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**C. A. Doxiadis and the Islamabad Master Plan:
Social Engineering in a Developing World,
from the Individual to the Global**



Anastasia Sakka

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Signed Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

October 2021

Anastasia Sakka

LAY SUMMARY

This thesis explores urban planning as a means of social reform driven by political incentives and a social engineering tool. It focuses on the Islamabad master plan, following a case study methodology. Islamabad was the *tabula rasa* capital city of independent Pakistan after the decolonisation of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. The design of Islamabad was entrusted to the Greek architect and urban planner Constantinos Doxiadis (1913-1975), whose professional archive forms the basis of the study.

The thesis' main argument is that the requirements of a predefined socio-economic reform informed the master plan of Islamabad. Doxiadis' approach to Islamabad planning is seen in the broader context of nation-state building and modernisation.

Key Words: Doxiadis, Islamabad, urban planning, decolonisation, modernisation, globalisation, Ekistics, Dynapolis, Ecumenopolis

ABSTRACT

The end of empires signified the emergence of new nation-states, bringing to the fore a complex nexus of needs on a global scale. The transfer of Western expertise to the Global South and the dissemination of a modernist lexicon emerged as key parameters in addressing these needs. Post-colonial Pakistan constitutes a significant part of the discourse on nation-state building through transnational strategies of modernism, and the Greek architect and urban planner Constantinos Doxiadis was one of the main actors, although his contribution is only partially acknowledged. In this context, the Doxiadis master plan of Islamabad—the *tabula rasa* federal capital of Pakistan—becomes the focus of this research. The thesis is fundamentally archive-based and its primary source material is drawn from the extensive professional archive of Doxiadis.

Islamabad was chosen as a case study that exemplifies the broader parameters of the evolution of Doxiadis' theories of modernist global urbanism and the science of Ekistics as they evolved in the late 1950s. In this way the primary research question is posed: how did Islamabad reflect Doxiadis' particular ideas on the science of the city? Secondary research questions that follow are: to what extent was the Islamabad plan distinctive within his body of work? Furthermore, and moving from the specific to the more general context: how were Doxiadis' theories of urban planning expected to meet the needs of a developing world?

The thesis' main argument is that the master plan of Islamabad was informed by predetermined requirements of a socio-economic reform; a modernist reform that equally underpinned nation-state building, development and globalisation. The main findings of the research that formulate Doxiadis' particular ideas of urban planning and in addition their impact on global development can be summarised as follows: First, the hierarchical ordering as defined by Ekistics made it possible to connect and coordinate all aspects of

human existence. This is identified as a significant tool of analysis and synthesis in spatial terms and beyond. Additionally, the conceptualisation of urbanity as a system of life introduces a methodological approach to urban planning that focuses on the relationships and management of everything that constitutes the system. This is interpreted as a shift from the functional modernist city to a functioning system that by definition transcends the boundaries and the material hypostasis of the city. This approach made possible the emergence of Ecumenopolis, which is interpreted as the conceptualisation of urbanisation and globalisation into one scheme. But, above all, the concept of Ecumenopolis completed Doxiadis' theory of hierarchically ordered systems of life and justified the logic of acting locally while thinking globally.

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INTRODUCTION

a. The broader context

What we need is a place where the dream can meet with reality, the place which can satisfy the dreamer, be accepted by the scientist, and some day be built by the builder; the city which will be 'in place'—the *Entopia*.¹

These words of the planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis summarise his broader philosophy of urban planning. Considering that the Islamabad master plan was one of his most remarkable works, how was it conceived in order to be a city 'in place'? But this question opens a discourse that is formulated with another question: What did it mean for a new mid-twentieth century capital city to be 'in place'?²

This should be considered in the context of the global historical conditions of the time. The dominance of industrial production signified the advent of major socio-economic changes, particularly if combined with the emerging phenomena of urbanisation and globalisation. In parallel, the need for national reconstruction in the aftermath of World War II and the subsequent decolonisation process became the stimulus for economic development and social restructuring on a global scale. In this context, political speculation flourished, especially if the Cold War agenda is taken into

1 Madhav Deobhakta, "He Dreamed of 'Human' Settlements", *Times of India*, 3 August 1975, p. 6.

2 *Entopia* translates into 'excellent real cities that could facilitate economic, technological and social development [...]'.
Ray Bromley, 'Towards Global Human Settlements: Constantinos Doxiadis as Entrepreneur, Coalition-BUILDER and Visionary', in *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, ed. by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), pp. 316-340, p. 337.

Entopia as the opposite of utopia 'was meant to be a plausible reality for the future'.

Panayiota Pyla, 'Planetary Home and Garden: Ekistics and Environmental-Developmental Policies', in *Grey Room*, 4, no. 36 (2009), pp. 6-35, p. 7.

consideration. National and global aspirations coexisted and were to find their way to materialisation on a mutually supportive basis. Last but not least, prosperity shifted from being the privilege of a minority elite to the right of the masses.³ This fact, combined with the social role claimed by the modern movement, paved the way for modern urban planning to become a valuable tool of civic and national development. According to Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, the architect could, and should also, aim at 'the fullest exercise of expanding consciousness [...] to meet the complicating mechanisms of modern life without sacrificing human freedom and dignity in the process'.⁴

The revisited version of modernism, as formulated by post-CIAM theorists like Team-X (1950s), did not weaken the very idea of modern development. On the contrary, post-CIAM modernism fitted well in the global context and despite the renewal of rhetoric, its origins in CIAM principles have remained clear. On the one hand, the shift from the rigidity of the functional city to the softness of human interrelations emerged as a confirmation of the claimed social role. On the other hand, the growing interest in local cultural characteristics coincided with the emergence of the Global South as a prospective field of action. It was the time for modernism to claim its international character not only in theory but also in practice. More exactly, the realisation of modernist model of development depended on the Global South—global spread was inherent in the universalist concept of modernism—and the modern movement in architecture could provide the appropriate ideological framework for the creation of a comprehensive action plan. This, however, should be considered in conjunction with Ravi Kalia's view. He wrote: 'Modernism was free of

3 "What is revolutionary for India in the new towns of today is the fact that they are not designed for small, privileged groups, [...] for the first time, an attempt is made to create 'self-contained and balanced' communities". Otto H. Koenigsberger, 'New Towns in India', in *The Town Planning Review*, 23, no. 2 (1952), pp. 94-132, p. 96.

4 Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 135.

the encumbrances of imperialism and was therefore acceptable for adaptation to an invented national identity'.⁵

The end of empires signified the emergence of new nation-states, bringing to the fore a complex nexus of needs on a global scale. The urge for the establishment of new modes of governing, social relationships and international alliances, formation of national identities and economic development, triggered an unparalleled mobility of ideas, strategies, agencies and professionals—the so-called global experts.⁶ The optimistic aura of independence had soon to be translated into tangible realities of prosperity—of a social, political and economic nature—and modernisation has emerged as a valuable means to this end. Given the limited resources of the new nation-states of the Global South, dependence on Western expertise and financial aid became a prerequisite. The transfer of knowledge from the West to the developing world, however, finds precedent in the colonial past.⁷ Under this perspective, the transition from a colonial to a post-colonial reality is not to be interpreted as a moment of rupture, but rather as a transformational continuum. In this respect, the example of Fry and Drew, as analysed by Mark Crinson, indicates the 'movement from an architecture of imperialism to modernist internationalism'.⁸ This interpretation provides a clear understanding that both the meanings and the impact of architecture

5 Ravi Kalia, 'Modernism, Modernisation and Post-Colonial India: A Reflective Essay', in *Planning Perspectives*, 2, no. 21 (2006), pp. 133-156, p. 151.

6 An account of the new type of professionals that emerged with the rise of the Global South is provided in a special issue of *Architecture Beyond Europe* journal. The main objective of this issue was to shed light on the lesser known contributors to the transnational transfer of expertise during the mid-twentieth century.
Special Issue: Global Experts 'off-radar' in *Architecture Beyond Europe*, no. 4 (2013)

7 Ravi Kalia, 'Modernism, Modernisation and Post-Colonial India: A Reflective Essay', in *Planning Perspectives*, 2, no. 21 (2006), pp. 133-156, p. 145.

8 Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 129.

cannot be defined unless the broader context is taken into account, confirming the potential of architecture as a method.

The urge for modernisation and development in the post-colonial Global South was intertwined with architecture and urban planning. For Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, success in introducing new social standards depended on rural urbanisation.⁹ Taking this into account, both urbanity and the dissemination of urban values prevail as key concepts. Furthermore, the concept of development as dependent on urbanisation became the driving force for profound, but also generalised, social change. According to Otto Koenigsberger, the new towns of India had become 'part of a nation wide [*sic*] development programme',¹⁰ and also: '[...] most Indian new towns were started to train newcomers for productive work which would enable them to afford a better city'.¹¹ In other words, personal development, as a result of training and productivity, was expected to translate into civic development with a view to reaching the boundaries of the nation-state.

Recognising architecture and urban planning as valuable development tools and the willingness to export and import Western expertise—borrowing the title of the book by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait—was just a starting point.¹² This is to say that global development can only be subject to multiple intents, interpretations, strategies, communications, or implementations, and each of these distinct factors is subject to just as many variables. Therefore, although urban planning had become the focus of attention, there were still questions that needed to be addressed; when, where, how,

9 Ravi Kalia, 'Modernism, Modernisation and Post-Colonial India: A Reflective Essay', in *Planning Perspectives*, 2, no. 21 (2006), pp. 133-156, p. 147.

10 Otto H. Koenigsberger, 'New Towns in India', in *The Town Planning Review*, 23, no. 2 (1952), pp. 94-132, p. 98.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

12 Joe Nasr & Mercedes Volait, ed. *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans* (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2003)

by whom, for whom, or what kind of architecture could best support the required global development? Given, in particular, the differences between the West and the Global South, the coordination of methods and approaches has been an even greater challenge. The dissemination of modernism resulted in overlaps between modern and traditional values—similar to global versus local characteristics—which expanded the discourse on the role of architecture and introduced a new lexicon to describe its potential. In this respect, tropical architecture ‘after its institutionalisation and naming-as-such in the 1950s [...] transformed from being improvisational practical knowledge influenced by indigenous practices to become a systematic body of abstract, technoscientific knowledge’.¹³ It would be misleading to assume that tropical architecture constituted an autonomous expression of planning and building according to local environmental conditions. Characteristically, Fry considered tropical architecture as a ‘dialect of internationalism’.¹⁴ Furthermore, according to Crinson:

‘Tropical architecture’, it was hoped, was not so much post-imperial as beyond imperialism, part of another world-view altogether. It was part of an imagined world where liberation had already happened, without violence and without social unrest, and in which the job was now all to do with modernisation, the opening up of another field for architectural territorialisation.¹⁵

Post-colonial Pakistan constitutes a significant part of the discourse on nation-state building through transnational strategies of modernism. The partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 after the

13 Jiat-Hwee Chang, *A Genealogy of Tropical Architecture: Colonial Networks, Nature and Technoscience* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 3, 12.

14 Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 136.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

withdrawal of the British imperial forces led to the creation of two independent nation-states, namely India and Pakistan, which consisted of West and East Pakistan—the latter is now Bangladesh, after the declaration of independence from Pakistan in 1971. Pakistan was left without a capital city. For more than a decade, Karachi was the seat of government but was deemed inadequate to meet the requirements of the role of capital city. The rise of General Muhammad Ayub Khan to Pakistan's political leadership following the coup d'état of 1958 was accompanied by renewed interest in a new federal capital. In 1959, the decision was made to establish Islamabad as the *tabula rasa* federal capital of Pakistan and in 1960, the preliminary master plan was approved.

b. The key figure

The implementation of the master plan of Islamabad was entrusted to the Greek architect, urban planner and theorist Constantinos Doxiadis (1913-1975), whose professional qualifications and achievements were exceptional. In 1953, he established Doxiadis Associates—an Athens-based firm—and shortly afterwards found himself providing his services as an urban planner and consultant to governments around the world. As Zahir Khwaja, a chief engineer in the Capital Development Authority in Pakistan, wrote in his memoirs:

Dr Doxiadis, on the other hand, went from strength to strength and never looked back from the time in 1954, when I first met him in New Delhi at the UN Conference on Low-Cost Housing as a Town-Planner whose reputation had not yet travelled beyond the shores of Greece. Within a space of ten to fifteen years however, he gathered around him a vast empire and had works extending from Vietnam to Iraq, Ghana, Saudi Arabia and various other countries of South America as well as works

even in the USA including the role of adviser on the Washington master plan.¹⁶

Doxiadis belonged to the post-CIAM generation, however, the legacy of CIAM permeated his work—characteristically, he organised the Delos Symposia to fill the gap created by the termination of the CIAM activities. He was tireless in planning, writing, attending meetings, and lecturing. Characteristically, Dimitris Filippidis in his biography refers to Doxiadis as someone: ‘who lived at least three times’.¹⁷ His worldwide recognition was not unrelated to his international networking—especially with American institutions—nor to his Greek origin as a political neutral in the Cold War context, but still well connected to the world. According to the *Observer*:

[...], in many parts of the world, the firm of Doxiadis Associates is a legend. Essentially it is a mobile Ministry of Planning, which descends on under-developed or over-developed counties with a staff of economists, architects and engineers, to design anything from a city plan to an industrial development campaign.¹⁸

His extensive built *oeuvre* was accompanied by a similarly important theoretical contribution to urban planning. In fact, Islamabad emerged as the amalgamation of Doxiadis’ main theories, namely Ekistics (the science of human settlements), Dynapolis (model for perpetual urban development) and Ecumenopolis (the unified global human settlement). It was intended to be a paradigm of the holistic management of urban complexity, ensuring that the requirements of modern development, including globalisation, could be met. The full extent of Doxiadis’ contribution to urban planning, however, was only

16 Zahir-UD Deen Khwaja, *Memoirs of an Architect* (Lahore: Printhouse, 1998), pp. 111, 112.

17 Dimitris Filippidis, *Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης (1913-1975): Αναφορά στον Ιππόδαμο* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1913-1975): A Reference to Hippodamus] (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 2015), p. 26.

18 Pendennis, ‘Unortho Doxy’, *Observer*, 6 March 1960, p. 4.

partially acknowledged. In this respect: 'New cities are few and far between, but we seem to hear all too little about this one [Islamabad]'.¹⁹ The modernist masterpieces of the administrative enclaves in Chandigarh and Brasilia that Islamabad failed to acquire may explain the latter's marginal position in twentieth-century urban planning historiography. Here, however, a latent misalignment emerges, taking into account the end of monumentality, as advocated by the representatives of the modern movement.

The limited interest that Islamabad eventually attracted is not unrelated to Doxiadis' personality and *modus operandi*. Doxiadis' personal abilities and strengths, which formed the basis for a soaring career, became at the same time his Achilles heel. One aspect of this inherent contradiction is Doxiadis' recognition as a professional who knew exactly 'how to utilise his liminal position between multiple worlds';²⁰ a liminality, however, which was translated into a limited long-term impact on the formation of human settlements.²¹ Doxiadis can be recognised as a controversial figure, as he experienced during the apogee of his career, both overwhelming admiration and criticism. On the one hand, he was praised for his humanitarian idealism, which was to be fulfilled through his unquestionable devotion to science—a heroic figure, a visionary technocrat fighting for a better world. On the other hand, he was criticised for his dogmatic attitude, for being repetitive and often inconsistent, or for introducing unnecessary neologisms—simply to communicate the obvious with pompous terminology. Doxiadis' ease of connecting to a massive international network has also raised questions. In fact, his liaisons with the centres

19 P. C. Collymore, 'News: RSA – Design of Islamabad' in *The Architectural Review*, 143, no 23 (1966), pp. 1401-1402, p. 1402.

20 Joe Nasr & Mercedes Volait, 'Introduction: Transporting Planning', in *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, ed. by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), pp. xi-xxxviii, p. xix.

21 *Ibid.*, p. xix.

of world power were viewed with suspicion, and according to Farhan Karim: 'Doxiadis is recorded in the history of modern architecture as a footnote, and mostly understood as a USAID stooge and a cunning planner'.²²

Doxiadis Associates numbered hundreds of employees operating both at its headquarters in Athens and at various offices abroad, but, undoubtedly, the real force behind the firm's success was Doxiadis himself. This explains why after his untimely death—at the age of sixty-two—the mastery of Doxiadis Associates faded. The same can be said for Doxiadis' legacy in terms of urban planning theories. His presence in the field of both urban planning theory and practice was mostly considered from a black and white perspective, or otherwise as a portrayal of binary elements such as success-failure, utopianism-pragmatism, idealism-speculation, which is far from comprehensive. The controversies that have been identified do not convincingly justify the marginalisation of Doxiadis' work. This is to say that the extent of his contribution both in theory and in practice to the formation of human settlements in the mid-twentieth century is such that it can be praised or rejected, but not ignored.

c. Literature precedents

Doxiadis' work has only recently been brought to the fore again, but there are still significant gaps in its understanding. In terms of the existing literature on Islamabad, the most recent and comprehensive publications—in 2015—are *Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης (1913-1975): Αναφορά στον Ιππόδαμο* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1913-1975): A Reference to Hippodamus] by Dimitris Filippidis and *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan*

²² Farhan Karim, 'The Modernist Historic Urban Landscape of Islamabad, Pakistan', in *Cultural Landscapes of South Asia: Studies in Heritage Conservation and Management*, ed. by Kapila D. Silva and Amita Sinha, (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 111-126, p. 123.

by Markus Daechsel. Filippidis' book constitutes a vibrant and detailed narrative of Doxiadis' personality and work that clearly outlines the context for interpreting his phenomenal presence in the history of mid-twentieth century urban planning. A section of a subchapter is devoted to the analysis of Islamabad, which, though thoughtful, could only be—and was only intended to be—an overview of the project. Filippidis' critical analysis of Doxiadis' work unfolds with the architect's personality and biography as a focal point. This personalised perspective is not irrelevant to the fact that the author had joined Doxiadis Associates for several years in the mid-Sixties.

In contrast to Filippidis' monograph on Doxiadis, Daechsel offers a close and original insight into the history of development through an episode of Doxiadis' work—the creation of Islamabad. The federal capital of Pakistan becomes the point of reference for both the exercise of developmental policies and post-colonial state formation, processes which, according to the author, are mostly contradictory. This results from the re-examination of development not 'as a statement of state policy [...] [but] as a more conflicted and transnational political process',²³ given the context of a transitional reality—from colonial to post-colonial. Development is interpreted through different but still interconnected 'modalities of power',²⁴ and it is suggested that when it emerges in the form of urbanity turns into a 'modality of governance' itself, or in other words, a centreless managerial governmentality following Foucault's discourse.²⁵ Taking into account that Doxiadis was a planner for development par excellence, Daechsel manages to shed light on both the architect's work and the realisation of international development within a specific historical context.

23 Markus Daechsel, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 16.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

In 2012, the book by Matthew Hull *Government of Paper; The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* was published. It constitutes an ethnographic research of Pakistani society, well-grounded on the living testimonies and personal experiences of the author during his stay in Pakistan in the late Nineties. The establishment of the new federal capital is taken as an episode through which to explore the nation-state building process from the perspective of its bureaucracy. This is to say that the existing official documentation is not seen as a mere representation of an evolving reality, but as a means of shaping this reality. Documents are not interpreted as definite precedents of a planned facticity, but rather as the starting point of a multifaceted process that is subject to communication or even manipulation tactics, interpretations, negotiations, or contestations, before it is realised.

The author's perspective is relevant to that of Nasr and Volait (2003) in *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspiration and Foreign Plans* and is summarised in the dynamics of interacting. This is to say that as for Nasr and Volait the encounter of the global periphery with modern urbanism did not follow a one-directional pattern—unequivocally defined by the foreign expert—similarly, for Hull the adaptation of Pakistani society to a new civic reality was regulated by contextual localities. Nasr and Volait challenge modernity as a monolithic phenomenon on the grounds that 'the will to modernise and to become modern cannot be separated easily'.²⁶ The collection of texts that constitute the book aims to bring to the fore the local and often disregarded actors of this transformation frenzy with a view to grasping the history of urban planning in a more comprehensive way. It is not incidental that the book concludes with Doxiadis. The complex relationships that defined the transfer of

26 Joe Nasr & Mercedes Volait, 'Introduction: Transporting Planning', in *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, ed. by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), pp. xi-xxxviii, p. xxviii.

