adjustments can vary in degree, and kind. While some reproduce the rigid segmentations of public and private by ceasing overflows of the domesticity, others involve a careful navigation between inflows and outflows, in forms of adjustment of distribution of physical objects, activities, and people constituting the boundaries of domestic territory. Although the latter encompasses shared tactics to fulfill immediate needs based on passive networks, they can also serve as a basis for coalitions and active organization among members.

4.4.7. Practices of Collectivity

According to Lefebvre, the hegemony of abstract space can only be contradicted through an organized struggle for territorial self-management achieved through a collective and creative appropriation of space for its use-value, or autogestation (1991, p. 383). Such spaces of maximal difference are also characterized by a collective social life, distinct from individual and private life (Huchzermeyer, 2020). The collective here implies both a form of social life undergirded by shared control of

space for mutual use as well as a collaborative mobilization for its achievement (Wilson, 2013). Bayat (2012), on the other hand, points at a different form of differential politics, which—instead of relying on coordinated mobilization among individuals for spatial control— are engendered on the basis of “the collective actions of non-collective actors, described by the shared practices of a large number of fragmented people” which are not guided by a single ideology or organization –what he describes as “unassuming non-movements” (p.121).

While both forms of collectivity point at a consequential deterritorialization of hegemonic space through intervention in its logic of reproduction, they can be distinguished using Karrholm's (2007) notion of intended and unintended. Where Lefebvre's notion of collective appropriation is an intended production of collective territory by a group, Bayat's idea of non-movement argues for its unintended realization as a consequence of disconnected (yet not isolated) territorializing practices through which people make changes in their own lives.

There is an important distinction to be made here between the collective practices, as a social organization for a unified territorial goal, and the collective acts of unorganized territorialization, characterized by a distinct social life. However, latent in both definitions is some gathering, planned or unplanned, mobilized or immobilized, of people or individual acts into collectivity, which requires attention to how instances of appropriative gathering are intertwined with the practices of collective territorialization.



a. A shop tharra (plinth) is appropriated into zones of collecting through holding of small conversational meetings in Androon Lahore.



b. In the Mandir Market area of Model Town, a chai kiosk turns into a space for collecting and discussion through temporary appropriation of outdoor space.

Figure 4. 24 Ephemeral Outdoor Gatherings for Socialization.

While conducting the fieldwork, the most common practices of gathering were noticed in the form of roadside appropriation of streets and sidewalks for socialization. In Androon Lahore, the extended plinths (tharra) of shops held small conversational gatherings among neighboring shopkeepers or the residents of the mohalla (Figure 4.24a). Similarly, on the road outside of the squatter settlement in G-Block Model Town, the tea stall owners appropriate the setbacks as well as the portion of the vehicular road with plastic furniture, which became sites for lively social gatherings among men (Figure 4.24b). These instances of gathering are appropriative in several aspects. Unlike the interior spaces of drawing rooms, which serve as public zones of a private middle-class household, these outdoor gatherings make possible a certain level of personalization of the outdoor space by the embodied ways of interpersonal interaction, defying the behavioral codes of middleclassness. Instead of serving a particular purpose or a productive agenda, these spontaneous gatherings are characterized by the recreational practice of idleness among members. Sometimes shopkeepers or rickshaw drivers would gather at a single spot to hold conversations and pass time while waiting for the customers. However, these temporary yet recurring daily practices of outdoor gatherings also serve as zones for sharing information and holding chats on topics ranging from neighborhood-level infrastructural needs to economic conditions, as well as expressing political and ideological views.



Performative Gatherings on Eid Milad in Gulberg Main Market where several Galis are collectively decorated by the resident for the religious occasion, which involve temporary occupations partially open to outsiders.

Figure 4. 25 Collective appropriation for Eid Milad in Kanal Park, Gulberg and Samanabad.

While the everyday practices of socialization (as described above) result in unintended production of territories through largely under-the-radar appropriative use, there are also intended production of gathering, which require active coordination and collective practices of performative legibility. Such gatherings occur in annual cycles of religious festivities (such as Eid Milad³²) where streets, parks, and sidewalks are collectively appropriated by ornamentations, decorative stalls, free food kiosks, and temporary pavilions that occupy the public space (Figure 4.25). These appropriations are managed both at the individual level of the household as well as at the neighborhood level through the collective pooling of resources, which also turn into spectacular competitions for best decoration and best food, serving as a domain of mutual witnessing. One of the residents in these appropriated streets of Kanal Park Gulberg said, "This is one day in the year when this gali (street) is this bright and full of joy. The children and adults devoted do all this decoration; they start collecting money two months before this day" (R5). Not only is the public space temporarily occupied in making these performative territories, but the electricity for the lighting was made possible through direct connection with the supply lines, circumventing the meter connections.

The decorations and practices serve to attach the private households into distributed territories of a performative street form. Shows of personal wealth and displays of opulence are also common in such distributed territories; however, overall, within the lower middle-class areas like Kanal Park, such displays result in legibility seeking territorialization, which renders their social life legible in such practices of gathering. When considered alongside the minimal space of interaction mentioned earlier, these appropriative practices, though not rooted in active resistance against the state, physically and discursively transgress normative public space—legitimate spheres of reason and exchange. This transgression inadvertently creates ephemeral territories that foster a different social life and subcultures, leading to the creation of autonomous social spaces that assert dignity (Scott, 2008, p.198).

1. ³² Eid Milad is annual Muslim festival which is celebrated on the 12th Rabbiulawal (Islamic Month) to celebrate the birth of prophet.



a. Boundary wall separating the street



b. Shared green Space



c. Main entrance to the compound



A map showing the shared open spaces in the irregular settlement.



d. A shared Corridor turned into domestic space



e. A shared passage is used adjusted for domestic needs



f. Appropriation for outdoor space for mixed shared usage



f. A collectively installed Water purification plant by the inhabitants of the Lal Quarter Settlement

Figure 4. 26 Collective Adjustments and Organized Appropriation in Lal Quarter Settlement.

The appropriation through which collective forms of social life become manifest is not limited to temporary practices of embodied and performative gathering but can also occur in long-term collective practices of adjusting, exemplified in the Lal Quarters Settlement in Model Town (Figure 4.3). According to a resident, the settlement was primarily designed as a set of sixty residential quarters as part of the resettlement scheme in 1955 by the municipal government (R6). Over time, irregular squatting practices have resulted in irregular incremental growth in the area (Figure 4.26).

With the limited space in the quarters, the inhabitants utilize the outdoor spaces of corridors, terraces, and streets for shared everyday practices of domesticity. In some instances, the toilet and sinks were also shared by several families, therefore allowing the overall compound to act as a distributed territory filled with practices of adjustment among its participants. However, these adjustments were not devoid of the presence of an organized structure. When asked why was the open space in front of the compound (Figure 4.26b) not overtaken by the irregular growth, a local resident (R6) responded that there was an unofficial committee of residents who took important decisions collectively, such as keeping up of the shared garden, cleaning, as well as security of the community and “the residents do not let anyone encroach here because there is no other place for the children left to play if this green area was overtaken.” According to him, the municipality of Model Town Society was only responsible for providing electricity and water supply, and everything else was managed by the community members themselves. Lamenting the ineptness of the municipality, in meeting needs of the community he (R6) discussed: “we have been submitting applications for water filter plant to the society (Model Town Society) for past many months, but there was no response, so we collected money and installed a filter ourselves.”

Instead of individual adjustments to meet everyday individual and shared needs, the settlement was characterized by an organized social life of collective territorialization, which became manifest in its management and use of territorial assets. These practices of adjustment constitute both—as discussed by Bayat (1997)—a passive network among

people in the form of everyday social relations, as well as an active organized network to achieve immediate collective goals.

The three examples described above highlight practices of collectivity as an act of coming together as well as acting together in the everyday appropriation of space for socialization, cultural festivity, and economic necessity. While they differ in intensity as well as intention in their collective territorialization, these informal everyday practices of appropriation by the people embody what has been highlighted by Scott (2008, p.198) as—the low-profile resistance in the form of hidden transcripts of anger, and dissident subculture. Such practices of collectivity, grounded in alternate social relations, serve as important sources of difference in which public space is reclaimed by the social privacies in the creation of new spaces every day beyond the reach of capitalist urbanization.



Figure 4. 27 Strategies for Segregation and Territorial Control in middle-class areas.

However, where these practices of collectivity embody instances of collective sharing and foregrounding of social life for distributed territorialization, which serve to attach the public and private, there are also forms of intended production of collective discrete territories motivated by the aims of segregation and distinction. In the old established middle-class settlements like Samanabad, Gulberg, and Model Town, residents come-up with mutual strategies of securing their streets and neighborhoods by conjuring spatial controls which limit outsider access. As illustrated in Figure 4.27, collective informal strategies of territorial control manifest in three forms of everyday spatial improvisation. First, there is the erection of metal gates or barricades at terminal points to restrict access to a street or to a group of higher-end houses (4.27a).

Second, the informal construction of speed bumps not only regulates vehicular movement but also serves as territorial markers (4.27b). Third, residents establish informal checkpoints with security guards to monitor outdoor spaces and restrict entry (4.27c). Instead of being shaped by appropriative use, practices of adjusting such discrete boundaries are asserted as planned detachments, which restrict spontaneous practices of collectivity as described earlier.

4.5. Modes of Everyday Informal Transgression

The territorialization of space in everyday urban conditions of Lahore, as analyzed in these five sites, reveals how the quotidian informal practices of appropriation turn the everyday urban space into terrain for conflict and negotiation between different modes of territory-making. Where the formal processes of production are based on technical and ideological segmentation of the lived space, in everyday urban practice, these segmentations are constantly improvised into new territorial assemblies. Not only are new segmentations engendered, but the material and expressive coding through which public and private are divided into exclusive territories are also altered in the everyday informal improvisation. These alterations occur in the ways material and ideological territorial boundaries asserted by the formal processes of planning and cultural discourse are improvised in the everyday practices of spatial appropriation.

The empirical ways in which territories are constituted as processes of attachment/detachment, distributed/discrete, intended/unintended practices of embodied, legibility, adjusting and collectivity kinds, show how the spatial divisions between outside and inside, public and private, as well as common and exclusive, are subject to transgression in the everyday production of informal territories. These informal everyday territorializations differ in the degree of their transgression of the legal, physical, temporal, functional, and visual/optical boundaries attributes of the territorial segmentations, which constitute the formal spatial envelopes of the abstract space as elaborated ahead:

The question of *legality* is pertinent to the historical division of space as public and private property, which are also coded into planning regulations and construction bylaws implemented in colonial and post-colonial development of urban governance

in Lahore. These rules are constantly appropriated in informal appropriations from the upfront illegal occupation of public space in the form of squatting and encroachment to procedural violations of setbacks in the form of upgrading and improvement practices, which do not directly result in encroachment of public land but transgress the legally determined limits of private space. Beyond the spatial extensions, the practices of conversion and modification of private property into different usages identified in everyday informal appropriations also vary between illegal and extralegal transgressions. The lines of exclusivity drawn through legal stipulations which prohibit appropriation of public space and also laydown the parameters of private space are improvised in everyday informal practice.