Western expertise to the Global South—including the multidimensional facet of objectives and results—turn Doxiadis into a thought-provoking example. This lies in the geopolitical role of Doxiadis, as a result of his origin and networking, as well as the multidisciplinary conception of urban planning he advocated.

Farhan Karim has also been preoccupied with the transnational perspectives of post-colonial modernism in general and Doxiadis' presence in Pakistan in particular. He contributed to the *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* with the article 'Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958-1968' (2016) and with the chapter 'The Modernist Historic Urban Landscape of Islamabad, Pakistan' in the book *Cultural Landscapes of South Asia: Studies in Heritage Conservation and Management* (2018). The article focuses on Doxiadis' engagement with the Korangi project—a new township on the outskirts of Karachi to alleviate the pressure caused by the influx of refugees—and the Pakistani educational project, which included both the design of specific institutions and the formation of a programme to become the basis for the elementary education system of East Pakistan. The example of Pakistan emphasises the interdependence of post-colonial nation-states and the West on the grounds that the provision of technical expertise and funding was to enable the exercise of *soft power*. The author recognises that Doxiadis' theoretical framework fitted well into the broader geopolitical context—despite any implementation failures—and argues that Doxiadis committed himself to giving the intended 'globally connected economic space an architectural expression'²⁷—where expression should be interpreted as a means to an end. The identified failure of Doxiadis to create 'a seamless global space'²⁸ rests

27 Farhan Karim, 'Between Self and Citizenship: Doxiadis Associates in Postcolonial Pakistan, 1958-1968', in *International Journal of Islamic Architecture*, 5, no. 1 (2016), pp. 135-161, p. 139.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

in the fragmentation of the formed community spaces. In this thesis, however, it is argued that the concept of fragmentation constituted a precondition for the realisation of absolute unity.

Karim's chapter in *Cultural Landscapes of South Asia: Studies in Heritage Conservation and Management* is dedicated to Islamabad, which is taken as an example to open the discourse on architectural heritage issues. Taking into account that the value of Islamabad's built environment is not to be found in great monuments, but rather in a complex nexus of intangible meanings that determined both its creation and evolution, the problematic of this kind of modernist heritage acquires intriguing dimensions. According to Karim: 'these cities are nuanced amalgamations of material and immaterial cultural practices, ever-evolving entities of living urban environments'.²⁹ The author raises a series of questions that dictate the attempt to address the modernist city as a living heritage—the city continues to develop, but within a different context. Furthermore, Karim's perspective on Islamabad's modernist heritage reveals both a necessity and an existing gap. This is to say that on the one hand Islamabad can only be fully grasped if it is contextualised. On the other hand, its material form does not suffice to completely unlock the intangible parameters of its planning, given the early termination of Doxiadis' participation in the implementation of Islamabad.

Ahmed Zaib Mahsud's 2008 doctoral thesis at the University of Leuven was entitled 'Constantinos A. Doxiadis' Plan for Islamabad; The Making of the City of the Future 1959-1963'. The thesis incorporates rich and original material and identifies in the master plan a revised aspect of the modernist city. It is interpreted as an extrovert synthesis, emphasising the relationship between the built and natural environment of the metropolitan complex. Mahsud's 're-

29 Farhan Karim, 'The Modernist Historic Urban Landscape of Islamabad, Pakistan', in *Cultural Landscapes of South Asia: Studies in Heritage Conservation and Management*, ed. by Kapila D. Silva and Amita Sinha, (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 111-126, p. 113.

reading [of] the plan', however, focuses on the integration of nature and the city, in contrast to this thesis, which focuses on the connotations of social planning through urban planning. In *The Politics of Making* (2007), Mahsud contributed a chapter entitled 'Representing the State: Symbolism and Ideology in Doxiadis' plan for Islamabad'. The natural environment of Pakistan's new federal capital, and in particular its interrelation with the administrative enclave, remains Mahsud's central theme—the greatness of nature and the wisdom and political power of the state are united in a single event.³⁰ The author views the master plan of Islamabad as a hybrid, which deviates from the principles of modern urban planning and fails to form 'a specific style for symbolic representation of the state'.³¹ But the symbolic role of Islamabad in nation-state building was not to be sought through style. Statehood was to emerge in the form of a common consciousness, or as Koenigsberger expressed it, 'the awareness of a common fate which [is] essential to our conceptions of a town'.³²

Concluding, reference should be made to some writings which, although not critical analyses, have historiographical value. On the occasion of a retrospective exhibition on Doxiadis, held in Athens in 2006, Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtis edited the publication of *Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements]. It constitutes a meticulous overview of Doxiadis' life and achievements, based on the material of the Doxiadis Archive. Back in 2001, the book *Islamabad, the Birth of a Capital* was published. It was written by Orestes Yakas, a senior representative of Doxiadis Associates in Pakistan, who was

30 Ahmed Zaib K. Mahsud, 'Representing the State: Symbolism and Ideology in Doxiadis' plan for Islamabad', in *The Politics of Making*, ed. by Mark Swenarton, Igea Troiani & Helena Webster, (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 61-74, p. 71.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

32 Otto H. Koenigsberger, 'New Towns in India', in *The Town Planning Review*, 23, no. 2 (1952), pp. 94-132, p. 109.

responsible for the Islamabad project. His account of the history of the creation of Islamabad does not offer fresh insights, but it has the value of a narration that was experienced before it was told. The unexpectedly early termination of the Doxiadis Associates contract for Islamabad preoccupies the author's narrative. A similar account of Islamabad is provided by Zahir-UD Deen Khwaja in his *Memoirs of an Architect*, published in 1998. It is particularly interesting that in this book the events are not seen from Doxiadis' perspective, but from that of the Pakistanis. The author witnessed the creation of Islamabad through his position as chief architect in the Capital Development Authority. Given the limited information coming directly from government sources, Khwaja's work, even if it is not an official account, constitutes important historiographical material.

d. Research questions and methodology

It has become clear that the discourse on post-colonial modernism is far from complete, given its anchoring in multidisciplinary fields. The contribution of Doxiadis, in particular, has received limited attention, although he was one of the main actors in transnational urban planning strategies of the mid-twentieth century. This thesis focuses on Islamabad, as it is considered to represent in a more comprehensive way Doxiadis' approach to urban planning, which is examined in the broader context of nation-state building and modernisation. More exactly, the planning of Islamabad is taken as an episode to explore how Doxiadis' theories underpinned nation-state building and global development, and also to comprehend the finer points of his work.

An idea, which emerged in the early stages of research, became the basis for the development of the thesis; namely, a common pattern that was identified and could possibly connect afresh its focal points. Doxiadis was equally preoccupied with human and humanity. Modernisation refers equally to the individual and society,

otherwise it cannot take place. National belonging, which by definition amalgamates the individual with the collective, actually acquires its full meaning in a transnational or global context. In other words, the interrelation between the fragment and the whole emerges as a key parameter, shifting the interest to the formation of the connections themselves, which translates into a methodology. In particular, Islamabad as a concept represented a complete realisation of social interrelations—it was intended to be a national symbol, a modernisation symbol and the beginning of a global community.

In this thesis, Islamabad is considered conceptually and to the extent of Doxiadis' theories, namely Ekistics, Dynapolis and Ecumenopolis. Neither the panorama of Doxiadis' work, nor the whole spectrum of a *tabula rasa* capital city can be grasped through a single research project. Given that the primary interest of this research lies in Doxiadis' theoretical contribution, the intangible realities of Islamabad become the focal point. The decision not to emphasise the implementation of Islamabad is also related to the early termination of Doxiadis' contract. The city as an ever-evolving entity dictates the consideration of different milestones of the implementation process, if this is to be analysed.³³ But then the connection with Doxiadis would be loose. Additionally, the implementation cannot be seen as a separate event from its successes and failures, while the examination of the planning process emphasises the intentions and strategies in their clearest form.

Building on the existing literature on Islamabad in particular and on the transfer of Western technologies in general, this thesis focuses on the theoretical positions that informed the Doxiadis plan for Islamabad, an aspect of Doxiadis' work that has not yet been exhaustively studied. The thesis is fundamentally archive-based, its primary source material drawn from the extensive Doxiadis Archive

³³ For more details on the development of Islamabad, an appendix is included on page 308.

housed in the Benaki Museum in Athens. Hundreds of volumes are meticulously preserved there, including official reports, drawings, articles, correspondence, diaries, notes, photographs, etc. related to all the activities of Doxiadis. Within this wealth of material, Islamabad was chosen as a case study that exemplifies in the tangible context—plans—of a newly-created city the broader parameters of the evolution of Doxiadis' theories of modernist global urbanism and the science of Ekistics as they evolved in the late 1950s. In this way the primary research question is posed: how did Islamabad reflect Doxiadis' particular ideas on the science of the city? Secondary research questions that follow are: to what extent was the Islamabad plan distinctive within his body of work? Furthermore, and moving from the specific to the more general context: how were Doxiadis' theories of urban planning expected to meet the needs of a developing world?

As an archive-based study, the thesis traces the gestation and evolution of the Islamabad plan in basically chronological sequence. It is not a building history nor a sociological or demographic survey addressing the successes or failures of the new city as built. As noted above, several studies along these lines already exist. The strict focus of this text, however, is the formation of the plan and its theoretical underpinnings. Given that the material comes from the architect's personal archive, the direct view of the client is often missing—of the Pakistani government in this case. But this is counterbalanced by the richness of information contained in the extensive internal correspondence on how Doxiadis Associates addressed and responded to the client's requirements. An additional source of material was the Doxiadis Collection hosted in the library of the School of Architecture of the National Technical University of Athens. Apart from the related literature, some reports prepared by the government of Pakistan are also available, further reducing the gap previously identified. Last but not least, information from the press of the time—

newspapers, magazines—has been incorporated into the material that forms the basis of the research.

Archival research is challenging and one of the main reasons can be identified in the wealth of information that such sources can provide. In addition, archival material may be captivating for the researcher, endangering the objectivity of his approach. There are several questions for someone to consider prior delving into the richness of an archive. Which archive can best support the research? What additional sources are available and may be used? How could the validity of the information be verified? How should the material to be found be classified? These questions and many more that can be posed emphasise the limitations of archival research. Despite the limitations, however, the originality and uniqueness of this type of material can significantly enhance the research. The importance of recognising these limitations lies in shaping a methodology to address them.

The main challenge of this research was the dependence on the architect's archive, which translates into partial access to official reports. This changed the way the available material was examined; research needed to be deepened and also expanded. More exactly, the research was not limited to Islamabad planning, on the contrary, it covered a wide range of Doxiadis' activities in Pakistan as a government consultant. Characteristically, the Korangi project—a new town for the settlement of refugees from India—was taken into consideration, which, although fundamentally different from Islamabad, could shed light on the conditions that shaped Islamabad. The observation of the differences in the social structure between the two urban schemes was particularly enlightening.

The thesis' main argument is that the requirements of a predetermined socio-economic reform informed the master plan of Islamabad. This reformist drive is interpreted as a mechanism that unifies all scales of human existence—from the individual to the global. It is the unity of purpose and the principle of hierarchical

ordering, as formulated in Ekistics, that made this type of mechanism possible. The main body of the thesis is structured in five chapters, which cover three distinct but inseparable entities, namely the inception, planning and communication of Islamabad. More exactly, chapters 2-4 form the core of the thesis, focusing on the planning principles of the Islamabad master plan, which was anchored in the individual, the urban community, and also in the global community. Chapters 1 and 5, which frame the main area of research, focus on the tactics used to maximise the impact of Islamabad.

Chapter 1 examines the meaning of a *tabula rasa* capital city for the newly independent nation-state of Pakistan. Islamabad is interpreted as the gesture that could unequivocally bring together the nation—as a sovereign state and people—the regime and the idea of modern development. Chapter 2 is devoted to the analysis of mass housing policies implemented in Islamabad and their effects. The massive volume of houses that emerged almost concurrently on the hitherto empty site on the Potwar Plateau translated into controlled economic growth and social change. A factor of personal development becomes a factor of social management. Chapter 3 focuses on the synthesis of the Islamabad master plan. Spatial arrangements and social interrelations are examined in parallel with a view to understanding their interdependence. They both follow a similar pattern of development; that of fragmentation and hierarchical analysis before being synthesised into coherent entities. Social management is made possible through hierarchical community planning. Chapter 4 examines urbanity on a global scale, as Islamabad was intended to be the first materialised fragment of Ecumenopolis. Given Doxiadis' definition of the urban as a system of life, urban continuity can be achieved on the basis of networks and shared culture. Ecumenopolis is interpreted as a unified concept of urbanisation and globalisation. Last but not least, chapter 5 focuses on the communication of the Islamabad message. The multifaceted nature of the Islamabad project corresponded to a similarly

elaborated nexus of communication tactics. Its effectiveness as a social engineering and modernisation tool depended on the very idea of knowing Islamabad.

1. A *TABULA RASA* STORY

a. A first step?

There is a blank page in front of me, calling and waiting for words to be developed into ideas and further on for ideas to be structured properly, in order to create a thesis. Indeed, this blank page is the initial one of a thesis, the cornerstone of which is a capital city, created *ex-novo* on the empty grounds of the Potwar Plateau in Pakistan; or otherwise, it is the *tabula rasa* of a thesis on a *tabula rasa* city. The first steps of any endeavour are definitely the hardest, the most uncertain and yet the most promising; difficulties are expected to be transcended, failures are supposed to be avoided and goals is taken for granted that are going to be achieved. Meant to be proved either true, or false the above expectations, the main features of a *tabula rasa* story remain intact. Intention is considered to be the prevailing one.

In all its clarity, the blank slate is ambiguous. Bearing the neutrality of nil content, it is asserted to be neutral itself. This, however, is only hardly accurate. And this is because the lack of content can be perceived as an absolute void, only if it is to be completely detached from its wider context. This corresponds to a theoretical and abstract concept of void, which is deprived of any ability to produce impact. On the other side, the idea of nil content can be effective once it is recognised as such; at the time of its recognition, however, it ceases to have nil value. Therefore, the notion of blank slate, perceived as a neutral empty space, is challenged. In fact, the discourse on the hypostasis of the *tabula rasa* shifts to a problematic about continuities and discontinuities. According to Lefebvre:

An important aspect of the theoretical problem is the ability to situate the discontinuities and continuities with respect to one another. How could any absolute discontinuities exist without

an underlying continuity, without support, without some inherent process? Conversely, how can we have continuity without crises, without the appearance of new elements or relationships?¹

Following this logic, if absolute discontinuity is a utopia and continuity an undesirable reality, then the *tabula rasa* approach interpreted as a devised discontinuity becomes the alternative to address the problem.

The problematic of discontinuities and continuities in Pakistan is depicted through Doxiadis' diary notes:

At the end of two days' wanderings through the city of Peshawar, I stop in front of a monument which is at the city's central square, a monument which I have already seen several times. It is the old Victoria Monument but the statue of Victoria is not there anymore. It has been taken away since partition—the monument is there but the statue has gone. Now I understand why this monument has drawn my attention. Is it not symbolic of the situation we have to face? Has not Pakistan reached the moment at which it has overthrown the old symbols but has not created the new ones? Is it not our problem to assist for the creation of a new era with new symbols? Has not Pakistan reached the moment when it has to abandon the old type models of its towns and villages and replace them with something new? Something though which has not been created? I think that this empty space under the cupola of this monument should remind us of our task to find a way to fill this empty space and create the new symbols of the era of development to come.²

1 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 2.

2 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/12-11-1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/ p. 301.

In the above excerpt, several key words can be identified, namely 'partition', 'overthrown', 'abandon', as well as 'replace', which prelude the implementation of the *tabula rasa* approach. Starting with partition, there is a direct reference to the historicity of the moments that defined Pakistan. The decolonisation of the Indian peninsula, which resulted to the formation of the independent nation-states of India and Pakistan, signified an indisputable rupture with the past. Therefore, the starting from a nil point strategy could emerge as a coherent sequence—visual testimony of an existing discontinuity. A discontinuity, however, less explicit than desired, taking into account the vocabulary used. There is certainly no indication of a missing content, as it is not feasible to overthrow, abandon, or replace something non-existent. Doxiadis' notes rather reflect a latent continuity that had to be disrupted. Meaning that any remnants of the past had to be purged with a view to creating a blank slate to be filled afresh.

It becomes apparent that the newly independent nation-state of Pakistan finds a precedent in its colonial past. Relevant to this is Mahatma Gandhi's view: 'India nation was a creation of the empire-builders. Independent India inherited the colonial nation'.³ Undoubtedly, these inherited traits could neither be completely eliminated nor integrated with the new reality. In fact, they were in conflict with the emerging reality, jeopardising its fulfilment. Under this perspective, Islamabad, the *tabula rasa* federal capital of Pakistan, is considered to be a valuable instrument in supporting the struggle to transcend a questionable past. According to Lawrence Vale: 'The decision to build a new place for government is always a significant one; the decisions about *where* and *how* to house it are

3 Ahmed Zaib K. Mahsud, 'Constantinos A. Doxiadis' Plan for Islamabad; The Making of the City of the Future 1959-1963' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leuven, ASRO Department, 2008), p. 54.

more telling still'.⁴ In this respect, the decision to build Islamabad on the empty grounds of the Potwar Plateau adjacent to the existing city of Rawalpindi and according to Doxiadis' modernist theories of urban planning constitutes a strong statement. In other words, the government of Pakistan stated its decisiveness to lead the nation to a future without compromises—due the burdens of the past—and to offer its people prospects for development and progress. Islamabad was the physical expression of this commitment and the means to fulfil it.



Figure 1: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Doxiadis accompanied by members of his team and the Pakistani authorities in the area of the capital city, 1960 (Photographs, 34538)

Summarising, the present chapter focuses on the inception moment of Islamabad. The decision to transfer the seat of government from Karachi is interconnected with the emergence of General Muhammad Ayub Khan as Pakistan's absolute political leader, verifying that political power needs its own space to thrive. Given the country's special conditions, both political and social instability emerged as inevitable events that, however, had to be addressed. In

⁴ Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p. 10.

this context, President Khan prioritised the creation of a new federal capital on a *tabula rasa* basis, as of paramount importance. The Karachi or Islamabad dilemma was translated into a past to be forgotten against a future to be created. Similarly, for Doxiadis creative passion springs if 'first believe for ourselves that we are not at the end of an era, but at the beginning of one'.⁵ The analysis of the decision-making process for Islamabad aims to illustrate the prospects sourced from a clean slate site, as well as their contribution to the development of Pakistan. The key question to be addressed is what did it mean to plan an *ex-novo* capital city for a newly independent nation-state?

b. Aiming for social and political stability

A new page in the history of the Indian subcontinent opened after the withdrawal of the British imperial forces. An extended period of colonial rule officially came to an end on 15 August 1947, a milestone date for the people of the former imperial India.⁶ This was the birth day of two independent nation-states, namely India and Pakistan, whose existence was based on a separation according to religious criteria—India became the land of the Hindus and Pakistan the land of the Muslims. Independence Day became the symbol of a created country and yet of a country that had to be created. This meant that 'the voyage of freedom which flowered in Pakistan, after

5 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme and Plan/p. 181.

6 'Section 1, sub-section 1: As from August 15, 1947, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India to be known respectively as India and Pakistan [...]. As from the appointed date, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the government of any of the territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India.' (Excerpt from Indian Independence Act, July 1947).
Aziz Beg, *The Quiet Revolution; A Factual Story of Political Betrayal in Pakistan* (Karachi: Pakistan Patriotic Publications Limited, 1959), pp. 237, 240, Appendix I.

ninety years⁷ was at its end and yet it was at its very beginning. 'Sir Syed saw a vision, Iqbal dreamt a dream and Jinnah translated this spiritual heritage into territorial terms and founded the State of Pakistan';⁸ a similar cycle of visions, dreams and materialisations was expected to follow the day after Independence Day.

Independence Day, a great day to remember and to be inspired by. This symbolic day, however, was framed by a bitter past and a challenging future, as the establishment of independent Pakistan did not constitute just a glorious moment. On the contrary, independence was the first step of a colossal task to organise afresh a sovereign state. Likewise, it was difficult for the new nation to face its own traumas that sourced from the decolonisation period—long lasting procedures, political conflicts and personal dramas defined the pursuit of independence.⁹ According to Khushwant Singh:

The summer of 1947 was not like other Indian summers. Even the weather had a different feel in India that year [...]. There was no rain. People began to say that God was punishing them for their sins. Some of them had good reason to feel that they had sinned. The summer before, communal riots, precipitated by reports of the proposed division of the country into a Hindu India and a Muslim Pakistan, had broken out in Calcutta, and within a few months the death toll had mounted to several thousand. Muslims said the Hindus had planned and started the killing. According to the Hindus, the Muslims were to blame. The fact is, both sides killed. Both shot and stabbed and speared and clubbed. Both tortured. Both raped.¹⁰

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁹ 'The birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history.'
Ibid., p. 244, Appendix II.

¹⁰ Khushwant Singh, *Train to Pakistan* (Delhi: Penguin Books India & Ravi Dayal Publisher, 2009), p. 1.

It seems, therefore, that this is not only a story of remembrance, but also of oblivion. There was an immense need for independent Pakistan to face its regrets and losses, which, however, were inseparable from the autonomy gained.¹¹ In fact, failure to do so would jeopardise national unity and pride, which are prerequisites for a newly established nation-state. Given that neither the causes nor the consequences of Pakistan's traumatic past could be eliminated forthwith, the implementation of an impact strategy aimed at collective memory was deemed imperative. In this context, the indisputable discontinuity that resulted from the transition from a colonial to a post-colonial reality was destined to eradicate any unwanted continuity. A dividing line similar to the one that defined Pakistan in spatial terms was needed; meaning that the present time was to be separated from the past with a view to creating a blank slate for the history of Pakistan to be written.

Muhammed Ali Jinnah, the so-called Father of Pakistan, four days before the Independence Act was enacted, called for this:

If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.¹²

This quotation refers to a speech delivered by Jinnah on 11 August 1947 and reveals the urge of the Pakistani leadership to make a break

11 'Pakistan was born in agony and confusion. Its creation occasioned the largest unplanned population exchange in history, and its terrible cost was more than half a million lives.'
Wayne Ayres Wilcox, 'The Pakistan Coup d'Etat of 1985', in *Pacific Affairs*, 38, no. 2 (1965), pp. 142-163, p. 144.

12 Steve Inskeep, *Instant City; Life and Death in Karachi* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011), p. 57.

with the past, even before the past has been reached. The absolute need to rupture with the past is emphasised, through a transcendental rhetoric; both the suggestion to change the past and the prospect of perpetual progress can be perceived as such. Starting with 'forgetting the past', Jinnah escalates to 'changing the past', which, if interpreted in the literal sense—namely, not to repeat the mistakes of the previous era—can only involve a sense of remembrance. The challenging task of balancing oblivion with remembrance permeates Jinnah's words. It becomes clear that nationhood was expected to counteract the inherited burdens. Similarly, it is clear that a sense of national belonging was missing and moreover, it was conditional—there is a dominant 'if' in Jinnah's speech.

Undoubtedly, the conflicts of the past hindered the amalgamation of the Pakistani people into one unconditional entity. But the difficulty in achieving social cohesion can be attributed to a series of reasons that transcended the past of Pakistan; for the newly independent nation-state, the present was equally complicated. Percival Spear notes: 'United so far only by an enthusiastic faith in a religion and a way of life and a determination not to be ruled by Hindus [...]. Could faith and enthusiasm alone weld it into an indivisible whole'?¹³ Certainly, the answer is negative—enthusiasm cannot be maintained indefinitely and shared faith as a transnational trait can jeopardise the formation of national identity. The lack of a solid common ground for the integration of the Pakistani people was further intensified by a spatial paradox. Independent Pakistan emerged from the unification of two distinct regions, referred to as West and East Pakistan. On the basis of common religion alone, the two provinces formed a single entity to fulfil a dream, which proved

13 Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan, and the West* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 224, 225.

to be a utopia.¹⁴ West and East Pakistan were disparate in almost every aspect—linguistically, culturally, socially, economically, etc.¹⁵ But above all, they were separated by the vast and hostile territory of India, meaning that direct communication between them was possible only by air or sea. The unparalleled spatial structure of Pakistan could

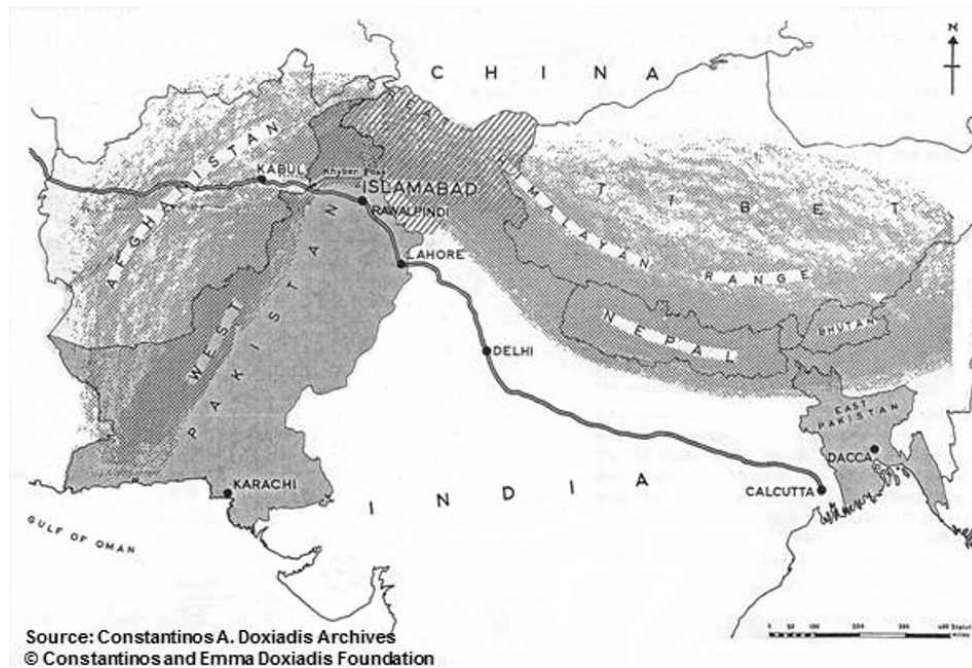


Figure 2: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *Spatial discontinuity of Pakistan*, DA Bulletin no.64, 1964

only be an impediment to the formation of a coherent national whole. Furthermore, taking into account that West Pakistan was considered

14 In 1969 East Pakistan gained its autonomy and the nation-state of Bangladesh emerged.

'EAST...NEVER MET WEST' Reference to the map of the post-colonial Indian subcontinent.

James A. Michener, 'A Lament for Pakistan', *New York Times*, 9 January 1972.

15 'The two parts of Pakistan have always been determined and dominated by the great river systems, the water sheds of the Indus and the Ganges. In West Pakistan is situated the plain, watered by the Indus and its tributaries, which is known as the Punjab or 'Land of the Five Rivers', while East Pakistan is crossed by another great river system, the Ganges, the sacred stream which flows through an immense fertile tract of land. Climate, no less than geography, has played its part in the development of these two separated regions. East Pakistan's western boundary approximates to the heaviest rainfall, as defined by the '70-inch' line, a figure which may be contrasted with the '10-inch' maximum of most of West Pakistan. Though geography, physiography, climate and race combines to stress the separateness of West and East Pakistan, one transcendental character unites them, a common ideology, a common way of life.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 115/22-04-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 50.

to be the true core of the nation-state, the problem of national unity could only escalate into a crisis in the absence of any measures to prevent it.¹⁶

Pakistan had to face similar challenges in the sphere of politics.¹⁷ The central governmental mechanism of British India was based in the territory that eventually remained under the influence of the Hindus and therefore the people of Pakistan were left with a void in terms of governing infrastructures; almost everything had to be organised from point zero. 'Beyond and behind all this lay the fact that Pakistan was a new country with its people untried in statecraft; [...]. On paper it appeared to be a ramshackle empire'.¹⁸ In this light, all aspects of political life had to be defined afresh, including the mode of governing—and therefore, the relationships between citizens and political authorities—representational issues in order to delineate the relationships between the central government and the provincial political powers, as well as international affairs. Above all, independent Pakistan had to decide on the political ideals that would form the basis of the sovereign state and the leadership that could best serve it. None of these, however, was clear.

To some extent, the basis for political conflict was already inherited. This is to say that the two Acts giving life to Pakistan and India respectively, namely the 1935 Government of India Act and the

16 'Of a hundred government officials I met, more than 90 were from West Pakistan, and later when I reached East Pakistan the disproportion was about the same. 'We are eager to promote Bengalis', my West Pakistan friends assured me, 'but they're all peasants, and if you find one with education, he's fit only for a babu' [clerk: ink-stained babu]."
James A. Michener, 'A Lament for Pakistan', *New York Times*, 9 January 1972.

17 Historical conditions were such at that time, both nationally and internationally, that almost nothing lacked the scent of politics. Percival Spear, with a sense of humour, describes the political frenzy of the era: 'Even thirty years ago a man might be asked as the first question of the first Indian who spoke to him on his first journey from Bombay: Do you believe in Destiny? But to-day the chances are overwhelming that the first serious conversation will concern politics.'
Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan, and the West* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 17, 18.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

1947 Indian Independence Act, empowered in a conflicting manner two distinct carriers of political authority—the Governor-General and the Constituent Assembly. Although, the latter held responsibility on matters of national interest and importance, including the preparation of the state's constitution, the Governor's supreme authority could challenge both the existence and the work of the Assembly.¹⁹ This explains the particularly long period of time that was dedicated to the constitution's preparation. It took nine years after independence for Pakistan to conclude a document defining its own existence in terms of polity. Finally, 'the new constitution proclaimed Pakistan as an Islamic Republic in 1956, and at the heart of the document was the idea of Pakistan as a democratic state following the British model'.²⁰ Unfortunately, the constitution's existence was not able to fully address the dilemmas of Pakistan. This was expressed in a Pakistani gazette at the dawn of 1955:

Pakistan's problem is of the nature of a dilemma. If she follows the form of democracy, and lets the common man do with the country whatever he likes it is like arming school boys with loaded pistols who are sure to smash the whole show. In the case we pursue the substance of democracy, as do those who advocate 'controlled' democracy, we run the risk of side-tracking the correct democratic process toward some sort of

19 Paula R. Newberg, *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 37.

'Provincial party leaders vigorously opposed the Governor-General's statutory powers and the potential for conflict between the centre and the provinces was underscored by the Governor-General's residual powers. He could dismiss ministries, declare states of emergency and issue ordinances of indefinite validity, whether or not a legislature was sitting—powers he exercised liberally and frequently.'

20 Ahmed Zaib K. Mahsud, 'Constantinos A. Doxiadis' Plan for Islamabad; The Making of the City of the Future 1959-1963' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leuven, ASRO Department, 2008), p. 184.

authoritarianism. It is in the midst of these two perilous paths that our leadership must steer their course.²¹

It was between these paths that General Ayub Khan found his way to the country's Presidency. On the occasion of the coup d'état of 1958 he managed to attain and maintain an hegemonic position in the country's political scene for a decade.²² The coup d'état was not an unforeseen event. In this respect and according to *The Economist* of 11 October 1958: 'Pakistan's politics, in the months preceding martial law, had ranged between the grotesque and the macabre'.²³ Similarly, according to *The Guardian* it was doubtful 'how Pakistan's former travesty of democracy could have saved the country from a slow and terrible decline into ignominy'.²⁴ The fact that the establishment of an authoritarian regime emerged as an inevitable phenomenon did not signify reduced challenges. On the contrary, General Ayub Khan had to organise the new nation-state, address the inherited problems in terms of social and political instability and moreover, secure his leadership. Being a ruler with absolute power as a result of a coup d'état implies the exigent need to implement legitimisation strategies.

Eleven years after independence, in one of his inaugural speeches, President Ayub Khan said:

It is our responsibility and our privilege to start building this country afresh, in accordance with the ideals set before us by

21 Paula R. Newberg, *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 51.

22 The coup d'état of 1958 was originated in President's Iskander Mirza 'revolutionary' acts—according to his declarations. General Ayub Khan was positioned as a Chief Martial Law Administrator and twenty days later he managed to displace Mirza and to announce himself as the new President of the Republic of Pakistan.

23 Wayne Ayres Wilcox, 'The Pakistan Coup d'Etat of 1958', in *Pacific Affairs*, 38, no. 2 (1965), pp. 142-163, p. 142.

24 James Morris, 'A government of military virtues', *Guardian*, 9 January 1962, p. 8.

Quaid-i-Azam.²⁵ Much valuable time has been lost; we have to begin where Quaid-i-Azam left off.²⁶

The same pattern is identified in terms of utilising continuities and discontinuities: Jinnah recognised in the blank slate the prospects for the successful development of Pakistan and the same was true for Ayub Khan. He further explained: 'Fellow countrymen, it is easy to start a new movement but very difficult to bring it back to the right path when it goes astray'.²⁷ Both political leaders shifted comfortably between the real aspect of the *tabula rasa* and the imaginary. This is to say that nothing was more real than the need to build the nation-state of Pakistan from point zero. Likewise, the idea of a completely eradicated past was fictional. Whether real or imaginary, however, the wider context of Pakistan offered the best potentials for the instrumentalisation of the *tabula rasa* idea.

Summarising, Pakistan was a newly independent nation-state lacking both national unity and political stability. Its past was distressing and its future still unplanned. The image of the sovereign state had yet to be outlined and its connection to the world to be defined.²⁸ In this respect:

25 In Urdu means The Great Leader; Reference to Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder and 1st General-Governor of Pakistan.

26 Aziz Beg, *The Quiet Revolution; A Factual Story of Political Betrayal in Pakistan* (Karachi: Pakistan Patriotic Publications Limited, 1959), p. 259, Appendix III.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 261, Appendix III.

28 'Pakistan was truly a product of many imaginations, each with their own visions of political community and state structure. The evolving state was caught between these images and languages in which they were expressed, and the people who articulated them. For some, Pakistan was the proud culmination of Muslim self-assertion, for others it was the expression of a necessarily Islamic state; for some, it represented successful anti-colonial politics while for others partition meant the failed prospect of a pluralistic India; for some independence was the logical outcome of subcontinental politics, for others it was the product of manipulation or historical accident. The state's antecedents, both real and ideal, influenced each attempt to set the strategic and political limits that defined state sovereignty, and also implied judgements about competing political ideals.'

Paula R. Newberg, *Judging the state; Courts and constitutional politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 35, 36.

Both India and Pakistan are crying for the light, but are uncertain as to the shade of light; they are determined to build for themselves their own national temple, but are undecided as to the towers and terraces which shall adorn it. Shall it be a Hindu temple, a Muslim Mosque, a combination of the two, an English mansion, an American skyscraper, or a streamlined Western factory?²⁹

A popular hypothesis in Pakistan related its development with the three As, namely Allah, the Army and America.³⁰ This constitutes a solid ground for interpreting the first steps of the independent nation-state. Although shared religion was not enough to shape national identity, it was undoubtedly the primary base for achieving social integration. It goes without saying that the army played a vital role in building the nation-state—the establishment of the Khan regime and the duration of his hegemony prove this. Last but not least, the alliance between Pakistan and the United States of America emerged as a mutually beneficial undertaking. As part of the global geopolitics defined by the Cold War, the United States sought to eliminate communism.³¹ Therefore, each new nation-state was seen as a potential ally in this endeavour and Pakistan's strategic location was considered a valuable asset. On the other hand, Pakistan depended on foreign support for its own development—due to its limited resources—and also needed to establish itself as a recognisable member of the global community. In this context, the cooperation

29 Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan, and the West* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 23.

30 Hassan Abbas, "Through the Lens of the 'Triple A' Theory", in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 30, no. 1 (2006), pp. 181-192, p. 181.

31 'There was a time when the [University] students were convinced of America's superiority in global conflict. More recently, however, the students have begun to feel that Russia is headed for both scientific and military superiority. They have not succumbed to communism, although our propaganda efforts have, if anything, generated resentment among many.'
Jay Robert Crook, 'Pakistan: A Young Nation with Old Ways and New Problems', *Newsday*, 20 July 1959, p. 11C.

between General Ayub Khan and the United States was initiated long before he reached the country's presidency. From the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army in 1953, he made a commitment: 'Our army can be your army if you want us'.³²

President Ayub Khan managed to concentrate all governmental power on himself and also to establish a strong international alliance to support his aspirations—networking with international organisations with access to funding and technical assistance became possible.³³ If his vision for an independent Pakistan was to be described in a single word, that would be development.³⁴ The generalised *tabula rasa* rhetoric adopted by the Pakistani leadership had to acquire a material hypostasis in due course, otherwise it run the risk of being deprived of any meaning and potency. National unity and pride, as well as optimism for a prosperous future could not be grounded on conditions of poverty. There was an exigent need to improve the living conditions of the general population and this could only be achieved by implementing a strategy for generalised development. For the modern world, urban reconstruction was considered to be the ultimate tool for development and President Ayub Khan proved to be an enthusiast supporter of this strategy.

32 Hassan Abbas, "Through the Lens of the 'Triple A' Theory", in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 30, no. 1 (2006), pp. 181-192, p. 184.

33 'We [Doxiadis & David Bell] both agree that from July 1, 1955 several millions of dollars could be spent very profitably for all kind of housing schemes and services. This is a good start of the day.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/23-10-1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/
p. 18.

34 "The 1960s are still commonly remembered as Pakistan's 'golden age' [...]."
Markus Daechsel, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 2.

'Ayub Khan's Government has, without question, transformed Pakistan. You have to admit it [...]. It has remarkably established confidence abroad, so that no self-respecting investor in underdeveloped countries now leaves Pakistan out of his list [...].'
James Morris, 'A government of military virtues', *Guardian*, 9 January 1962, p. 8.

Urban development as a means of economic and social stimulus could, however, only partially meet the needs of the government; the expected impact was significant but fragmentary. A gesture was needed that could unequivocally intertwine the nation—as a sovereign state and people—the regime and the idea of modern development. This was meant to be found in the creation of Islamabad, the new federal capital of Pakistan—an indisputable symbol of national sovereignty and pride, political vigour, governmental efficiency and comprehensive urban development. The political leadership acted promptly, and just two months after the implementation of martial law, the first concrete steps were taken towards the creation of Islamabad:³⁵

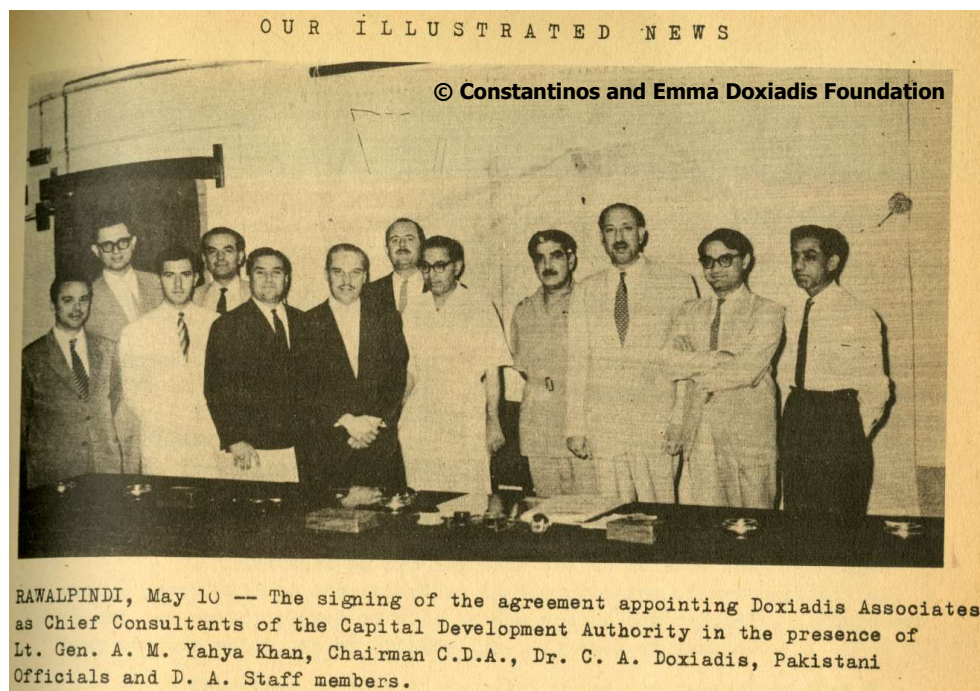


Figure 3: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DA Newsletter, June 1961

After several years of consideration, late in 1958 H.E. The President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, appointed a Special Commission to study the location of the

³⁵ 'No Pakistan government before or since has ever attempted such an ambitious display of executive power.'