The most evident forms of physical transgressions occur within the practices of *physical* encroachment of privacy onto public space which can range from the micro-territories of bare subsistence to the illegal construction in form of improvement, expansion, or speculative activity. However, there are also lesser obvious attributes of physical transgression where the notions of inside and outside become challenged through the distributed/discrete configurations of informal territorial appropriations either in form of loose assembly of components (as in the case of informal food kiosks), mobile tight composition (e.g., in the form of hawkers and street vendors), or shared domestic territories. In all these instances, the fixed physical divisions between the public and private are rendered fragile, and rigid segmentations are replaced by physically permeable privacies. However, some informal appropriations also reconstitute the rigid physical divisions between the inside and outside, as highlighted in the practices of home improvement and upgrading aimed at achieving a formal appearance through modern-looking facades. These rigid boundaries also occur in the form of segregating improvisations (e.g., gating) in middle-class neighborhoods. However, the modern ideas of private space bounded by a fixed physical boundary, in the form of enframing, fall to encompass the heterogeneous physical boundaries of everyday territorialization of privacies.

Within the formal framework of planning, the territorial divisions are also based on *temporal* sequences of construction, occupation, and modes of inhabiting. For instance, the completion of the physical boundaries of a house chronologically precedes its permanent occupation, where the everyday temporal rhythms of inhabiting, i.e.,

domestic life, are effaced by the temporal stability of the architectural façade, signifying a physical and temporal order of the territorial boundaries. However, in everyday life the physical transgressions also accompany aspects of temporal appropriation which defy the normatively configured permanence of the physical boundaries. The informal incremental practices entail a gradual overtime modification of physical configuration, which inverts the chronological order of occupation and construction, where territories are only complete for the time being. Moreover, the occurrence of temporary spatial territorialization, which ranges from repetitive occupations of the street by vendors and house owners to collective festive events, results in ephemeral insides and outsides with transitory temporal boundaries. The lines of exclusivity between public and private are improvised for impermanent boundaries subject to fluctuation over the temporal cycles of daily life rhythms. However, it is important to note that not all informal appropriations are characterized by such transitory boundaries, as in many cases, incremental adjustments, modifications, and expansions are deemed permanent additions.

Functional divisions between public and private are laid out through both stipulated municipal codes, which restrict the usage of outdoor public space, as well as land-use regulations of modern planning, which subdivide space into compartmentalized functional zones. Such divisions restrict public functions to open space and private functions to the defensive enclosing of property. During the fieldwork in the five sites, a variety of use-based appropriations were observed with various degrees of distributed and discrete spatio-temporal territorialization of open space. First, there are individual livelihood oriented practices of shop-owners, street vendors, and hawkers, who improvise outdoor space for activities of economic subsistence. Similarly, outdoor space is also appropriated for all sorts of domestic purposes, from the inhabitation of the outdoors by the dis-possessed to the overflow of household objects and practices of domesticity onto the street. Additionally, spatial improvisations also occurred for purposes of socialization in the form of small to medium-sized gatherings of people, which may occur around practices of idleness and daily recreation, as well as occasional religious or communal festivities. On the other hand, indoor spaces are also modified to serve multiple functions, where part of residential buildings are converted to commercial usage, such as shops, teaching institutes, and beauty parlors. These both planned and unplanned use-based modifications of space transgress the

standardized functional divisions of public space and private space in the institutional discourse of planning.

The *visual* concealment of privacy from public space has historically been aided by planning and municipal control for the maintenance of civic order. Such order is based on historic construction spatial imaginary of urban built environment which associated morality and vitality with a physical and visual discipline of legible demarcations between public and private. Architecture and planning serve as key instruments for the normalization of such territorial divisions, which occlude privacy from the optical field of the public through strategies of containment. These containments are transgressed in everyday informal appropriation of the urban built environment. In some cases, privacies are constituted without raising any visual barriers and are instead undergirded by the logic of visibility and performativity; in other cases, the opacity of the optical barrier is weakened by simultaneous visual transparency which exposes the inside workings of the territory to the outside, either as an intended choice or tactical necessity. The optical visibility of appropriative use either in the form of practices subsistence, livelihood, or socialization, become ways to assert territorial dominance through enhancement of visual permeability, rather than obstructing it. In other cases, like in residential streets, even though an optical barrier exists between the domestic indoor space and outdoor open space of the street, it is transgressed in events such as practices of domesticity due to lack of space. At the same time, practices of personalization and improvement in form of illegal constructions and violation of setbacks, even though they occur through transgression of physical, legal, and functional transgressions, maintain (and in some instances even enhance) the visual barrier between inside and outside. Therefore, the construction of visual opacity between public and private is highly differentiated in everyday territorialization of privacies and is transgressed in both intended and unintended ways.

Based on the five case studies, the modes of transgressions highlighted above show how privacy is variably constituted in everyday spatial practice. However, it's also important to not be blindsided by the individual acts of transgression as it may obfuscate the territorial production of urbanization within which these acts and variations are embedded. In everyday informal production of territories, the boundaries between public and private set by formal standardized planning, the

discourse of modernity, as well as the physical ordering of space are continuously transgressed across the legal, physical, temporal, functional, and optical strategies of segmentation. Although these transgressions occur through some form of informal practices and violation of formal codes, they vary in their divergence from the hegemonic construction of public-private as exclusive territories and, in some cases, even end up reinforcing these divisions. Therefore, if these appropriations can neither be simply characterized as antagonistic practices of self-management nor are they undergirded by a shared aim for the subversion of abstract space, then how can their differential potential be assessed?