Markus Daechsel, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 2.

new capital and in February 1959 named Dr C. A. Doxiadis Advisor to this Commission.³⁶

At that time, the port city of Karachi was the seat of the government of Pakistan. As already noted, Delhi, the former capital of imperial India, remained in the territory of independent India and so Pakistan was left without a physical administrative centre after the division of the subcontinent. Although Karachi prevailed as the only realistic option to accommodate the functions of a capital city, it did not cease to be viewed with scepticism—the particular features of Karachi will be discussed in the following subchapter. Undoubtedly, Karachi could not meet the aspirations of the Khan regime, especially given that its problems were aggravated after the partition.³⁷ As the major urban centre of the country, it received all the pressure from a changing reality and became a representation of instability. By juxtaposing two quotations, one from the press and one from a government source, it becomes clear why Ayub Khan insisted on creating a *tabula rasa* capital city. According to *The Globe and Mail*: 'But unity, in the tension of Karachi's overcrowding, is wearing rather thin; it will wear even thinner unless the refugees are soon heartened with something more than quotations from the Koran'.³⁸ And according to a classified government report on the location of the new federal capital: 'All roads lead to Rome is a familiar saying. But what is more true is the fact that all roads radiate from Rome'.³⁹ In other words, the Khan regime intended to create Islamabad—its own Rome—as a basis for

36 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Bulletin No 64, March 1964, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, Greece.

37 'The strong man who rules Pakistan, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, insisted on moving the capital from Karachi [...].'
By Associated Press, 'Pakistan Due to Build New Capital', *Christian Science Monitor*, 18 April 1960, p. 10.

38 Rawle Knox, 'Pakistan's Optimistic Capital', *Globe and Mail*, 18 September 1950, p. 6.

39 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Report on the location of the Federal Capital of Pakistan/36292/p. 17.

the development of the whole country, confirming Le Corbusier's view:

The great city determines everything: war, peace and toil. Great cities are the spiritual workshops in which the work of the world is done [...]. That is the reason why the reorganisation of the great city carries with it the renewal of the whole country.⁴⁰

The impact of Rome developed over a long history through the centuries. On the contrary, the power of Islamabad depended on its ability to make history; and this presupposed a definite intention, an unambiguous content and therefore, a blank slate.

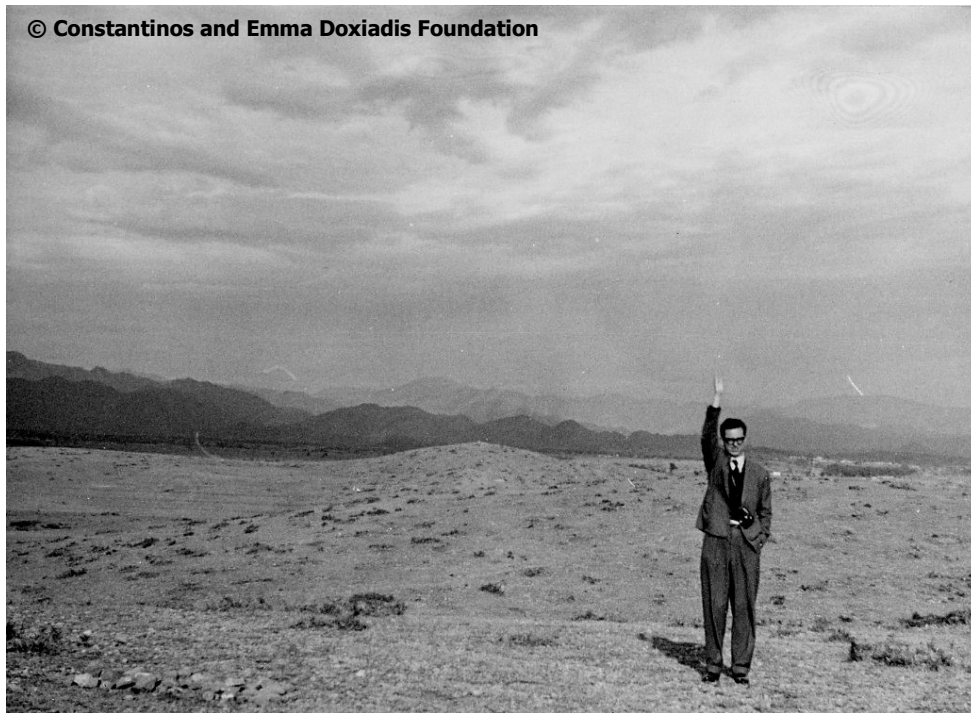


Figure 4: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Ioannis Frantzeskakis (DA Engineer) in the Islamabad area, 1960 (Diary-PA 100, p. 78, Pakistan Reports vol.41, 23592)

The establishment of Islamabad on a *tabula rasa* basis was expected to serve the following triptych: national unity, enhancement and legitimisation of the government and modern development. Success in achieving these translates into social and political stability, as well as economic prosperity—the ideal for any sovereign state. This

40 Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow and its Planning* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 85.

explains why the Islamabad idea was communicated as an ideal; it was meant to be the representation of an ideally shared power between the city and the political authority. The city as an integrated social entity depended on an effective government for its prosperity and the government depended on the support of the city to maintain its power. This cycle of interdependence was further emphasised in the case of Islamabad, revealing a dubious aspect of it. The *tabula rasa* federal capital was an unmistakable product of political will, decision and planning. In other words, not only prosperity but the

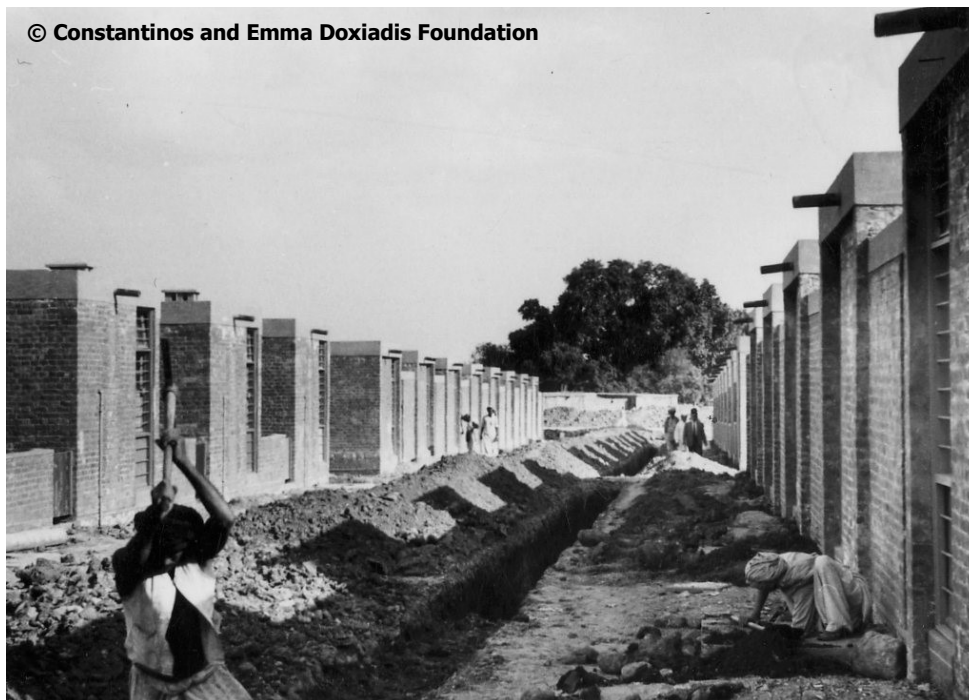


Figure 5: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *Housing construction in Islamabad, 1962* (Diary-PA 107, p. 13a, *Pakistan Reports* vol.123, 23657)

very existence of the city originated from political power. Given the authoritarian leadership, the capitalisation of Islamabad in order to produce an added political value in the form of legitimisation, stability, international recognition and ultimately sovereignty can only be taken for granted.⁴¹ In this respect: 'Only the most secure governments seem able to escape the need to demonstrate their command and

⁴¹ For Foucault, sovereignty by means of raising the issue of government seat capitalises a territory.

Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population; Lectures at the College de France 1977-1978* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 20.

control through dramatic exercises in architecture and urban planning'.⁴²

In this context, President Ayub Khan kept the Islamabad project under his personal supervision.⁴³ The urge to unequivocally connect his name with this colossal urban planning project verifies its central role in the nation-state building process. Furthermore, it denotes Khan's desire to attain a prominent place in the history of Pakistan, and Islamabad to be recognised as 'a magnificent legacy left by a monarch to his people'.⁴⁴ Everything had to be defined afresh and in a clear direction from top to bottom; above all, the message of the *tabula rasa* capital city had to be a manifestation of this logic. Related to this is the following excerpt from a government report on the role of architecture:

The characteristic of this Art is that it addresses itself to the masses. An architectural creation whether it be a cathedral, pyramid, castle, palace, public hall, or a Government Secretariat, is seen by unlimited masses of people, educated or illiterate, people of all kinds, and, therefore, it has been aptly called 'a message of many to many'. Architecture is order, system, effort, law and discipline. As compared to painting, it

42 Lawrence J. Vale, 'The Urban Design of Twentieth Century Capitals', in *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, ed. by David L. A. Gordon, (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 15-37, p. 24.

43 'The Federal Capital Commission must come directly under the President of Pakistan, who will supervise in general its work and take final decisions of the basic nature, either through the Cabinet meetings or directly himself. In this manner and following recommendations by the F.C.C. the President will approve the exact site of the capital, the program of functions which will be established in the Federal Capital, the master program, the master plans, the annual budgets, etc. and will reserve for him the right to take final decisions on any other matter he will consider necessary. The President will likewise appoint the Chairman and members of the Commission, as also the executive director, or secretary of the Commission.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 22/07-07-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 7.

44 Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow and its Planning*, (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 93.

deals with reality and not with a world of shadows. It does not imitate nature, it creates its own reality.⁴⁵

Here the socio-political aspect of architecture is emphasised. Architecture is interpreted as the bearer of a meaning that originates from the leading authority—whether the priest, the king, or the president—with a view to producing a social impact. Architecture is perceived as the means for the higher authority to address the mass and mould it. Its potentials appear striking; the escalation of the vocabulary used sets the control of the masses as the final goal. A control, however, that will not be the product of a direct exercise of political power. Instead, it will be in the form of a self-sustained social order initiated by the political power—a silent but still highly effective governing mode. It becomes clear that Islamabad was not intended to address only the practical problems of lack of state infrastructure. As stated, it was meant to set the basis for a new reality for independent Pakistan. It remains to be seen what this new reality would be and how the *tabula rasa* approach could contribute to its achievement.

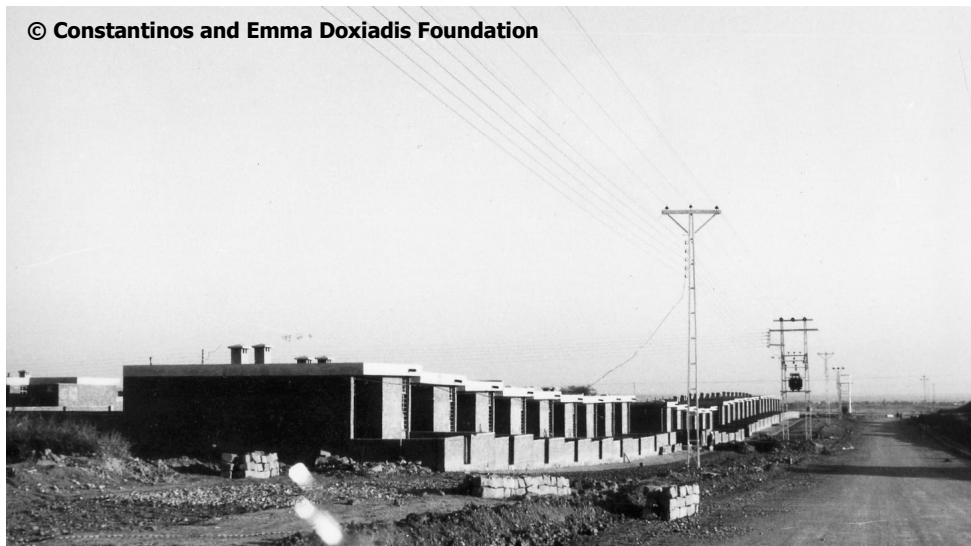


Figure 6: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Rows of houses in Islamabad, 1963 (Diary-PA 109, p. 79, Pakistan Reports vol.172, 23711)

⁴⁵ Doxiadis Collection, Architecture School Library, National Technical University of Athens, Report on History, Architecture and Archaeology, Committee No X, Federal Capital Commission, President's Secretariat, Government of Pakistan, p. 237.

Cohesion constituted a precondition for the emergence of the required new social order. Given the identified lack of national unity in post-colonial Pakistan, special measures had to be taken. The Khan regime had to take the initiative to define a common *locus*—in the broadest sense—which could produce a generalised social impact. As stated:

Our people, by and large, are tribal by instinct, by history and by their traditions. With the two provinces of Pakistan separated as they are from each other, you want to bring the people on a common platform. The thing to do was to take them to a new place altogether. So it is not just the building of a city, it is something that could be more. It is a question of binding the people of Pakistan, a question of giving the right sort of environment where they could produce the best results.⁴⁶



Figure 7: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DA Engineers exploring the ravines in the Islamabad area, 1960 (*Diary-PA 100*, p. 59, *Pakistan Reports* vol.41, 23592)

46 Zahir-UD Deen Khwaja, *Memoirs of an architect* (Lahore: Printhouse, 1998), pp. 81, 82.

In other words, a national symbol was needed, however, neither an enlightened but single personality nor a sublime but vague idea would be effective enough. Effectiveness was sought in a new reality, which would be woven by symbolisms and concrete materials. The capital city as a testimony to the very existence of the sovereign state becomes the ultimate visualisation of national belonging. It constitutes a common point of reference for all citizens and a signifier of their equally shared interdependence with political power. In the case of Islamabad, all this was overemphasised. Lacking any previous existence, the idea of a capital city that belonged unconditionally to all could not be challenged. It was communicated as the product of a collective effort, implying a perspective of equal distances within society, while at the same time emphasising the key role of political leadership as the sole orchestrator of this endeavour;⁴⁷ similar to the view of Le Corbusier: 'Men's minds, under great kings, formed their conception and strove to realize it'.⁴⁸ Islamabad was meant to be the city of all Pakistanis, or according to *The Pakistan Times* 14 August 1960 on the occasion of Independence Day: 'Islamabad: our city'.⁴⁹

It is true that social disintegration⁵⁰—either as an inherited trait or as an aftereffect of the decolonisation process—constituted a

47 This comes from a letter by Doxiadis to one of Doxiadis Associates engineers in Pakistan: 'You are talking about several measures that could have been taken, in order to improve the situation there. You say that an opposing to the government action could be discussed. Reasonably, you revert by answering that definitely this is not an option. Whatever we do, should be in complete accordance with the people in command.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-DA 3733a/25-06-1963/19200/p. 2.

48 Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow and its Planning* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 93.

49 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 867/15-08-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.75/23619.

50 'In view of the peculiar geographical situation of Pakistan, with the two wings separated by over a thousand miles of foreign territory, it was not possible to find a centre of gravity between the two wings of the country. Furthermore, since each wing has its own capital, the location of the National Capital at the site of one of the provincial capitals would have not only caused an undesirable mixing up of the central and provincial functions, but would also have aroused provincial jealousies.'

fundamental problem for independent Pakistan. This is clearly expressed through Jinnah's rhetoric:⁵¹

You belong to a Nation now; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali, it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a Nation, for God's sake give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism -Shia, Sunni, etc.⁵²

Zahir-UD Deen Khwaja, *Memoirs of an architect* (Lahore: Printhouse, 1998), p. 85.

The following two excerpts come from the correspondence between Doxiadis and Kostas Kakissopoulos, a representative of Doxiadis Associates in Pakistan. 'So far, only two persons have been employed, Miss Bushra Hameed and Mr. Jamil Khan; and the latter, only after great insistence of our side—he is not favoured by Mazhar's clique, as he is a refugee from India and not a Punjabi; provincial prejudices are still extremely rooted here.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, H-PL 9/04-09-1963/19200/p. 3.

'Said Khan [Director General of West Pakistan Housing & Settlements Agency], in a moment of familiarity, confessed to me that both his home country, Peshawar, and his race, the Pathans, have been treated with excessive injustice by the regime. Initially, they tried to achieve an increased degree of autonomy and he himself, Said Khan, had been one of the movement's leaders. He has never been forgiven for that and in order to be neutralised, he was transferred in the Central Government and now in Lahore.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, H-PLH 6/19-06-1963/19200/p. 2.

51 "Now I give you an example. Take America. When it threw off British rule and declared itself independent, how many nations were there? It had many races: Spaniards, French, Germans, Italians, English, Dutch and many more. Well, there they were. They had many difficulties. But mind you, their nations were actually in existence and they were great nations, whereas you had nothing. You have got Pakistan only now. But there a Frenchman could say, 'I am a Frenchman and belong to a great nation', and so on. But what happened? They understood and they realised their difficulties because they had sense, and within a very short time they solved their problems and destroyed all this sectionalism, and they were able to speak not as a German or a Frenchman or an Englishman, or a Spaniard, but as AMERICANS. They spoke in this spirit: 'I am an American' and 'we are Americans'. And so you should think, live and act in terms that your country is Pakistan and you are a Pakistani."

Aziz Beg, *The Quiet Revolution; A Factual Story of Political Betrayal in Pakistan* (Karachi: Pakistan Patriotic Publications Limited, 1959), p. 247, Appendix II.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 247, Appendix II.

Considering that modern development was set as a primary objective for the future of the country, both social and political stability became prerequisites. On the other side, the prospects for a prosperous future could support the pursuit of social and therefore political stability. This is to say that development and socio-political stability were engaged in a mutually supportive cycle of cause and effect—one was the stimulus for the other. The modernist city of Islamabad constituted the ultimate representation of these prospects. Its blank slate site was the bearer of a promise of a better future, which was ultimately accessible. Islamabad, purged of anything that opposed the purposes it was intended to serve, became the place where people could focus on a common cause; that of their personal development and therefore the development of the nation-state.

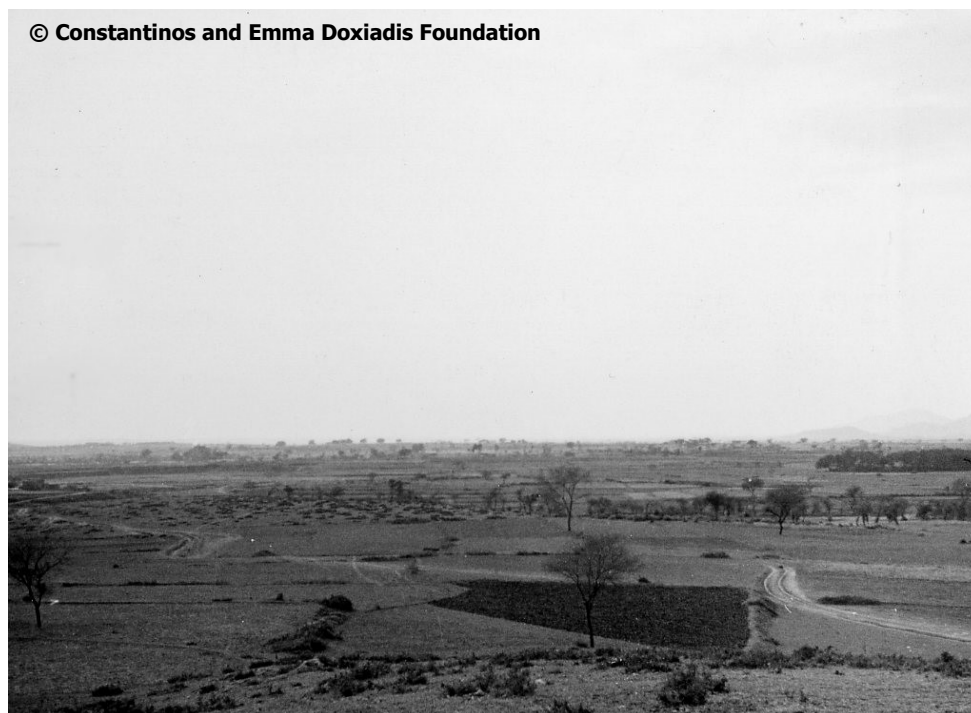


Figure 8: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, The empty grounds of Potwar Plateau, 1960 (Diary-PA 100, p. 81, Pakistan Reports vol.41, 23592)

This interrelation between the individual and the state is of particular interest. While the prosperity of the individual prevailed as an issue of great importance, this was not to translate into individualism. On the contrary, it was expected to serve the formation of an amalgamated social entity of national character. Personal development, based on a broader framework for progress defined by

governmental initiatives, could not be viewed as detached from the state itself. Recognition of this dependence leads to the formation of national identity, which escalates into national pride on the occasion of special conditions. People, unified under the umbrella of the state, seize part of its glory when great national achievements occur—Islamabad was certainly one. Similar to the paradigm of Le Corbusier, in reference to the industrial worker who is overwhelmed with pride and says 'our car did that',⁵³ the people of Pakistan could say our nation did that.