4.6. New Urban Divisions: Conflictuality and Grayness

Purcell (2013, pp. 26-27) explains disruption through the Deleuzian and Guattarian concept of deterritorialization, which occurs when an assemblage component escapes dominant social codes. Although eventually recaptured by state and capital, these components weaken the system through repeated escapes and coalitions. Beveridge & Koch (2019) argue against seeking grand revolutionary narratives, suggesting instead that everyday urban appropriations disrupt abstract space practices by reshaping urban space, use-based occupation, and establishing alternative everyday systems, promoting self-government and decentering state and capitalist urbanization. Unlike Bayat (1997), who links political tendencies to marginalized class practices, Beveridge & Koch (2019) distinguish productive everyday interventions based on collective, organized, and strategic practices within daily life. These practices articulate antagonism by decentering organized production through self-management, regardless of how small or temporary the change. Here, collectivity can mean non-collective appropriation practices, and organization can occur through passive networks of adjustments. Strategic intention does not require a transformative agenda but can manifest as tactical distributions of spatial territory to meet immediate needs. This approach locates political agency within everyday spatial practices that escape dominant production modes rather than through revolutionary disruption.

However, Chattopadhyay (2012), shows that resistance can also be harnessed through various ways people indulge in the material and symbolic appropriation of public space which encounter, undo, or expose the restrictive spatial imagination. She argues

that spatial imagination is historically embedded production through which given social groups work out the links between social and physical phenomena through the construction of ideals and the physical organization of the city (p.123). According to her agency is enacted in the intentional or unintentional acts of disobedience in popular urban practices, where these undeclared hegemonic assumptions about the materiality of the built environment are countered through reclaiming space and expanding the field of its imagination. Therefore, conflictuality cannot be limited to the modes of spatial appropriation for de-centering and self-management (e.g. squatting), but also needs to be expanded to the visuospatial forms of cultural interventions which transgress the desirable maintenance of the separation between the public and private governed by the dominant aesthetic and spatial paradigm.

The everyday informal transgressions occur through defying the tightly coded neat divisions (Figure 4.6) of formalized urban space by a process of loosening of privacies (Figure 4.7). In everyday urban space informal privacies are territorialized through legal, physical, temporal, functional, and visual forms of transgression through overlapping practices of embodied, performative, adjusting and collective appropriation, which are at once tied to yet incompatible with the organizing logics of abstract space. However, even though these transgressive practices are not bounded to a particular urban territory they vary in their occurrence and frequency from one urban zone to another. Therefore how much incompatibility is tolerated is also directly tied where it occurs, making location of such appropriative instances an important driver of urban divisions in the case of Lahore.

The frequency of these interventions is ubiquitous in Androon Lahore, which is understandable due to its historic mohalla culture and minimal municipal regulation given the high socio-spatial density and irregular morphology of the settlement, which could be regarded as informal in a morphological sense even though the legality of practices in such settlement is not fully determined. Whereas, in the case of DHA – which is privatized upper middle-class housing enclave, with a high surveillance and security oriented governance model– such transgressions were only limited to illegible temporary improvisations, and didn't not lead to any scalable antagonistic instances. However, in areas like Model Town, Gulberg, and Samanabad, which are planned middle-class settlements but not private fortified enclaves, the degree of transgression

varies considerably in different areas of the same neighborhood. For instance, in the case of Gulberg (See figure 4.4), where the lower-middle class areas like Kanal Park show a high degree of spatial appropriation, visible in everyday transgressive practices, they disappear in adjacent upper-class residential blocks. Similarly, in the case of Model Town, where the residential blocks remain rigidly segmented into public and private (see Figure 4.2), the conflictual appropriations are relegated to settlements like Lal Quarters, which, even though not segregated, are kept from expanding beyond this zone.

As highlighted in section 4.3 of this chapter instead of neat distinctions between formal and informal urban zones, these five show a degree of morphological variations between the regular and irregular assembly of architecture and urban layout. This state of partial integration of spatial practices and zones characterized by ambivalence of positions is what Avnir & Yiftachel (2014) regard as "gray spaces" which cannot be rigidly classified as formal or informal but are co-produced through planning as well as intentional neglect, ignorance and exclusion by the planning authorities. However, these gray spaces are also characterized by a blurring degree of looseness and tightness of the territorial divisions between inside and outside, which constitute the minimal conditions of differential politics. Instead of eliminating transgressions that defy the legal norms and procedures, the task of planning becomes the containment of different shades of grayness in different urban zones through strategically turning a blind eye to the transgressive practices of appropriation, as long as they do not threaten this system of containment.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the complex dynamics of privacy and urban space in Lahore, by examining how everyday practices of spatial appropriation challenge formal planning and hegemonic structures. Through highlighting the various epistemological groundings which link everyday urban practice with difference and agency and ethnographic analysis, it has revealed the multifaceted ways in which privacy is constructed, negotiated, and contested in urban environments. Lefebvre's conceptualization of abstract space as homogenous, fragmented, and hierarchized is central to understanding the capitalist and state-driven production of urban space. The

notion of differential space provides a counterpoint to abstract space, suggesting that embodied appropriation and use-value can restore social life. This concept aligns with the right to the city, which involves collective, creative appropriation of space. However, not all differences are transgressive. Some differences may reinforce the system, while maximal differences pose a threat to hegemonic structures. Informal settlements exemplify this dynamic, where spontaneous, efficient planning challenges formalized spatial production.

Ethnographic fieldwork in five Lahore settlements revealed diverse practices of spatial appropriation. In Androon Lahore, Model Town, Samanabad, Gulberg, and DHA, everyday appropriations ranged from informal housing modifications to the appropriation of public space for immediate use. These practices challenge the rigid segmentation of space imposed by formal planning, demonstrating a fluid negotiation of boundaries through attachment, detachment, and distribution of territorial elements. In Androon Lahore, for example, the traditional urban fabric allowed for a more ambiguous street interface, where the boundaries between public and private spaces were constantly in flux. This fluidity facilitated various appropriations, such as extending household activities into the street or converting public spaces into zones of temporary habitation and commerce. In contrast, areas like DHA exhibited stricter enforcement of spatial boundaries, limiting informal appropriations primarily to commercial markets.

Field observations in these settlements highlighted the diverse material and expressive attributes of spatial appropriation. Practices ranged from pavement dwellings and incremental housing upgrades to temporary stalls and performative displays in commercial areas. These appropriations disrupted the formal segmentation of urban space, creating new territorial assemblages characterized by varying degrees of attachment and detachment, distributed and discrete configurations, and intended and unintended uses. For instance, in Model Town and Samanabad, residential compounds showed incremental modifications where the boundaries between private and public spaces were redefined through small-scale additions and adaptations. These modifications included temporary fences, street-level extensions and shared outdoor spaces that blurred the lines between inside and outside, creating a fluid and dynamic urban environment.

The Deleuzian concept of territory as an assemblage helps understand the fluid and interconnected nature of urban space. Territories are produced through social practices, and their stability is constantly negotiated through processes of territorialization, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization. This framework allows for a deeper examination of everyday spatial practices, such as incremental upgrades, pavement dwellings, and performative appropriations, which blur the boundaries between public and private, formal and informal. Approaching territorial boundaries, as the way assemblages are stabilized or destabilization of material and expressive codings of spatial components, helps open a path towards an alternative understanding of how informal territorial processes engender differential privacies which are incompatible with the normalized dominating modes of production. The conceptual repertoire developed through this analysis is summarized in table 4.1.

Dimensions of territorialization of privacy	Intensive	Degree of Exclusivity and Non-exclusivity			
		Degree of Interpersonal Interaction between Intimate and Social			
	Extensive	Degree of Enclosure between Inside and Outside			
		Degree of Temporal Staticity or Kineticity between Fixed to Temporary			

Morphological Attributes of Informal Territorial Production	Looseness		Tightness	
	Spatial	Attachment	Detachment	
		Distributed	Discrete	
	Tactical	Unintended	Intended	

Informal Appropriative Practices	Embodied	Performativity	Adjusting	Collectivity
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Modes of Transgression	Legal	Physical	Functional	Temporal	Visual
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Table 4. 1 Summary of conceptual findings employed to articulate the territorialization process of everyday spatial practice.

Instead of a fixed division, this chapter emphasizes that privacies are territorialized across both intensive and extensive dimensions. The former is defined by the degree of exclusion and interaction, while the latter is determined by the degree of spatial

enclosure and temporal dynamicity or fixedness. By highlighting privacy as a matter of degree through which a territory as a whole is stabilized or destabilized, it has been argued that boundaries of privacy can be tightly coded into distinct territorial segmentations or loosely assembled to allow movement and change. This suggests that informal territorialization of privacy can manifest as both tightness and looseness, depending on their morphological attributes. These attributes are analyzed within four kinds of looseness and tightness of boundaries. First, it assesses boundaries as instances of attachment and detachment, meaning the way boundaries are created through connecting or disconnecting between two territorial formations. Second, it analyzes territorial appropriation as instances of distribution or discreteness, referring to the degree of dispersion of boundaries over several interdependent components in the form of sharing or their independence from such dispersion. Third, it argues that privacy can be informally territorialized through both intended and unintended production of boundaries, with the latter always resulting in the loosening of territorial assemblages.

However, this analysis suggests that the making and unmaking of boundaries cannot be separated from the appropriative practices that are integral to everyday urban life. Based on fieldwork, these appropriative practices have been divided into four distinct but overlapping categories: embodied, performative, adjusting, and collective. It suggests that while informal practices result in varying degrees of loose and tight territorial configurations across both intensive and extensive dimensions, they are highly adaptive modes of improvisation through which formal procedures are appropriated for personal advantage. These appropriations also challenge the rigid coding of mutually exclusive segmentation between public and private through their legal, physical, temporal, functional, and visual forms of informal transgression. Therefore, on one hand, differences occur in how privacies are alternatively configured within the informal practices of territorial adjustment, manifesting as varied assertions of spatial boundaries. On the other hand, differences also occur in how the imposition of formal boundaries is transgressed in everyday informal practice. However, this chapter has suggested that while these transgressions may result in minimal forms of conflict with the dominant apparatus, they cannot be essentialized as contradictory forms of resistance.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis has proposed that the ontological binaries such as public-private and formal-informal, which serve as the irreducible foundational concepts for the understanding of urban space are embedded in a historical socio-spatial process of the domestication of privacy. The analysis of the social and spatial development of Lahore shows that privacy cannot be viewed independently from the multifarious relations of power through which boundaries between inside and outside are produced, reproduced, and resisted in the everyday unfolding of urban life. From the motivations behind the colonial production of urban landscape in Lahore, the making of institutional governance, and cultivation of class-based residential distinctions to the post-colonial path-dependent spatial development of housing and urban infrastructure in Lahore, this thesis has highlighted the inseparability of the ideological and material production of power in the ways social relations are inscribed onto space through delimitation of privacy and slicing-up of space into public and private. Not only are these divisions crucial to the reproduction of power, but they are increasingly intertwined with how the ideas about domesticity and environment are shaped into the social construction of spatialized identities instrumental in defining who or what constitutes appropriate or inappropriate.

However, where the architecture of privacy reveals the modalities of governance and its effects in the formal production of social space concurrent to the ideal construction of privacy, at the same time, it also exposes its limitations, to maintain these boundaries in everyday life where the emergence of informal privacies diverge from the attributes defined by the dominating operations of power. Therefore, while in the historical analysis of the spatial development of Lahore, this thesis has shown how privacy as a spatial affair is territorialized due to the social, economic, and cultural interests of various groups by zooming the lens on the everyday urban space of contemporary Lahore.