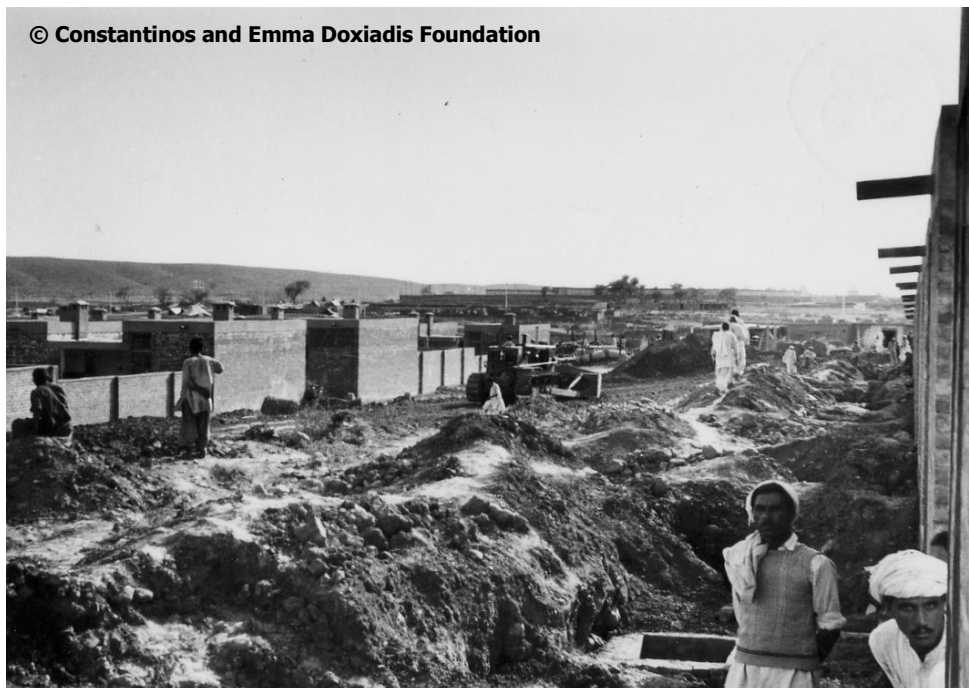


Figure 9: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *Housing construction in Islamabad, 1962* (Diary-PA 107, p. 15a, *Pakistan Reports* vol.123, 23657)

This pattern of interdependence between people and the state was reflected in General Khan's political agenda. The implementation of martial law, the establishment of a centralised government mechanism and the privileged way in which power was concentrated in the person of General Khan, did not prevent him from speaking about democracy—a kind, however, that people could comprehend.⁵⁴

⁵³ Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986), p. 275.

⁵⁴ 'Let me announce in unequivocal terms that our ultimate aim is to restore democracy but of the type that people can understand and work. When the time comes, your opinion will be freely asked. But when that will be, events

The introduction of the Basic Democracies Order, in a sense, reversed the direction of democratic process.⁵⁵ This is to say that power instead of springing from the people, was only directed at the people. The top to bottom exercise of political power remained intact on the grounds that 'no democratic system can be complete unless and until political democracy is accompanied by economic and social democracy'.⁵⁶ Since the absolute power of General Khan was connected directly with the welfare of the general population, it was almost expected to gain acceptance. This rhetoric, however, needed tangible evidence to ensure its viability and that is exactly what Islamabad was intended to be—the visualisation of an effective political leadership that could unify the nation and lead it to a prosperous future.

Islamabad could be the absolute visualisation of political effectiveness because it was a political product itself. Both the nature and the complexity of urban planning projects of this scale presuppose a centralised political authority.⁵⁷ All the factors that define urbanity—social, cultural, technical, economic, etc.—have to

alone can tell. Meanwhile, we have to put this mess right and put the country on an even keel.'

Aziz Beg, *The Quiet Revolution; A Factual Story of Political Betrayal in Pakistan* (Karachi: Pakistan Patriotic Publications Limited, 1959), p. 255, Appendix III.

55 'Democracy is merely concerned with the location of the source of power, and not with the form of organisation for the channelization of power [...]. The concept of Basic Democracy is based on the hypothesis that democracy is not an end by itself; it is only a means to an end, the end being the welfare of the people. The concept of Basic Democracy visualises the emphasising of the basic values of democracy rather than its form. The underlying idea is that the democratic order in a State should not be formal; it should be basic in character.'

Paula R. Newberg, *Judging the State; Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 81.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

57 For Doxiadis the creation of Islamabad depended on the control of any action that had to be taken. 'Such a road requires the complete coordination of all efforts to be made towards the new architecture, under the leadership of the competent authorities and the guidance of the architects in charge.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 115/22-04-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 3.

be coordinated in order to amalgamate into a complex but nevertheless unified whole. The multidisciplinary nature of urban development cannot, however, transcend the need for central decision making; instead, it submits to it, reflecting the top to bottom exercise of power. In this respect, Doxiadis recognised as the master builders of the city the 'real powers and authorities who have conceived the city and are responsible for it'.⁵⁸ But the city is not just a spatial and functional arrangement; it is above all a social entity. In this light, the establishment of a *tabula rasa* capital city translates into a social tissue that is to be structured afresh according to predetermined ends. In other words, the city becomes a comprehensive, however, manageable—due to its scale—fragment of the socio-political body and therefore the bearer of the interrelations between the two spheres. A *tabula rasa* city implies the *ex-novo* integration of the social and the political according to a predefined pattern. And this can be a module for reproduction in order to create an impact beyond the boundaries of the city.

Last but not least, Islamabad was meant to be a shared experience and a shared dream. The following quotations, one corresponding to the design phase and one to the implementation, reveal the contribution of the *tabula rasa* approach to that end. The spectacle of Islamabad already existed in the emptiness of the Potwar Plateau through the expectations it created. According to Doxiadis' correspondence:

The capital city will be born with one inhabitant, who, we do hope will be Mr. Yakas [engineer of Doxiadis Associates], with his desk situated somewhere on the hills; and it will start growing, progressively, up to the point of having tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands inhabitants and so on.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁹ C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 1104/01-12-1959/Pakistan Correspondence vol.33/23584/p. 2.

And according to an engineer of the Capital Development Authority:

Looking back, it was indeed one of the most exciting experiences for me to see the demarcation and the construction of the new roads of the Capital being developed, day by day and new buildings, in the form of housing and amenity buildings emerging month by month.⁶⁰

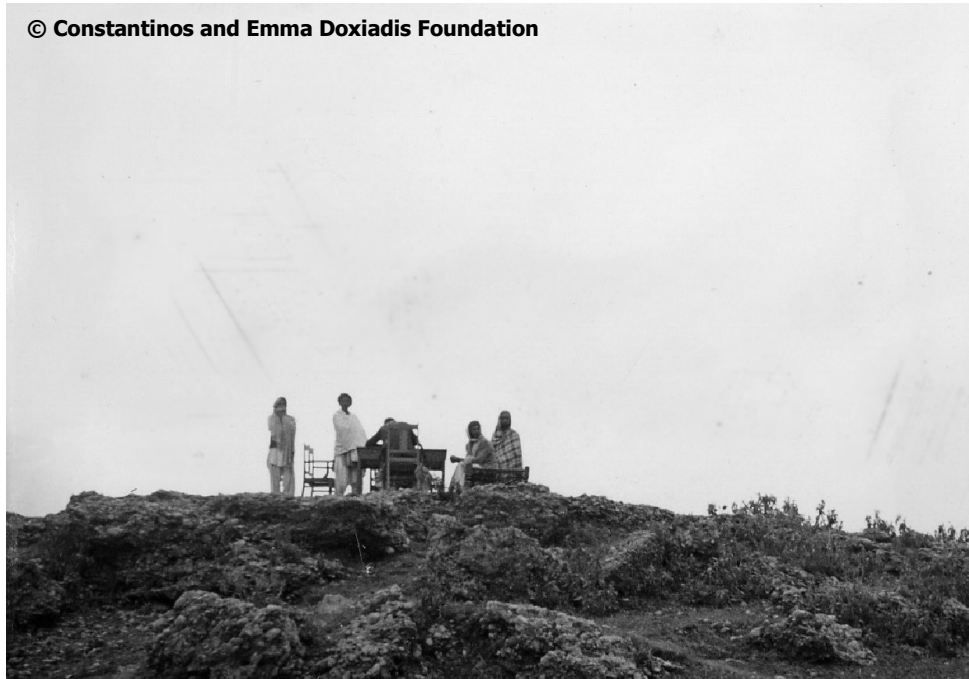


Figure 10: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *Islamabad is coming to life, 1960* (Diary-PA 100, p. 100A, Pakistan Reports vol.41, 23592)

Islamabad was intended to be a comprehensive experience on the basis that it included a complete sequence of events from inception to materialisation—the empty grounds of Potwar Plateau were to be transformed into a modernist capital city. At the same time, it was loaded with meanings that directly linked its development with the development of the whole nation. Therefore, through the consistent implementation of communication tactics, it was to be ensured that the people of Pakistan would be connected with this project of national importance. Islamabad could and it was intended to be a

⁶⁰ Zahir-UD Deen Khwaja, *Memoirs of an architect* (Lahore: Printhouse, 1998), p. 92.

collective experience, as 'ethnicity, religion, language, territory, per se, do not suffice to build nations [...]. Shared experience does'.⁶¹

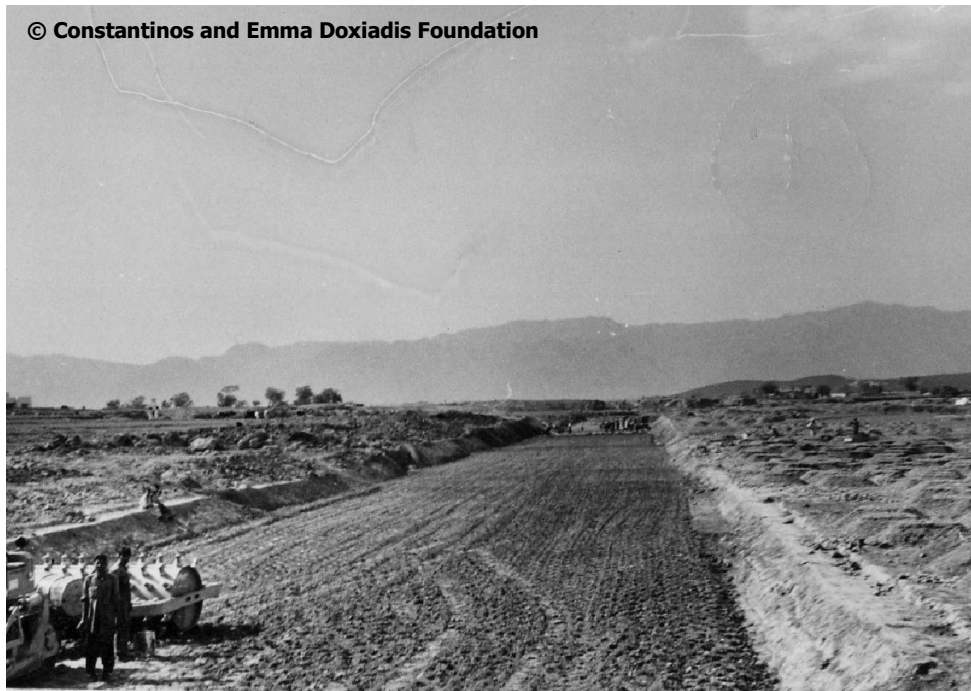


Figure 11: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Road construction in Islamabad, 1962 (Diary-PA 107, p. 1, Pakistan Reports vol.123, 23657)

Part of this shared experience was the anticipation of a better future. Meaning that people were given the opportunity in a collective and synchronised way to envisage a promising future, which, however, was already initiated. This translates into social conditions of mass enthusiasm, which can have an impact on the development of the project itself.⁶² Suggesting that people first had to believe in

61 Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Volume II: The Power of Identity* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell Publications, 2010), p. 32.

'[...] both the United States and Japan are countries of strong national identity, and most of their nationals do feel, and express, strong patriotic feelings. Yet Japan is one of the most ethnically homogeneous nations on earth, and the United States one of the most ethnically heterogeneous. But in both cases there is a shared history and a shared project, and their historical narratives build on an experience, socially, ethnically, territorially, and genderly diversified, but common to the people of each country on many grounds.'

62 The following comes from a letter by Doxiadis, on the occasion of an urban development scheme within the Greater Karachi area.

'This is of great importance and please communicate my personal opinion on this matter, both to the General and any other people in charge. Any dispersion of efforts appears to be of high risk. Korangi will be delayed, people will not be excited with it and therefore, it will miss to attain the necessary boost, in order to sell its plots and start developing on its own.'

what Islamabad represented and then join the collective effort to make it possible. Furthermore, this generalised euphoria was synonymous with conditions of social stability. Undoubtedly, this could not be a long term solution. It could, however, offer a valuable grace period to the political authorities in order to deal with their inner malaises, to organise themselves and ultimately to establish an effective governmental profile.

c. Karachi versus Islamabad

I see a capital city as something more than function, more than a place to live and work, more than a place to meet, in need of government...I see it as a symbol...A flag is a symbol, and so is a capital. I think we should plan now with the realisation that a great nation is going to rise on this continent...Right now, we have a chance which no nation has ever given itself. The chance to build its capital city by plan and not just by need. It is well enough to say that the city could be changed at another time; it could not, because it would not. It is now that we must stay here...that we must demonstrate our faith in the future of this country. We will show the breadth of our nation and the width of our avenues and the length of our parks. We will cause to rise here, on our day, the beginning of the city. Maybe it is too big for us, true, but not too large for our grandchildren...We must envision this nation as it is to be, when all nations of the world, yes even England and France and Spain, will stand and salute her and say 'Look what brave have done, look at that, rising from the Atlantic, a nation free'. How can America plan for less than greatness?⁶³

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 2217/21-07-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.66/23610.

63 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 8/15-05-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 1.

Interestingly, Doxiadis selected this text as an introduction to a report submitted to the government of Pakistan. It was originally intended to celebrate the creation of Washington D.C. as the new capital city of the United States. Now, Doxiadis as the consultant to the Special Committee on the capital city of independent Pakistan raises, in a sense, a similar question; how can Pakistan plan for less than greatness? The Special Committee was organised into eight subcommittees that were assigned with examining the competency of Karachi as the seat of government.⁶⁴ Additionally, if the relocation of the capital city was deemed necessary, the subcommittees were responsible for identifying the appropriate location for the establishment of a new federal capital. The Khan regime proved very decisive in connecting the future of the nation-state with the development of its capital city and Doxiadis, by means of an underlying yet vivid statement, confirmed the correctness of this intention.

At the time of partition, Karachi was practically the only sensible choice for independent Pakistan as its capital city. Only Karachi and Lahore constituted significant urban centres that could accommodate the seat of government. Lahore, however, could not be considered a prominent candidacy. As the former provincial capital of Punjab it witnessed a twofold dichotomy. The Punjab province of imperial India was separated into two parts—one Pakistani and one Indian. While Lahore remained in the territory of Pakistan, its proximity to the hostile territory of India led to its exclusion from serious consideration. Therefore, Karachi, a vibrant commercial and economic centre, as well as a communication and transportation hub, became the first capital city of independent Pakistan. Its ability to

⁶⁴ In detail, the appointed subcommittees were: on Geographical and Climatic factors, on Economic and Financial factors, on Social and Cultural factors, on International Relations factors, on Development Resources, on Communications, on Requirement of Civil Supplies factors and on Town Planning and Aesthetic factors.

Ibid., p. 87.

reflect the ideals of the new nation-state and to contribute effectively to the nation-building process, however, was challenged from the outset.⁶⁵

The rise of General Khan to the political leadership of Pakistan triggered anew the process of revisiting Karachi as a suitable capital city. The quantitative and qualitative characteristics of Karachi seemed incompatible with his vision of expressing the unity of the nation, the regime and modern development through an urban entity;⁶⁶ 'a phenomenon of power and energy'⁶⁷ capable of producing an impact on the scale of the nation-state. A series of questions, however, had to be answered before any final decision could be made. For example, could an extensive remodelling turn Karachi into a driving force for the nation? On the other side, was the creation of a new federal capital financially feasible? And if so, what would be the appropriate location for its development? The political authority heralded the advent of a new era for the country and this presupposed a gesture on which the hopes and dreams of the nation could depend.⁶⁸ And it was unlikely that the energy required to

65 'The creation of a new federal capital in Pakistan is an old story. It is being discussed almost since the establishment of this new country, as Karachi was simply a port city and it was not even always the capital of the province of Sind. Other provinces and mainly the bigger ones, such as Punjab, or East Pakistan, have been protesting and quite often raised the matter of establishing a new federal capital. Employees, who had been relocated in Karachi, were complaining about the climate and often expressed their thought of moving towards a better capital city. The healthier, in political terms, thinking men, desired the administration's detachment from the industrial, as well as commercial environment of Karachi and therefore the issue of establishing a new federal capital still attracts the public interest and is being discussed by the people in charge. It went through a lot of stages.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives/R-PKH 8/08-02-1959/Pakistan vol.25/23576/p. 1.

66 'An ancient village devoted to fishing sprang to life when it became the capital of Pakistan in 1947 [...]. But Karachi is a muggy place where people live but grudgingly.'
Mohammed Azhar Ali Khan, 'Karachi and Islamabad; Pakistan Shares Capitals', *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 November 1960, p. 3.

67 Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow and its Planning* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 25.

68 '[...] towards the realisation of this historical project on which the hopes and dreams of the Nation depend.'

mobilise an entire nation could be found in something that already existed; meaning that the new page for Pakistan could only be blank.

It would be misleading to assume, however, that Karachi was without any advantages—even today it is one of the most populous cities in the world. The initial findings of the work of the Special Committee confirm this. In this respect, five out of the eight subcommittees concluded that Karachi, or the Greater Karachi area—covering a radius of forty miles from the city centre—met the requirements of a suitable capital city.⁶⁹ In detail, the subcommittees on geographical and climatic factors, economic and financial factors, development resources, communications, as well as town planning and aesthetic factors were in favour of Karachi's candidacy. It is interesting that Doxiadis' initial thoughts were in complete alignment with the above. In 1957, he wrote:

Up to now we have discussed the following projects with several authorities of the Pakistan government: a) With the former Prime Minister and the Planning Board the possibility of planning and designing the new federal capital. It seems that the project has now been dropped. I hope that it will be revived in the interest of Pakistan which badly needs a new federal capital outside but in connection with present Karachi.⁷⁰

Two years later, Doxiadis appeared consistent in arguing that the Greater Karachi area was the most sensible choice to accommodate the functions of Pakistan's capital city.⁷¹ He was determined to work

C. A. Doxiadis Archives/Islamabad – Monthly Bulletin No18/October 1960/Issued by Doxiadis Associates, Athens.

69 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 8/15-05-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 87.

70 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/C-PA 8/09-04-1957/Pakistan Correspondence vol.31/23582.