In explaining the instrumental and associational procedures of domination through which privacy is domesticated in postcolonial Lahore, this research has relied immensely on Lefebvre's (1991) dialectical model of production of space and postcolonial urban studies by navigating their crossovers in terms of how everyday lived experience is spatially dominated, as well as the possibilities for the difference which lie inherent within the everyday. This is why, instead of adopting a singular materialist or political-economic framework for problematizing the issues of spatial governance, which is deemed insufficient in its account of modes and forms of domination by the post-structural and postcolonial scholarship, an intersectional view has been adapted to bring forth those theoretical disjunctions and their confluences in the theorization of power and its spatialization in the urban realms. Hence, where the peculiar attributes of social and spatial development of an urban built environment in Lahore analyze the modes of power through which space is compartmentalized into public and private, it also serves as a terrain through which the theoretical claims about historical difference and geography of knowledge are addressed.

This critical engagement with the literature, on the one hand, highlights the historical procedure of domination in the events of transfer of knowledge as well as its universalization tendency in defining the forms of spatial organizations instrumental in shaping what constitutes the urban. At the same time, it also illuminates those practices and norms which are marginalized and thus excluded from this definition. Therefore, in explaining the domestication of privacy, this thesis also examines how the formal production of architecture and urban environment is embedded in a historically specific process of disciplining urban space into clear demarcations of public and private and othering all other forms into non-urban or sub-urban categories of informal. Thus, where the insights from postcolonial scholarship serve to navigate the bias of urban theory, it also becomes a pathway to engage with the epistemological, ontological, and methodological concerns about the understanding of urban informality in the post-colonial world. These concerns include both the historically embedded process of colonial domination through social, economic, and cultural peripheralization of people, practices, and the spaces they engender, as well as the 'here and now' of the morphological and processual variations in the ways urban, is configured as a socio-spatial entity, incompatible with the binarism of categories, predominant in the Western-centric paradigms of knowledge.

Throughout the thesis, this debate takes a central stage in assessing the knowledge-based framings through which a particular mode of spatial production is privileged upon others. While these assessments are made within the particular context of Lahore, this thesis has divulged the complex interrelationship between the public/private and formal/informal dichotomies by drawing into focus the critique of wider-scale epistemological and ontological paradigms through which these binaries serve as both means and an end to the mechanisms of power. It is within exposing this interrelationship between public/private and formal/informal their socio-spatial entanglements with colonialism, capitalism, and state are unraveled at various levels of urban structuring from the domestic space to the city. Where the domestication of privacy entails an explanation of how the boundaries between public and private are constructed through hegemonic modes of spatial governance peculiar to the historical context of Lahore, it also explains how the urban divisions between formal and informal are produced as an effect of this management which continues to shape the process of urban transformation in the city.

5.1. Findings

In light of the summary presented above, this thesis has claimed that in a post-colonial city like Lahore, urban divisions are shaped by a historical process of domestication of privacy, which operates through a simultaneous segmentation of space into public/private and formal/informal. Three pertinent questions drive the investigation of this interrelationship: (1) through what historical procedures these segmentations are produced in Lahore; (2) how they are reproduced and maintained in the social and spatial development of Lahore's residential built environment; and (3) through what means and to what extent these segmentations are resisted in everyday urban practice. These three overarching questions, while general in scope, provided the core framework for research, which is further elaborated through the following assumptions:

- i. The domestication of privacy in Lahore is rooted in the historical establishment of British colonial rule and its physical and discursive

production of a divided urban landscape characterized by the spatialized inscription of identities.

- ii. The institutional and non-institutional strategies of spatial governance producing the prohibitive compartmentalization of urban space are entangled with the material and ideological shaping of citizen subjectivity, which is also adapted by the post-colonial state for the development of the middle-class residential built environment.
- iii. The segmentations of public and private are continuously violated and resisted in the everyday informal practices of spatial appropriation in Lahore through deterritorialization of privacy; however, these transgressions also result in new divisions in the urban fabric.

To examine these assumptions, a case-study approach was adopted with a three-part mixed-method research strategy where (first) an in-depth critical re-view of the literature was conducted to analyze the conceptual entanglements of the public-private and formal-informal dichotomies in the studies of urbanism in the post-colonial world. The literary review was also utilized to build a general outline for the research, where five urban settlements were chosen as case-study sites based on the different phases of development of Lahore from the Colonial to the Post-Colonial era.

In the second phase, a detailed study of literature, archival documents, including regulations, bylaws, municipal reports, and representational media, including maps and drawings relevant to this urban settlement, was conducted to analyze and compare their historical development. In the third phase, on-site investigation was conducted in the selected areas in the five case-study neighborhoods to collect empirical data in the form of on-site observations, visual documentation, and unstructured interviews to analyze how territorialization of privacy differed in everyday urban conditions. This methodology is also reflected in the structure of this dissertation: the first chapter, provided a general literature review of conceptual distinctions between public-private and traced the genealogy of these terms along with its critique; the second chapter revealed how the colonial spatial imagination in Lahore became instrumental in the hegemonic rationalities for reform and governance; the third chapter analyzed how

power is inscribed into everyday space through the production of colonial and post-colonial residential built-environment along with the evolution of institutional structures of planning urban space in Lahore; and finally, the fourth chapter discussed the differential capacity of informal everyday production of space and presented an analysis of the data collected during the fieldwork which foregrounds the divergent ways delineations between public and private come undone in the practices of everyday life.

The conception of public realm, in Western liberal thought, is linked to the idea of an impartial state ensuring free exchange, the public sphere as an interpersonal zone for sharing ideas and developing reason within civil society, and public space as an open, non-exclusive area for chance encounters among law-abiding citizens. Conversely, the private realm is seen as the exclusive zone of personal property, with an apolitical private sphere of economic and domestic life tied to the home, characterized by familial solitude and spontaneous action. Postcolonial theory, particularly Chakrabarty (2000), offers the most potent critique, arguing that the Eurocentric division between public and private spheres, rooted in the European Enlightenment, does not necessarily apply to other cultural contexts.

This thesis, departing from the post-structural critique of such ontological binarism, has argued that while in abstraction, public and private are seen as mutually exclusive binaries, in reality, their relationship varies, with reality always in a state of becoming rather than being one or the other. The ontological distinctions between private and public and the critique of their historical construction suggest examining the historical events of Lahore to understand how ideas of public and private emerged in the colonial encounter and how differential attributes of privacy are stabilized.

The second chapter discussed how the public and private were constructed during British colonial rule in Lahore based on particular modes of racialized framing of the urban landscape. These modes were contextualized within three significant settlements in Colonial Lahore in the late nineteenth century. The indigenous settlement—Androon Lahore—was depicted as unruly, chaotic, and decaying, romanticized only for its antiquity and exotic customs. In contrast, modern Lahore was associated with the splendor of the Civil Station, featuring wide boulevards,

gardens, and modern buildings. This contrast also linked the biological and social imagination of environmental attributes, leading to public health planning efforts that viewed the crowded indigenous settlement as a hygienic threat.

This pathological fear led to enclave planning, exemplified by the Mian Mir Cantonment, whose hierarchical spatial organization, driven by military imperatives, was also informed by disciplinary biopolitics to combat disease among troops. This organization was under-pinned by a racialized imagination of indigenous bodies and surveillance techniques, supported by the uniform spatial ordering of Bungalow-compounds and wide boulevards, clearly distinguishing public and private spaces. Beyond curtailing biological threats and promoting hygiene, the colonial reformist vision aimed to morally and socially civilize the indigenous population. Urban space became a tool for material lessons, instrumental in inculcating civic attributes within the population. The development of the Civil Station, with its modern public buildings and infrastructure, aimed to cultivate an aspiring class of indigenous people who could mimic British culture and appreciate values of enlightenment, materially inscribed onto the built landscape.

Chapter 3 analyzed the spatial development of the residential built environment and the evolution of planning institutions in the colonial and post-colonial era through five urban settlements: Androon Lahore, Co-operative Model Town Society (CMTS), Samanabad, Gulberg, and Lahore Cantonment Cooperative Housing Society (LCCHS). In Androon Lahore, the morphological and relational complexity of the urban fabric conflicted with attempts at rationalization by the colonial Lahore Municipal Committee. The evasive social and spatial fabric was viewed as recalcitrant and in need of disciplining. Various strategies, from sanitary surveys and restrictive public health policies to municipal building bylaws, punitive taxation, fines, and sanitation campaigns, were employed.

The municipal structures evolved from repressive measures to a language of improvement, with bureaucratic organizations like the Lahore Improvement Trust emerging by the mid-1920s. This shift accompanied the emergence of a cooperative housing model in the form of CMTS for the aspiring class of bureaucrats and technocrats, who were, one way or another, associated with the colonial government.

Planned after the utilitarian ideas of the garden-city, emphasizing a verdant utopic imaginary for the vitalistic cultivation of a modern citizen-subject, this suburban settlement exemplified a modern lifestyle for the aspiring middle class. Unlike Androon Lahore, the spatial organization was calculated, hierarchically organized, and centrally administered by a cooperative municipal model. CMTS reveals how social attributes of middle-classness were spatially defined through rigidly segmented divisions of the suburban model.

The institutional structures of planning, with their bureaucratic and technocratic rationality and their spatial typology in the form of detached low-rise segmented suburbs, continued into post-independence planning of housing in Lahore. The reformative aim of improvement was superimposed by the ambitions of the post-colonial nation-state driven by economic development agendas. The provision of housing intertwined with the colonial institutions like the Lahore Improvement Trust and the decision-making power about urban development concentrated in the overdeveloped military-bureaucratic structures. The Samanabad Scheme shows how the state adapted a suburban garden-city developmental model for housing middle-class individuals. This model was expanded with regional planning schemes like Gulberg, which formalized the production of urban land and housing in the form of residential blocks with bungalow-compound typologies and new public spaces of commercial activity.

LCCHS, initially planned (in 1975) as a cooperative housing scheme for military personnel, expanded into a state-facilitated corporate housing authority in the form of DHA (late 1990s). Unlike state-planned schemes, these corporate schemes were privately planned as fortified enclaves with strict discipline, not limited to upholding construction bylaws and restricting informal construction but also enforcing exclusionary behavioral regulations. The aesthetic of security, both as visible strategies for safety and as symbols of social status through infrastructure, defines such corporate planning, demanding strict boundaries between private and public spaces.

Chapter 3 illustrated that the assertion of socio-spatial boundaries of privacy results from institutional planning and the hegemonic production of everyday social space in

middle-class neighborhoods. Here, social divisions are spatially translated through the physical development of formal residential environments and their symbolic association with the sociocultural norms of middle-classness through the shaping of depositions about the right kind of city, which demands maintenance of the visuospatial order through the material and discursive definition of the right kind of privacy. On the one hand, the right kind of privacy is shaped through effective strategies of material, ideological, and institutional definitions of territorial limits. On the other hand, these are also affectively shaped by associating sensory and aesthetic dimensions with the symbolic aspects of lived space characterized by social distinction.