71 'That Prime Minister (Mohammed Ali B') was an ideologist, who wanted in any case to remove the capital out of the influential sphere of industrialists and merchants, but not too far away, due to the project's cost effectiveness. This was the first time for me to study the issue and I came up with the same conclusion, suggesting that it would be reasonable to relocate the capital,

in this direction while acknowledging that above all this decision was a matter of political will. In this respect:

For the moment, I have promised to prepare a guideline document. And this is an easy task, as I would only have to set some basic rules for the Commission to start thinking. I underline, though, that there is something more to be done by me. I should start preparing small sketches of the country, on which I will explain the reasons for the new capital city to be developed in proximity with Karachi. I will not indicate what I am saying; I will do so, if and only if I am asked to. I will make, though, such an analysis, which will facilitate the orientation of their thoughts towards the Karachi area and the solution studied in the past.⁷²

And

The creation of a new federal capital is basically a political decision [...]. It is indeed a matter of basic policy for a country and for a government to decide about the criteria, which will govern the creation of the federal capital.⁷³

It becomes clear that the criteria set by the Khan regime did not allow Karachi to maintain its position as the country's leading city. Similarly, the political will to utilise the *tabula rasa* idea as an instrument for nation-building is emphasised.

The influx of refugees constituted one of the primary problems for independent Pakistan. For a long time, an overwhelming number of people continued to abandon their homelands, crossing the borders between India and Pakistan in both directions. According to Doxiadis' diary, seven years after the partition, Pakistan continued to receive

though in a connection to Karachi, similar to the existing interrelation between Athens and Piraeus.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives/R-PKH 8/08-02-1959/Pakistan vol.25/23576/p. 1.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷³ C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PKH 1/12-02-1959/Pakistan vol.14/23565/p. 1.

200-250 refugees on a daily basis.⁷⁴ According to the same source and the census of 1951, a total of 8 million people from each country had already been displaced, while human flows were still increasing. It goes without saying that for the country the impact was enormous both socially and economically.⁷⁵ It is also true, however, that this impact could not have been distributed in a balanced way throughout Pakistan. Urban centres in general and capital cities in particular tend to attract people due to the availability of employment opportunities and government infrastructure. Taking into account that Pakistan was in the early stages of industrialisation, Karachi witnessed an unprecedented influx of people—both refugees from India and labourers from the rural areas of Pakistan.⁷⁶ The city may be a *locus* of prospects, however, this does not translate into unconditional capabilities. Karachi could not properly accept this colossal number of people in such a short time.⁷⁷ It becomes evident that requirements

74 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PP 20/OCT-NOV 1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 9.

75 'Later in the day, together with Alam, we visit Mr. Abassi, Secretary of the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation. He explains to us his basic problem: that is the lack of funds to meet the situation. He is depressed by the fact that people praise the efforts for rehabilitation in India and consider Pakistan as a backward country. But he says that although both countries had approximately the same number of refugees, that is about 8,000,000 people in every country, Pakistan has been able to spend Rs 320,000,000, whilst India has spent Rs 2,000,000,000. To that I could add the following approach: whilst in Pakistan one refugee corresponds to 10 inhabitants, in India one refugee corresponds to 42, which means that the burden of the Pakistanis is more than four times higher than that of the Indians.'
Ibid., p. 9.

76 'Then came the big wave of refugees and the biggest part of them went towards the new capital, which could provide assistance as the seat of the government power, could provide jobs as a big urban centre and could provide goods as the country's market. Thus, more and more people came towards Karachi.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 8/15-05-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 2.

77 'We talk about the rehabilitation of refugees. The municipality's views are that building houses and community services for the refugees is not enough. This is the reason why they think the government settlements have failed in different areas. They are far away from the centre of the city and there was not provision for jobs nearby. Thus the chief engineer tells us they have noticed many cases where the refugees sell the houses given to them to other people in order to get the money and live with it. They go to the old city and live in

and availabilities in the housing sector have not been aligned. Numbers do speak on their own; according to the census of 1961, 150,000 homeless families could be found in Karachi.⁷⁸ The discouraging conditions of the Pakistani capital city were portrayed in the press. According to *The Globe and Mail*: 'So, the refugees have been put into school buildings; and the children do not go to school'.⁷⁹ And

Next day there was a minor riot. It was started by the several hundred inhabitants of Khorī Garden, which is really a small public square. It is surrounded not by polite little dwellings but by warehouses, and in one corner, a mosque. Those several hundred inhabitants eat, trade and sleep on the pavements; they are all refugees or immigrants to Karachi from the barren province of Sind. They exist by selling pink hair combs, flit-guns, plastic sandals and other occidental oddities, the mysterious demand for which serves to keep alive millions of refugees in India and Pakistan.⁸⁰

In the same diary of 1954 Doxiadis wrote: 'They badly need housing facilities for this new population which accumulated in Karachi since partition; it is in Karachi that people feel the pressure from any type of evolution that takes place throughout the country'.⁸¹ It goes

the slums, they do not mind even living on the footpath if they can make a living nearby and this they tell me is possible in the old city of Karachi. It is impossible for them to live in the outskirts because fares to and from the city are about Rs 1 a day and for any person earning an average of Rs 2 a day, this is an unbearable burden.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PP 20/OCT-NOV 1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 149.

78 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, R-PAK-LH 127/11-01-1965/Pakistan Reports vol.229/23786/p. 8.

79 Rawle Knox, 'Pakistan's Optimistic Capital', *Globe and Mail*, 18 September 1950, p. 6.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

81 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PP20/OCT-NOV 1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 148.

without saying that if Karachi was to suffer the harsh impact of the problems of developing Pakistan, then it could only be a reflection of that. In a sense, Karachi was the representation of a society in transition and more precisely a society that had difficulty finding its way to stability and prosperity. But at the same time, Karachi as a capital city was the representation of the nation-state. In this contradictory context, the vision of President Khan could not flourish. The rhetoric of national unity and pride, as well as a strong political power capable of providing its people the prospects of modern development, could not possibly be anchored in the overcrowded slums of Karachi. The spirit of a proper capital city that could meet the needs of independent Pakistan is reflected in a report by the Federal Capital Commission. From this comes the following excerpt:

Our society is in a state of evolution. Political and economic developments at home and abroad are rapidly changing the outlook and the behaviour of the people. It is, therefore, not enough that the plan of the new capital should suit our traditional way of life. The plan must also be in line with the direction of our evolution and should contribute to the emergence of new patterns of life.⁸²

The world was changing and Pakistan intended to follow the global trend. Political, economic and social changes are interpreted as a single phenomenon. According to the text, these interdependent changing spheres will inevitably amalgamate into a new reality, and it was considered critical to give direction to the formation of this new reality. Clearly, social structure becomes the focus of attention; the emergence of new patterns of life can only be based on a remodelled social tissue. Considering the traumatised social reality of Karachi, it did not seem well suited to leading the national endeavour. Karachi

82 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/ 'Report on the preliminary master plan & program of Islamabad' (part1)/Federal Capital Commission, President's Secretariat, Government of Pakistan/Rawalpindi/Printed by the Manager, Central Army Press, G.H.Q, [1959, or 1960], pp. 19, 20.

was a bearer of contradictions and a representation of a distressing present.⁸³ On the other side, a *tabula rasa* capital city could be what the political power wanted it to be.

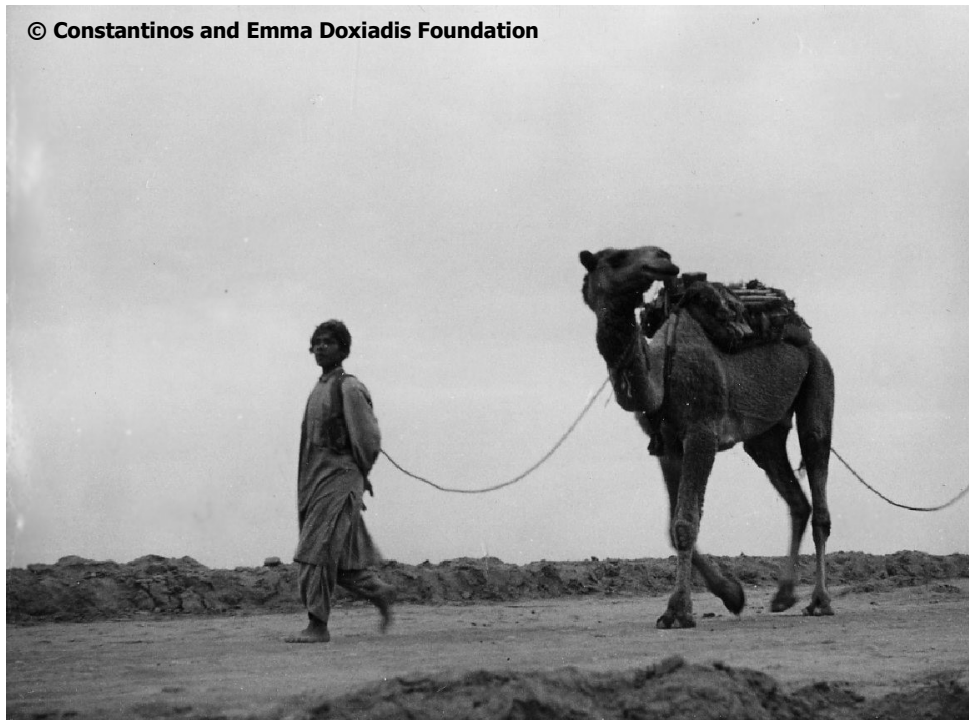


Figure 12: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *On the cultural origins*, 1960 (Diary-PA 100, p. 102B, *Pakistan Reports* vol.41, 23592)

It would be misleading, however, to assume that the idea of transferring the seat of government received warm acceptance from all social groups. In particular, the classes of merchants and industrialists,⁸⁴ who had established a remarkable presence in the

⁸³ The following comes from the 'Letters to the Editor' column of *Dawn*, a national English-language newspaper published in Karachi: 'Permit me to bring to notice of authorities of Karachi Cantonment the deplorable insanitary conditions prevailing in Jacobs Lines. The huts and tents of refugees have encircled the government quarters situated in the rear part of this colony like the web of a spider. On account of this congestion of huts, even a rickshaw cannot pass through at most places. This is resulting in enormous inconvenience and trouble to the government servants who deserve special attention of the authorities concerned [...]. To crown all, some people are allowed to keep milch cattle for business purposes even in this congested area [...]. The cattle keepers (whether government servants or refugees) can also be directed not to keep their cattle inside or near the government quarters.' Sarah Ansari, 'Everyday Expectations of the State during Pakistan's Early Years: Letters to the Editor, *Dawn* (Karachi), 1950-1953' in *From Subjects to Citizens; Society and the Everyday State in India and Pakistan, 1947-1970*, ed. by Taylor C. Sherman, William Gould, Sarah Ansari, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.172-192, pp. 182, 183.

⁸⁴ C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 8/15-05 1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 3.

urban complex of Karachi, were reluctant to lose their privileges. Therefore, they adopted an opposing stasis in relocating the capital city. According to the information available, it seems that between the two spheres, namely the political and the entrepreneurial, close and often mutually suspicious links had been developed.⁸⁵ Corruption was not uncommon and Aziz Beg—who appears to be in complete alignment with the Khan regime—identified the source of the evil in the business people, who could penetrate all levels of administration and offer the apple of Eden.⁸⁶ He wrote:

It was discovered that business groups had their pay-offs in Government offices. How far politicians corrupted officers, and officers corrupted politicians and business men corrupted both, is perhaps a debatable point but what is not doubtful is that if they are mutually agreed to benefit each other, no weak Government could break their combine.⁸⁷

The Khan regime claimed the position of a strong government that could eliminate any phenomena of corruption. It is true that President

85 "Thus, the schemes for new industrial units were never subjected to a thorough economic scrutiny and financial calculus but sanctioned on political and 'other' considerations [...]. Industrial policy had more or less degenerated into subservience to political favouritism and nepotism."
Aziz Beg, *The Quiet Revolution; A Factual Story of Political Betrayal in Pakistan* (Karachi: Pakistan Patriotic Publications Limited, 1959), p. 157.

86 The following comes from the 'Letters to the Editor' column of *Dawn*, a national English-language newspaper published in Karachi: 'If investigations were to be made, instances would be made available where reports have been made to the Anti-Corruption staff and officials have been caught with Government property in their houses, or documents and bills for materials and stores supplied by local contractors at absurd prices and labour registers with false entries have been seized, but these cases have eventually been suppressed by official pressure and the informants have been victimised and hounded out of their jobs in the Government after having been declared dangerous subjects in departmental circulars. It is time that privileges for officers and subordinates of Gazetted rank be abolished.'
Sarah Ansari, 'Everyday Expectations of the State during Pakistan's Early Years: Letters to the Editor, *Dawn* (Karachi), 1950-1953' in *From Subjects to Citizens; Society and the Everyday State in India and Pakistan, 1947-1970*, ed. by Taylor C. Sherman, William Gould, Sarah Ansari, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 172-192, p. 189.

87 Aziz Beg, *The Quiet Revolution; A Factual Story of Political Betrayal in Pakistan* (Karachi: Pakistan Patriotic Publications Limited, 1959), p. 181.

Khan showed great zeal to that end through a powerful rhetoric intended to unite the army with common people.⁸⁸ Based on their supposedly common moral values, he called for a coordinated struggle against anyone who proved to be engaged in an unethical pursuit of wealth and political power. In his words:

Wealth and power became the main purpose in life. Those who had wealth were engaged in the pursuit of power and those who had power devoted themselves to acquiring wealth [...]. It is now our bounden duty to raise the moral standards of our people.⁸⁹

These words, however, had to translate into concrete actions in order to be both convincing and meaningful. The relocation of the government seat away from Karachi was intended to be a solid proof of the regime's willingness to reinstate a relationship of trust between political power and the people. The subcommittee on social and cultural factors affirmed that 'the capital should be in a place where the business community is not coming in contact with administration in [*sic*] social level'.⁹⁰ This approach, whether perceived as a dedicated effort against social injustice or as an opportunity to establish afresh the interconnections of powerful people, was to be well served by implementing a *tabula rasa* policy. As reported by the press of the time:

The military regime that runs this country came to power because the old Pakistan was crippled and demoralised by corruption, and the very emblem of that degradation was

88 'A word for the disruptionists, political opportunists, smugglers, black-marketers and other such social vermin, sharks and leeches. The soldiers and the people are sick of the sight of you. So, it will be good for your health to turn a new leaf and begin to behave, otherwise retribution will be swift and sure.'

Ibid., p. 255, Appendix III.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 262, Appendix III.

90 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 8/15-05 1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 36.

Karachi, the former capital. She remains, to my mind, a singularly nasty town, grasping and characterless [...].⁹¹

Evidently, Karachi could not be transformed into a national symbol and a source of inspiration for the people. It was already inscribed in their consciousness as a socially and politically unstable environment that could not effectively support any quest for progress. A past laden with undesirable references—including those of British rule—and an ambiguous present were synonymous to a dubious future. Therefore, the aspirations of the Pakistani government for the capital city could not find their counterpart in Karachi. As expressed by the Federal Capital Commission:

From this city flows the inspiration which pulsates life into the nation. It is a symbol of our hopes. It is a mirror of our desires. It is the heart and soul of the nation. It is, therefore, essential that the environment of the Capital should be such as to ensure continued vitality of the nation.⁹²

The dilemma of the capital city of Pakistan was hardly a dilemma. It seems that the idea of creating a *tabula rasa* capital city was inherent in the agenda of President Khan.⁹³ Therefore, as early as June 1959, the exact location of the new federal capital was made public—Islamabad was to be established in northern Pakistan, about 1,500km

91 James Morris, 'A government of military virtues', *Guardian*, 9 January 1962, p. 8.

92 Reference from the Commission report on the location of the federal capital. C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 22/07-07 1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 12.

93 Often the reports of the Federal Capital Commission appear to be supportive rather than examining. The following excerpt supports in a quite interesting way the assignment of the Islamabad master plan to the Greek architect Constantinos Doxiadis.
'The services of Greek engineers seem to have been requisitioned by the greatest of Kuchans in the early centuries of Christian era. Greek influence on Indian coinage, iconography, literature, drama and stage is unmistakable. Indian writers bear testimony to the proficiency of Greeks in sciences and one author admits that they were honoured as though they were Indian sages.'
Doxiadis Collection, School of Architecture, National Technical University of Athens, Report on History, Architecture and Archaeology, Committee No X, Federal Capital Commission, President's Secretariat, Government of Pakistan, p. 82.

from Karachi. According to *The Guardian*: '[...] the move to these northern reaches of West Pakistan, for a traveller as for a Government, is like switching from stale beer to iced pineapple juice'.⁹⁴

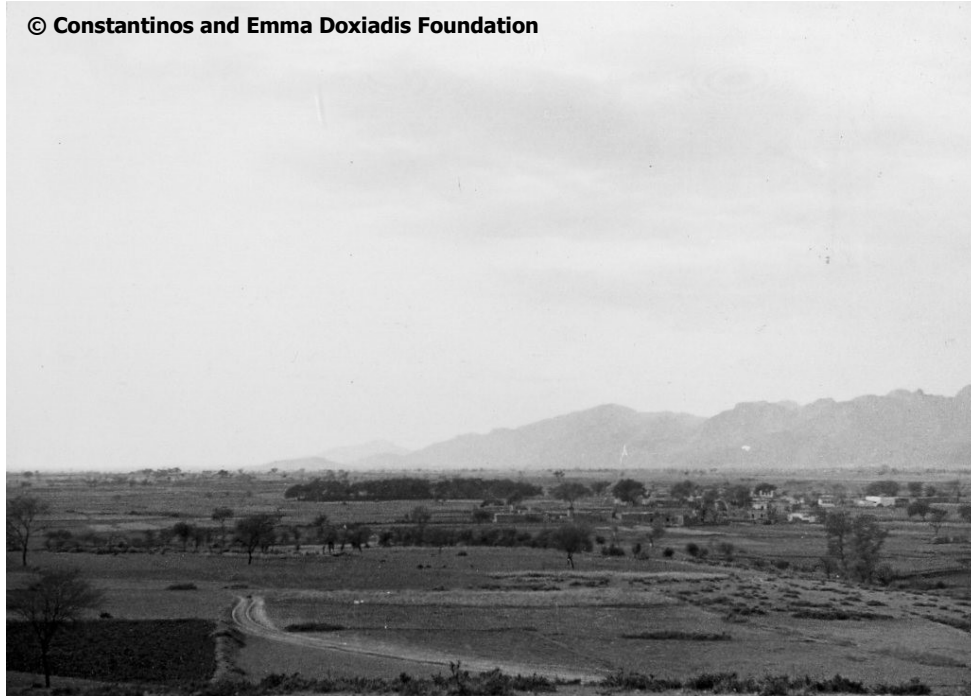


Figure 13: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *The tabula rasa of Islamabad*, 1960 (*Diary-PA 100*, p. 81, *Pakistan Reports vol.41*, 23592)

Doxiadis considered that the capital city of a newly independent nation-state, 'if it cannot represent the great values of the past, it is better to open the road for the values of the future'.⁹⁵ The *tabula rasa* approach constitutes a valuable instrument in implementing this idea—in fact, it is as a rephrase of the same idea. The *tabula rasa* involves an abstract aspect that offers great potential—the void cannot be fully conceived. The emptiness of the blank slate translates into energy to imagine, decide, reformulate, or whatever is necessary until the final stage of materialisation. While this empty space originates in predetermined goals and therefore presupposes an equally predefined evolutionary course, it appears

94 James Morris, 'A government of military virtues', *Guardian*, 9 January 1962, p. 8.

95 C. A. Doxiadis, 'Islamabad; The Creation of a New Capital', in *The Town Planning Review*, 36, no. 1 (1965), pp. 1-28, p. 6.

with the freedom of the indefinite—inherent in the emptiness itself. This explains why the *tabula rasa* becomes an excellent field for creating symbols and developing communication tactics. Relevant to this is Doxiadis' insistence on communicating the name of Islamabad. He considered naming to be 'a most important milestone in the history of the capital'⁹⁶ and felt that Islamabad was born on the day it was named.⁹⁷ In this respect:

The federal capital, which is going to be the symbol of Pakistan, should acquire a name as soon as possible. This is imperative so that right from the beginning the people of Pakistan will become conscious of the existence of the capital even before it takes on any definite form.⁹⁸

Meaning that the abstract aspect of the new capital city was expected to produce a social impact of no less importance than that of its material hypostasis. The partially conceivable empty space can be a platform for inspiration and manipulation as well. Related to this is the fact that Islamabad was meant to be a dynamic rather than a static symbol. People would have the opportunity to witness the entire process of creating Islamabad and re-establish their expectations and mobilisation according to the progress made.

The *tabula rasa* city implies a meaning that is to be conveyed and this cannot be inseparable from its physical expression, or otherwise, its blank slate site. Therefore, it remains to be examined what were the particular spatial characteristics of the empty grounds of Potwar Plateau that defined its appropriateness to accommodate Islamabad. According to Doxiadis, the modern tendency—as interpreted through the paradigms of other capital cities created *ex-novo* in the twentieth century—was to follow the concept of centre of

96 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/Islamabad – Monthly Bulletin No18/October 1960/
Issued by Doxiadis Associates, Athens.

97 *Ibid.*

98 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 22/07-07-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 12.

gravity.⁹⁹ This was supposed to be the product of a synthesis of different secondary centres of gravity, including those of population, transport, economic development and geographical features.¹⁰⁰ Taking into account the paradoxical spatial structure of Pakistan, identifying a true centre of gravity could only be a challenge; if not utopian, as in spatial terms the centre of gravity of Pakistan was to be found in the foreign territory of India. Therefore, a new dilemma emerged, which, like the previous dilemmas of Pakistan, was hardly a dilemma. In other words, which of the two provinces of Pakistan—West or East—would be privileged to accommodate the new federal capital? A rhetorical question, since for political power West Pakistan was the only real choice.

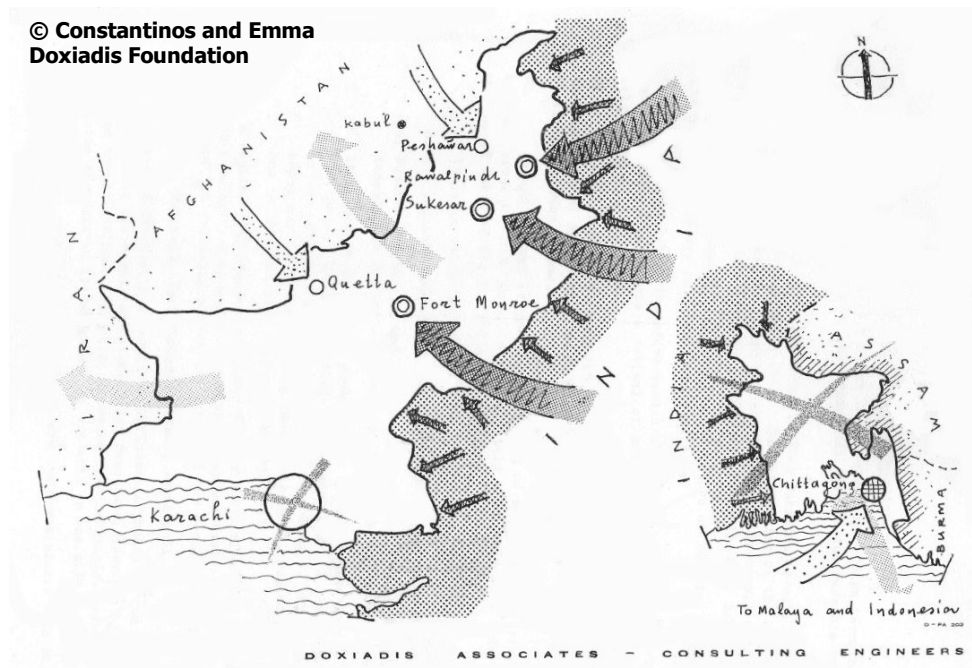


Figure 14: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *On the location of the new federal capital city*, DOX-PA 8, 15-05-1959, *Pakistan* vol.16, 23567, p. 43

As already emphasised, the spatial discontinuity of Pakistan was equally reflected in its social tissue and common religion was not enough for social integration. Although, East Pakistan was the more populous of the two provinces—48.3 million people out of a total of

99 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 8/15-05-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 8.

100 C. A. Doxiadis, 'Islamabad; The creation of a New Capital', in *The Town Planning Review*, 36, no. 1 (1965), pp. 1-28, p. 8.

87.1 million—West Pakistan was considered to be the true core of the new nation-state.¹⁰¹ Despite the failure of religion to bind the people of Pakistan, it was considered to be a solid platform for strengthening relations with neighbouring Muslim countries. West Pakistan had the advantage of land communication with these countries that East Pakistan lacked. Furthermore, East Pakistan's cultural connections were traditionally with the Muslim countries of East Asia. In this context, the subcommittee on international relations concluded that:

If the capital city is located in East Pakistan it will be both geographically and emotionally isolated [...]. The capital city therefore should be located in a region of West Pakistan, which will promote a revival of emotional link with its Muslim neighbours.¹⁰²

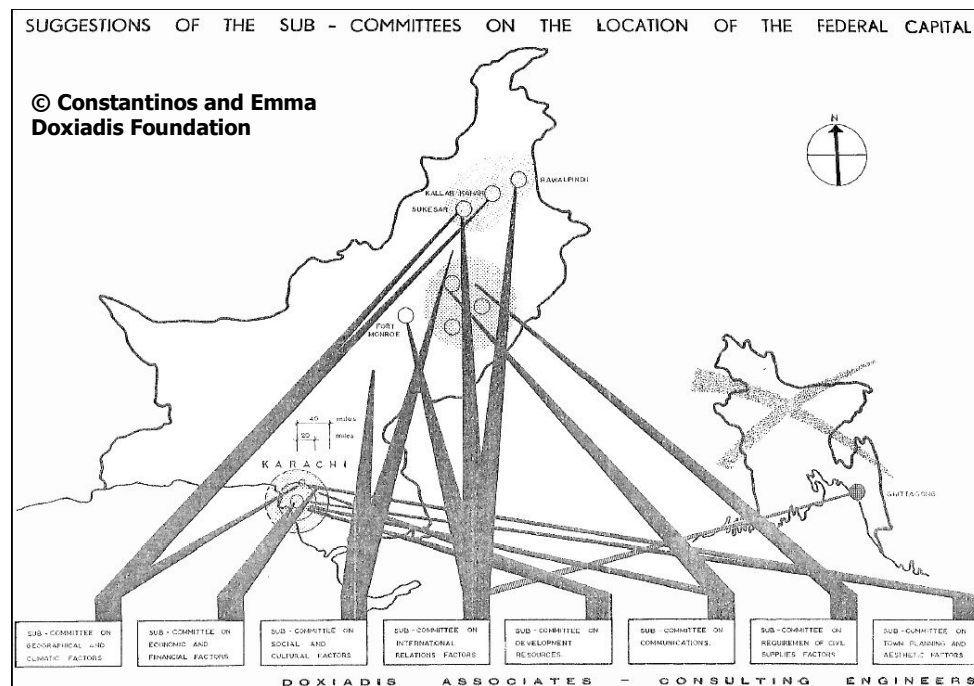


Figure 15: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 8, 15-05-1959, Pakistan vol.16, 23567, p. 87

On this basis, the subcommittee indicated the broader area of Rawalpindi as one of the most suitable options for the development

101 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad; Preliminary Programme and Plan/36567/p. 47.

102 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 8/15-05-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 38.

of the new federal capital. It is interesting to note that it was the only subcommittee that concluded in favour of Rawalpindi.¹⁰³

With regard to transport infrastructure, the most important asset of the Rawalpindi area was the Grand Trunk Road, or otherwise 'the life artery of the country in peace and war',¹⁰⁴ according to Doxiadis. This is the vital Trans-Asian highway connecting a series of capital cities—Tehran, Kabul, Delhi—and other major urban centres—e.g. Lahore, Peshawar. It made absolutely sense for Pakistan to link its capital city—and aspiring development centre—with such an important communication channel. The impact of the Grand Trunk Road on economic development and international affairs had a historical precedent, was tangible at the time and was expected to increase in the future.¹⁰⁵ Doxiadis identified a merit in this artery, which resisted the flowing time and the changes it brought about. In fact, this continuity—interpreted as evidence of reasoned and therefore objective value—was entirely in sympathy with his theories of urban planning. Nevertheless, Doxiadis maintained a consistent position, arguing that the decision on the location of the new capital city was a purely government responsibility. Therefore, he simply praised the political power of Pakistan for its ability to identify and respect the true essence of the past while planning for the future. He said:

103 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

104 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad; Preliminary Programme and Plan/36567/p. 244.

105 'A study of geographic, economic and other factors proved that it was very improbable that the center of gravity of population, economy and activity would shift towards the sea. The desert areas and the climate of this part of the Indian peninsula prevented this from occurring. Thus, the three forces that would shape the settlement of the future (that is the universal city of ecumenopolis)—the existing centres of gravity, the main lines of transportation and aesthetic-environmental forces—are going to operate in favour of the internal lines of transportation, as a recent study we carried out for the United Nations on the Trans-Asian highway has proved.'
C. A. Doxiadis, 'Islamabad; The creation of a New Capital', in *The Town Planning Review*, 36, no. 1 (1965), pp. 1-28, p. 10.

It is on a route such as this that the Government of Pakistan has decided to locate the Capital of Pakistan, thereby discharging a duty and continuing a historic tradition into the present, as well as creating for the future.¹⁰⁶

Any reference to historical continuity may seem irrelevant when implementing a *tabula rasa* strategy. This, however, is only partly accurate. The *tabula rasa*, interpreted as a devised discontinuity, aims at rupturing with the recent past and often finds support in values of the distant past. In a sense, the distant past is neutral, as it ceases to be influential unless decided otherwise. The process of nation-state building constitutes a par excellence paradigm of selective connections to the past. This is because the need for a fresh start and a shared crowning precedent coexist when a nation-state is formed. Eamonn Canniffe offers an analysis on this:

Within a few decades the urban situation in Italy in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by the public works produced under fascism. Their monumental language came increasingly to depend upon the conceptual suppression of the time elapsed between the end of the Roman empire and the advent of fascism.¹⁰⁷

A similar approach is revealed through the report of the Federal Capital Commission on history, architecture and archaeology of the new metropolitan area. More accurately, an exhaustive presentation of important events and achievements—from prehistoric times—was made, and also archaeological remains came to light again to conclude that 'this area has been for centuries distinct from the rest of India, has been the cradle of civilization of many people [...]'.¹⁰⁸

106 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad; Preliminary Programme and Plan/36567/p. 185.

107 Eamonn Canniffe, *The Politics of the Piazza; The History and Meaning of the Italian Square* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), p. 8.

108 Doxiadis Collection, School of Architecture, National Technical University of Athens, Report on History, Architecture and Archaeology, Committee No X,

The Khan regime had a dual character—political and military—and this could only be reflected in the decisions taken. Agreeing with General's Montgomery belief that 'it is dangerous to undertake tasks which are military quite unsound, just for political reasons',¹⁰⁹ President Khan stressed the role of the capital city in relation to the country's defence. This presupposed the accommodation of the military headquarters in proximity to both the troubled northern borders and the capital city. This would provide adequate monitoring of any possible battlefield and protection of the capital itself and consequently the country, as 'seldom has a country continued to fight after the loss of its capital city'.¹¹⁰ It goes without saying that Karachi, located on the southern coast of the country and more than a thousand kilometres from the vulnerable region of northern Pakistan, could not meet these requirements in terms of defence. While three different locations were identified that met both political and military criteria, only the Rawalpindi area could fully comply with them.¹¹¹ It was not incidental that strong military presence had existed in Rawalpindi since the time of British rule. It seems that the relocation of the capital city to the northern edge of the country was a precondition. Similarly, its creation on a *tabula rasa* basis was a prerequisite. Apart from everything else, there was not a single major urban centre in this area that could even be remodelled into a proper capital city.

Federal Capital Commission, President's Secretariat, Government of Pakistan, p. 268.

109 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Report on the location of the Federal Capital of Pakistan/36292/p. 22.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

111 'There are three places suitable for locating the operational HQ to control the decisive battle: a) Rawalpindi, b) Sakesar-Sargodha-Khushab, c) Fort Monroe. Rawalpindi is well located to control the battle in the Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir and has the advantage of being on the main line of communications between Lahore and Peshawar. It has also well-developed land communications within the theatre of operations.'
Ibid., p. 23.

The partition of the Indian subcontinent did not have the same impact throughout the territory involved. The province of Punjab witnessed those historic moments with particular cruelty. According to Khushwant Singh:

Hundreds of thousands of Hindus and Sikhs who had lived for centuries on the Northwest Frontier abandoned their homes and fled towards the protection of the predominately Sikh and Hindu communities in the east. They travelled on foot, in bullock carts, crammed into lorries, clinging to the sides and roofs of trains. Along the way—at fords, at crossroads, at rail road stations—they collided with panicky swarms of Muslims fleeing to safety in the west. The riots had become a rout. By the summer of 1947, when the creation of the new state of Pakistan was formally announced, ten million people—Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs—were in flight. By the time the monsoon broke, almost a million of them were dead, and all of northern India was in arms, in terror, or in hiding.¹¹²

As already noted, the province of imperial India Punjab was divided into two; western Punjab was integrated into Pakistan and respectively, its smaller eastern part into India. This decision was based on an equally distributed population of Muslims and Hindus, which ultimately triggered violent events and stigmatised the history of both countries. No boundary could be aligned with the religious identity of the people and therefore, millions found themselves on the wrong side of the segregation line. Percival Spear wrote:

The actual boundary award, which was published at the time of partition, confirmed their worst fears, and the die of violence was cast. The boundary force proved quite unequal to its task.

112 Khushwant Singh, *Train to Pakistan* (Delhi: Penguin Books India & Ravi Dayal Publisher, 2009), pp. 1, 2.

What followed was not so much a revolt as a war of extermination.¹¹³

For the province of Punjab, the segregation of the Indian subcontinent was a twofold dichotomy that left deep traumas and an immense need for recovery. The decisions to establish a new federal capital in Pakistani Punjab and a new provincial capital in Indian Punjab can be interpreted as important rehabilitation actions. Islamabad and Chandigarh, the two *tabula rasa* urban planning projects across the Punjabi segregation line, created according the most modern trends of the time and bearing the signatures of prominent Western architects and urban planners, were intended to be the visual testimonies of the new page that both countries were determined to open.

d. A first step for a new world

The *tabula rasa* idea may be a utopia, under the perspective that for every present moment there is always a precedent, however, it can be an undeniably effective means to specific ends. Radical actions were required to address the sweeping changes—in almost every field, namely political, economic, social—in the mid-twentieth century. In theory, being radical was synonymous with recognising the need to break with the past. In practice, the need for a fresh start was to be expressed through the blank slate sites of the emerging urban realities of the century. Urbanity, perceived as the amalgamation of political, social and economic parameters, was both cause and effect. While it unmistakably reflected the existing conditions, it could also be the driving force to change those conditions—precisely because of its holistic nature. This explains why urban planning was considered as the cornerstone of creating a new world. In this respect:

113 Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan, and the West* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 209.

There was a sense at this point that CIAM [CIAM 6, Bridgwater, England, 1947] members would be shaping the post-war world: a caption in *Architectural Forum* depicting CIAM members at this Congress asserted that the 'men around the table will direct rebuilding of dozens of cities, plan new physical patterns of whole nations'.¹¹⁴

Le Corbusier's famous dilemma, namely 'architecture or revolution',¹¹⁵ is perhaps the most vivid expression of the required fresh start. Based on the belief that desires inevitably become demands, he argued that an aftereffect of the domination of mass production was to be the emergence of generalised desires, and consequently generalised demands that could only lead to social unrest. The radical change in production methods translated into an unprecedented accumulation of goods that had to be distributed. This was not only due to the emerging risk of unfulfilled desires; it was also the only way to ensure the viability of industrialisation. This is to say that mass production is justified when it is addressed to the mass of people and not to an elite—otherwise, there is a conflict in the very concept of mass production. Therefore, the vivid pace of industrial development had to be accompanied by a similar pace in terms of socio-economic evolution—any misalignment in the pace of developments would be just as disastrous. Given Lefebvre's view that urbanism 'contains a strategy',¹¹⁶ urban planning became the means of forming a social entity that would be consistent with the required industrialised future of the world. Henry Ford expressed this in the clearest way: 'We want

114 Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002), p. 171.

115 Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986), p. 280.

116 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 166.

those who can mould the political, social, industrial, and moral mass into a sound and shapely whole'.¹¹⁷

Walter Gropius insisted "on the importance of planning for all income groups, which involved a coordinated effort to "re-plan society"."¹¹⁸ This can be seen as synonymous with the decision for a generalised improvement of living conditions, or otherwise a redistribution of the increased financial resources due to industrialisation. This first step of progress, however, was not intended to follow a spontaneous evolutionary course—the precondition of social reform confirms that. People had to develop a shared culture—defined as categorised needs and induced facticity, according to Lefebvre—and moreover to become participants in this process of modern development.¹¹⁹ In fact, the notions of social integration and oriented mobilisation are intertwined with modernism. According to Manfredo Tafuri:

The public had to be provoked. That was the only way people could be inserted actively into the *universe of precision* dominated by the laws of production. The passivity of Baudelaire's *flâneur* must be overcome and translated into active participation in the urban scene.¹²⁰

Taking into account that the 'break with the past was the fundamental condition for their [modern theories] value as models for actions',¹²¹ it makes perfect sense that the *tabula rasa* approach prevailed as the

117 Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia; Design and Capitalist Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), p. 67.

118 Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002), p. 176.

119 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 176.

120 Manfredo Tafuri, 'Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology', in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. by Michael Hays, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000), pp.5-35, p. 19.

121 Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia; Design and Capitalist Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), p. 89.

ultimate framework for modern development to thrive. Modern development unfolds with a clear and consistent pattern; initiatives follow the top to bottom logic, while the spread to all layers of the social pyramid constitutes a prerequisite. This results in the amalgamation of the social strata into a cohesive entity, as well as the establishment of new relations between the social and the political sphere—political power becomes responsible for the welfare of the people both as individuals and as a community. The gestures required to achieve this model of development presupposed the existence of a centralised political power. Neither Islamabad nor Chandigarh, nor any other *tabula rasa* project of this scale, could have been materialised in the absence of a central political authority. In other words, modern development signifies the creation of a new nexus of interrelations, namely between the individual and community, the community and the political power, as well as the urban community and the global community in the full achievement of the modernity sought. This explains why 'Modernism is only at home on clean slate sites, and is unable to make common cause with the remnants of previous urban orders'.¹²² The clarity of purposes and processes had to be ensured; given that every urban order is an amalgamation of purposes, processes and interrelations, the existence of prior traits would jeopardise the clarity required.

The *tabula rasa* approach was to provide a context purged of every inherent meaning. Apart for everything else, this was important in order to establish a sense of generalised optimism. According to Annabel Wharton: 'In the aftermath of World War II the modern was the shape of dreams. It promised an escape from poverty and dislocation.'¹²³ And to become a reality soon, these dreams could not

122 Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), p. 264.

123 Annabel Jane Wharton, *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 38.

be blurred by the shadows of the past. Doxiadis had the privilege of being offered the empty grounds of Potwar Plateau and enjoying the support of a decisive political leadership that sought modern development. Islamabad was intended to be the exemplar of modern development with the aim of creating an impact on the nation-state scale. It remains to be seen how Doxiadis' theories of urban planning were to meet the dream of modernity in Pakistan.

2. MASS HOUSING

a. Foreseeing needs

City dwellers forget that the main instrument for certain human values to flourish is this very same instrument, which provides a collective mode of living; namely, it is the city per se. And a simple gathering of shelters is considered to be a complete city.¹

While the introductory quotation referred to the city of Athens during the interwar period this problematic was shared among intellectuals worldwide, verifying that the time had arrived for humanity to make a great leap. The major events of the preceding century triggered a series of rapidly evolving and unavoidable changes at a global scale, which had to be controlled, if people were to determine their own destiny.² Therefore, while we come across with an acknowledged need for structural changes to take place at the base—and at the maximum possible extent—of the social pyramid, it appears reasoned to assume that any orchestrated efforts would be initiated and directed from the top of the social pyramid. A prompt action plan was demanded, which would correspond to the current social needs, while simultaneously and most importantly it would set the basis for a new social order to come. And it is exactly under this perspective that the Islamabad project will be examined. The empty grounds of the Potwar Plateau were meant to be the theatre of action for the Pakistani

1 Nikolaos Holevas, *Η Αρχιτεκτονική της 'Μετάβασης' στην Αθήνα του Μεσοπολέμου* [The Architecture of 'Transition' in Interwar Athens] (Athens: Libro, 1998), p. 25.