While post-colonial urban space is shaped by the colonial inheritance of cultural and institutional domination. Dividing the city between modern and non-modern, it is also characterized by a reproduction of class-based distinctions that enable the sustenance of socio-spatial hegemony of capitalist urbanization. Lefebvre (1991) describes this as the alienated production of abstract space, where social, cultural, and economic forms of alienation are materially reproduced in the concretized abstraction of everyday life. However, it is also within everyday life that Lefebvre located the possibilities of breaking away from the dominant mode of production, which he regards as differential space (2008). Chapter 4 of this thesis discusses this differential aspect through informal practices of everyday spatial appropriation in Lahore.

Lefebvre's notion of differential space, contrary to the abstract space of exchange value, is characterized by the appropriation of space for its use-value. Scholars of postcolonial urban studies like Chattopadhyay (2012) and Roy (2014) argue that difference in the post-colonial world also needs to articulate those forms of agential tactics or doing things differently, which have been rendered invisible by the Eurocentric paradigms of resistance. This requires paying particular attention to the geographical and historical specificity of the place and navigating the biases of theory. Thus, where difference is characterized by unified efforts to take control and challenge the system of reproduction, it also emanates in everyday tactics of evading capture by the dominant apparatus, recognizing those attempts at evasion that remain unnoticed by the discourse of difference.

The literature on urban informality insists upon the collective differential character of informal squatter settlements, slums, and shanty towns as zones of resistance due to (a) their lying outside the formal procedures of the state, (b) their insurgent occupation of urban land and infrastructure for the fulfillment of basic needs, and (c) their self-organized and bottom-up configuration of built infrastructure in the form of incremental and irregular spatial morphology. While such notions are helpful in breaking away from the colonial and modern representation of slums as degenerate, this view of informal settlements as resistance is also runs the risk of recasting the colonial binaries of formal/informal. Therefore, calls for postcolonizing informality argue for moving away from the dichotomous binarism of formal/informal, recognizing the heterogeneity of informal modes of production as a combination of top-down and bottom-up arrangements of power, as well as identifying differences not within organized movements, but within everyday forms of resistance. In this respect this thesis has argued for provincializing Lefebvre's differential space through a postcolonial lens by (a) dispensing with the binarism of informal/formal, (b) recognizing the potential of everyday forms of spatial appropriation that foster minimal ways of decentering the state for use-value, and (c) identifying those affective modes of resistance which defy the normalized constructions through which individual capacities to alter space are inhibited.

Thus I have discussed how such difference is produced in the everyday appropriation of space in Lahore for making and unmaking of territorial privacies, which conflict with the normalized construction of public and private as mutually exclusive binaries. The documentation conducted during the fieldwork suggests that where, on the one hand, privacies can occur as instances of loosening already established territorial divisions, they can also occur as the tightening of socio-spatial boundaries. In everyday urban spaces, informal appropriation of privacy can occur as both processes of attaching more than one territory blur the mutual distinction or enhance these separations in improvisations for detachment. Similarly, the territorial boundaries of privacy can be asserted through discrete physical and visual divisions, allowing for a coherent reading of the territorial extents, or they can be spatially distributed as physical and temporal overlaps among more than one territory.

In everyday life, informal privacies can occur as embodied practices of spatial appropriation that foreground a corporeal space, where a claim to space is made through bodily improvisation. Privacies are also generated through performative practices aimed at visual and spatial legibility through physical and aesthetic appropriation of open space. These appropriations, however, are also subject to practices of adjustment, which occur in instances of incremental improvements, upgrades, and expansions or the necessity of sharing the territorial components for meeting everyday needs by adjusting against changes. These adjustments are an important part of a presence of sociability, foregrounded within practices of gathering, resulting either in isolated instances of collection through the transitory improvisation of open space or the collective territorialization of space for shared usage by active organization among members.

Thus by shifting focus to the quotidian aspects of everyday urban space, the making of privacies through overlapping practices can be viewed as instances of loosening or tightening, attachment or detachment, distribution of discreteness, and intended or unintended territorializations of space. However, as these spatial improvisations differ in the degree and type of territorialization, they also differ in the degree and type of transgressions of the hegemonic segmentation of space into public and private, which is crucial to the reproduction of abstract space. Instead, these transgressions occur at various intensities across the legal, physical, temporal, functional, and visual dimensions through which the boundaries of privacy are coded into the formal production of a homogenous enclosed space of private property.

While these informal transgressions occur in everyday urban space, they cannot be summed up as differential as they do not all lead to a conflict with the system of reproduction. In some cases, transgressions are made to reproduce the clear distinctions between inside and outside and, thus, public and private. New urban divisions in the postcolonial urban fabric are animated not by a division between formal and informal but by the distinction between the degrees of ambivalence between public and private. The domestication of privacy, therefore, serves as the management of this grayness through the governance of everyday informal appropriation.

This thesis has highlighted the need for research into processes through which privacy is domesticated to break away from the given ways of knowing urban space and the need for research to arrive at a differential understanding of urbanism. Before finishing, it is necessary to point out that the limitations of this research lie in its reliance on specific case studies which belong to the same context and the qualitative methods oriented at direct observation, which, while providing in-depth insights, also restrict its applicability to other contexts and modes through which socio-spatial barriers are broken in everyday spatial practice. Future research could incorporate a more diverse qualitative toolkit and comparative studies across different cities to provide a broader understanding of the domestication of privacy and its implications. Additionally, exploring the intersections of gender, race, and religious social categories with spatial practices can offer a more nuanced analysis of power dynamics through which public and private are maintained or resisted. Participatory approaches in research could also uncover diverse perspectives and practices related to privacy, further challenging the dominant paradigms and contributing to more inclusive urban planning and policy-making. In conclusion, while this thesis has laid the groundwork for understanding the socio-spatial dynamics of privacy in post-colonial Lahore, continued exploration and methodological diversification are essential for advancing this field of study.

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