2 'The critical moment of this area has been reached and if everything will be done for better development of this area it should be done now. I am under the impression that we are in a race; planners are competing with actual developments. If the latter will precede the action of the first, then the meaning of their effort will be very small.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/12-11-1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/ p. 278.

political leadership, where it would implement and display a decisive and coordinated effort in order to establish a new social pattern. The federal capital of Pakistan was not conceived as a final end, but was rather appraised as the first critical step—among others—of a long lasting process, which would ultimately lead to a new reality. According to Doxiadis: 'It will certainly take a generation or two to create a different type of persons who will grow into urban dwellers'.³

It is true that Islamabad constituted a highly ambitious and multi-layered project, as simultaneously it addressed the present and future, and a national and international audience, aiming at the country's economic development and modernisation, national unification, social reformation, as well as political legitimisation and stabilisation. In fact, it was heralded as the ultimate symbol of a new page in the history of Pakistan. 'But history, like agriculture, draws its nourishment from the valleys and not from the heights, from the average social level and not from man of eminence'.⁴ This is to say that if the above tasks were to be achieved, the common people had to be closely involved. The sweeping changes that have been taking place could not do other than drift people into a new life path, but this was not enough; people had to learn how to walk within this path and open it further ahead. It was not enough for people to consider their positioning within this new path neither as an imposed fact nor as an incidental event; actually, it had to be woven into each one's life.

Under this perspective, considerable effort had to be directed towards the very essentials of human life. If the ultimate goal was to 'ensure a better pattern of living for the future',⁵ then special attention

3 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/12-11-1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 87.

4 Jose Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1993), p. 26.

5 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 17/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 5.

needed to be paid at the 'vessels of life',⁶ starting with that of home. Following Le Corbusier's thinking, the primal instinct of every living being is to secure its shelter and unfortunately, humanity was experiencing a moment, during which neither the man of labour, nor the intellectual enjoyed an appropriate shelter.⁷ An era of change, however, was about to emerge as a twofold process.⁸ On the one hand, there were actual and consistently augmenting housing needs, originating in a series of events that defined the preceding century and included the reconstruction of the devastated urban centres following their destruction in World War II, the intense industrialisation, which was followed by a respectively intense urbanisation and a gradual rise of people's income status, as well as an increasing population. On the other hand, housing policies prevailed as the ultimate expression and as solid proof of the attention that the masses finally deserved and were about to be offered. In a sense, people would be able to cross the threshold of modernity, by means of crossing the threshold of their own home.

The idea of providing mass access to housing facilities was the foundation stone for social modernisation at a global scale. Pakistan did not escape this general rule and in fact had every reason to follow the process with remarkable zeal. Both the actual need for progress and the need to demonstrate every step of progress made, forced

6 '[...] both urban and building planning—the twin sisters of ARCHITECTURE—mould not only spaces for living—and VESSELS OF LIFE— but also the character of each man and his whole BEING, as he accepts their presence and lives with them and inside them.'

Aris Konstantinidis, *Προλεγόμενα* [Prolegomena] (Athens: Agra Publications, 1989), p. 37.

7 Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986), p. 269.

8 'On the one hand the mass of people looks for a decent dwelling, and this question is of burning importance. On the other hand, the man of initiative, of action, of thought, the LEADER, demands a shelter for his meditations in a quiet and sure spot; a problem which is indispensable to the health of specialised people [of the 'elite' according to the original text].'
Ibid., p. 10.

Pakistan to commit deeply to this idea; a commitment that could be transferred directly, smoothly and efficiently to all layers of the social strata. Housing policies constituting simultaneously an answer to specific needs and an instrument for modern development had been offered to the Pakistani people as an inseparable entity; and it was certain that they could not resist to the idea of home. Somehow, each one of the newly built houses in the formerly empty spaces of Pakistan signified a series of commitments: to modern development, to the political leadership orchestrating the endeavour, to the nation state that has just been brought into life. Or in other words:

In love of home, the love of the country has its rise; and who are the truer patriots or the better in time of need—those who venerate the land, owning its wood, and stream, and earth, and all that they produce, or those who love their country, boasting not a foot of ground in all its wide domain?⁹

Summarising, the present chapter will be dedicated in analysing the socio-economic conditions of Pakistan through the spectrum of its housing sector, which is to be examined as a point of departure and as an instrument to achieve the pursued ends. More exactly, the questions that will be addressed have as follows: How have mass housing policies been implemented in Islamabad and how have they supported modernisation efforts? How is urban planning linked to economic development and how does this kind of controlled growth is translated into social reform?

b. Studying Problems

The name of Doxiadis is primarily associated with the creation of the new federal capital of Pakistan, but his presence and contribution in the country's urban development exceeded by far the boundaries of

⁹ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (New York: Classic Books International, 2010), p. 38.

Islamabad.¹⁰ It is true that the housing needs of Pakistan appeared to be tremendous during that period of time and certainly a single urban scheme—even of the magnitude of a capital city—could not correspond to the actual requirements. A first glimpse into the problem is offered through Doxiadis' diary:

The first days are spent contacting the people in charge of my subject. Impressions, discussions and papers which have to be read present some general aspects of the Pakistan problem. Everything is interesting but the figures are depressing. I start comparison between numbers of refugees. Numbers of homeless people, efforts made and facilities available do speak for the courage and the willingness of everybody to face such problems but the discrepancy between needs and availabilities is so big that in a few days I start feeling on my shoulders at every moment of the day the burden of my new subject. It is time to start moving.¹¹

10 'I think that Ford Foundation, irrespectively of having right or not in essence, typically has every right to follow such an approach, despite our own wishes. This is to say that if we do not manage in the coming two years to start organizing Pakistani Agencies, which will make them to believe that we simply became engineers of specific projects, then we do not have any chance of a contract renewal. If we fail to obtain such a renewal, I will consider all our efforts there—and I trust that you agree on that—as a failure, due to the fact that we are proceeding in Pakistan on the basis of a long term plan, in order to leave something behind us. We are already leaving Korangi, Islamabad and some other buildings, however, this is not enough, so as that our involvement in Pakistan for almost a decade and our considerable efforts' investment to be justified.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-DA 3637/25-04-1963/Correspondence between Doxiadis & Kostas Kakissopoulos/p. 1.

'For the planning and designing of the above schemes [Korangi & North Karachi] as well as for consulting services on all matters related to housing and settlements, the Agency [National Housing and Settlements Agency] is being assisted by Doxiadis Associates, Consultants in Development and Ekistics.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 17/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 2.

11 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/14-10-1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 2.

There is no doubt that prompt action was needed, if the severe housing problems of Pakistan were to be tackled efficiently.¹² Speed alone, however, could not guarantee the desired results. In alignment with Le Corbusier, who appraised the proper definition of the problem as the key factor for a successful solution,¹³ Doxiadis urged for prioritising the preparation of programmes instead of plans.¹⁴ The idea of planning within the wider sphere of programming, presupposes a thorough analysis of existing problems, available resources and anticipated achievements, includes the implementation of supporting measures and therefore, it implies an approach of a holistic nature. Significantly, Doxiadis identified the truth of architecture, which is inseparable from any planning process, simultaneously in the truth of each one of its distinct aspects, namely the economic, social, political, technical, cultural and aesthetic.¹⁵ And it is particularly the consistency in implementing this approach that

12 'For several weeks now in Pakistan I started worrying about the lack of planners and planning. Today I have reached the climax. My obligation for the creation of something better is not only very big; it also requires an urgent action. If I am not able to contribute in time for the solution of the big ekistic problem, then my role will be closer to the role of an historian of ekistic development or of a chronographer and not of a planner; in spite of my respect for history I do not believe myself justified to confine my Pakistan activity to the activity of a chronographer. I have been hired for something else and this is what I must present to the people who are responsible for the Pakistan's future.'
Ibid., p. 278.

13 Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986), p. 112.

14 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 29/1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 2.

'There are already several housing programs implemented or under implementation by the different branches of the government, like housing for refugees, for the flood stricken population, for civil servants, for several groups of workers, etc. But no comprehensive housing program even if for a whole class or for a specific area has been brought to my knowledge. Up to now, we can rather speak for housing projects but not of any housing policies or programs.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 7/02-11-1954/Pakistan Reports vol.1/23553/p. 1.

15 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 115/22-4-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 140.

differentiates Islamabad from any other urban scheme in Pakistan. For Doxiadis the new federal capital was not merely an answer to the country's housing problem; it rather constituted a workshop for the true—in the broader sense—architecture to come.¹⁶

Pakistan constituted a new country based on a rather weak agricultural economy. In a newspaper article of 8 December 1947, it can be read: 'Pakistan [is] an economic wreck and serious social unrest [is] rising'.¹⁷ The moment of partition found the new nation state with limited natural and not only resources, as well as with manpower presenting limited specialised skills;¹⁸ an exception had been the ample agricultural land and the peasants, artisans and soldiers who shaped the majority of the subcontinent's Muslim population.¹⁹ The country's economic status could not do other than be reflected on its built environment, suggesting that both in terms of quantity and quality the building sector in its totality presented a degraded image. As will be elaborated later on, a series of factors contributed to the further aggravation of the housing shortage. These factors included the augmented rate of population's increase, the

16 'Only if we can understand that Islamabad at present will not be the site of any majestic architecture, but a workshop which will lead towards it, we will serve our cause. If it is to become a workshop for the architecture to come, it has to become a workshop in the real sense, the workshop within which masons and the master masons of the future will be created.'
Ibid., p. 255.

17 Gustav F. Papanek, *Pakistan's Development; Social Goals and Private Incentives* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 1.

18 According to the results of the socio-economic survey conducted in Rawalpindi and Cantonment in reference to the level of education—excluding children under the age of five:

Sex	Graduate & equivalent	Matriculated & equivalent	Literate (can read & write only)	Illiterate
Male	3%	12%	40%	45%
Female	0,5%	4,5%	30%	65%

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 293/01-02-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.73/23617/p. 1.

19 Gustav F. Papanek, *Pakistan's Development; Social Goals and Private Incentives* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 3.

refugee issue following the subcontinent's segregation, and the intense industrialisation, which marked the initial steps of Pakistan's development. Undoubtedly, the shortage of housing that Pakistan was facing constituted an acute social problem, which in its turn had to be translated both into an economic and political one, capable of jeopardising the country's future.²⁰ This very same problem, namely the lack of a sufficient stock of buildings, however, coexisted with a full range of potentials in order that both economic growth and political stability might be achieved. As one of Doxiadis Associates' representatives in Pakistan noted: 'The government seems to be more housing minded [...] and this might be due to the severe political difficulties that the latter is facing'.²¹ In other words, one of Pakistan's major problems could be turned into an advantage just as soon as the proper mechanisms were set in motion.

Doxiadis, as a key consulting figure in the country's housing field, emphasises this particular requirement in one of his numerous reports, namely the formation of 'an ideal machinery to cope with the problem'.²² In the same report, he further elaborates:

If one looks at the record of human achievements and failures, one will soon come to realize that, in the majority of cases, the cause of success or failure was due to the ability or inability of the responsible leaders to build up and manage successfully appropriate institutions to foresee needs, study problems, plan for the future, mobilize human and material resources and

20 'In 1960, the shortage of housing in the urban areas of West Pakistan is estimated at about 551,000 units whereas in the rural areas the housing shortage was estimated at about 1,264,000 units.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/26-10-1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 125.

21 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, H-PAK-LH 21/21-12-1964/Correspondence between Doxiadis & Kostas Kakissopoulos/19200/p. 2.

22 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 42/18-04-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.249/23815/p. 4.

direct collective efforts towards the fulfilment of common goals and aspirations.²³

Therefore, if the only option for Pakistan in order to transcend its difficulties and join the era of modern development was the formation of a strategic plan, then the implementation of a comprehensive example was a prerequisite. In this light, the opportunity offered through the establishment of a new federal capital appeared to be tremendous.

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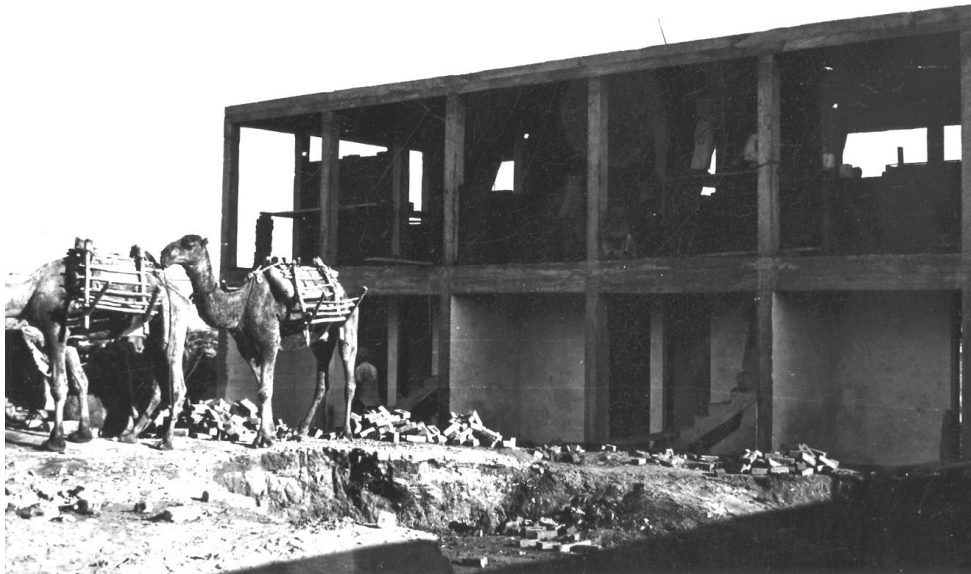


Figure 1: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *A society in transition*, 1963 (*Diary-PA 109*, p. 57, *Pakistan Reports* vol.172, 23711)

Since, it is the first new big city to make full use of the science of Ekistics, Islamabad can become a pilot project in modern city building. In this respect, its importance is historical for all nations and it may well usher in a new era of living conditions.²⁴

It is true that Pakistan had to follow a long path until reaching an internationally acceptable level of living conditions. Doxiadis and his team acknowledged the merit that the field of ekistic research held, in terms of defining both existing needs and availabilities and

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁴ C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 188.

ultimately of defining the steps that should be taken, if the pursued targets are to be achieved.²⁵ Very characteristically, the majority of Doxiadis Associates' reports are overwhelmingly full with statistical data, tables and charts that support their proposals to the government of Pakistan; and this is also applicable in reference to the country's housing conditions.

Taking into consideration the findings of the National Family Expenditure Survey of 1956, it can be observed that only the 21% of urban dwellings—excluding Karachi—was provided with running water, while respectively the percentage is increased to 30% when the research touches the domain of electricity supply.²⁶ The housing census of 1960 offers valuable information concerning the densities of occupants per room. According to the latter, the highest ratio of occupancy both for urban and rural settlements was traced in the Division of Karachi, giving respectively a density of 3.6 and 4.4 persons per room.²⁷ The Rawalpindi area proved to be more privileged with respective densities of 2.5 and 2.3 persons per room. Following the same survey, in all Divisions of West Pakistan an estimated percentage of 21% of the overall stock of urban dwellings, was seen to be of unacceptable quality and therefore classified as in need of replacement. Focusing on the Rawalpindi and Karachi areas—due to the discussion concerning the location of the new Federal Capital—11% of Rawalpindi's urban settlements or 15,476 units in

25 'In order to grasp properly the problems involved in the implementation of an extensive Housing Program and provide the best solutions, it is necessary to supplement existing knowledge by scientific research [...]. The design of a dwelling even in its simplest form, in order to function properly and create an environment which would be a positive element for the cultural, social and economic advancement of the family which is to occupy it, presupposes detailed information pertaining to economic, social and cultural characteristics of the family.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/26-10-1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 243.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 116-118.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

actual numbers and respectively in Karachi 30% or 102,700 dwellings proved to be of a substandard quality.²⁸ These percentages were consistently discouraging, if it is taken into consideration that of all the Pakistani families inhabiting urban environments only 28% enjoyed in-house bathroom facilities, 36% kitchen and 60% toilet facilities.²⁹ Unfortunately, living conditions in the countryside are presented to be similarly hard:

Bathing and toilet facilities are virtually unknown and human beings and animals gather together within the compound walls of the dwelling. In the winter animals and people sleep together in the mud rooms of the house for protection from the weather and warmth.³⁰

It becomes evident that the reality the majority of the Pakistani people was experiencing did not comply with the envisaged promising future that independence had been assumed to bring. The Khan regime had to offer concrete proof of the promises for a better future, starting immediately with the amelioration of the current conditions; vague rhetoric focusing on sentiments of national pride could not stand alone for long. Otherwise, in the words of Octavio Paz: 'the body has never believed in progress; its religion is not the future but the present.'³¹ The stated goal of President Khan 'to enable our people once again to hold their heads high and breathe in a climate of self-respect'³² would soon seem a utopia, if the provision of decent habitats for these people failed to be achieved; and General Khan proved to be fully aware of this critical factor. The idea of connecting

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

31 Henri Lefebvre, *Towards an Architecture of Enjoyment* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), p. lv.

32 Aziz Beg, *The Quiet Revolution; A Factual Story of Political Betrayal in Pakistan* (Karachi: Patriotic Publications Limited, 1959), p. 258, Appendix III.

the nation-building process with actual building activities was not a revolutionary one. This intent had been also very clearly stated by the former President of Pakistan, Iskander Mirza, on the occasion of the foundation stone laying ceremony for the Gudu Barrage, when he said:

The engineering profession holds a place of honour among the other leading professions in a nation-building programme [...]. The country expects that they will live up to their reputation in the execution of this Project and thus contribute to the building of a better, happier and prosperous Pakistan.³³

What would really make a difference, however, was the effectiveness in implementing the aforementioned idea rather than the idea itself and the new political leadership of Pakistan proved to be decisive enough in order to create a considerable socio-economic impact, by means of the country's housing industry.³⁴

Poor housing standards in Pakistan, in the light of either the settlements' limited quality or, worse, the actual lack of units constituted an acute problem that could only aggravate in the absence of any counterbalance. A series of factors existed in order to justify this hypothesis, starting with the remarkable rate of population's increase. The tremendous technological advances that humanity had achieved within a particularly condensed time frame created the proper environment for the amelioration of living conditions at an exponential pace. People managed to improve their eating habits, medical care—both in terms of prevention and

33 Daniel Haines, "Concrete 'Progress': Irrigation, Development and Modernity in Mid-Twentieth Century Sind", in *From Subjects to Citizens: Society and the Everyday State in India and Pakistan, 1947-1970*, ed. by Taylor C. Sherman, William Gould, Sarah Ansari, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 193-215, p. 206.

34 According to *Times* of London and an article of 28 February 1966: 'The survival and development of Pakistan is one of the most remarkable examples of state and nation building in the post-war world.'
Gustav F. Papanek, *Pakistan's Development; Social Goals and Private Incentives* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 1.

treatment—as well as to gain a better balance between working hours and hours of repose. People in a short period of time managed to live better and consequently to live longer, suggesting that the threshold for an unprecedented global population increase had been crossed.³⁵ This fact signified the emergence of an exigent need both for an immense augmentation and redistribution of global resources, or otherwise the destructive forces of the torrent, as described by Jose Ortega y Gasset, would eradicate the edifice of progress already made. The latter may have been a worldwide phenomenon, but for countries such as Pakistan that were behind in terms of development, the challenge appeared to have grave dimensions; the gap between needs and available resources becomes progressively widened, unless drastic measures are taken.

Doxiadis emphasised the phenomenal population growth of Pakistan and foresaw the rate of increase on a long term basis, which, if it is to be seen in numbers, complies with the fact that nowadays Pakistan is ranked as the fifth most populous country of the world. According to the available statistical data referring to the year 1961, West Pakistan already had 46.2 million inhabitants, expected to rise to 51.8 million people in the near future, namely the year 1965. The presumed tendency of increase was specified at a rate of 9.5%-14%, examining time spans of five years and reaching up to the year 2010.³⁶ Following an analysis on an annual basis, the population

35 'The fact is this: from the time European history begins in the VIth Century up to the year 1800—that is through the course of twelve centuries—Europe does not succeed in reaching a total population greater than 180 million inhabitants. Now, from 1800 to 1914—little more than a century—the population of Europe mounts from 180 to 460 million! I take it that the contrast between these figures leaves no doubt as to the prolific quantities of the last century. In three generations it produces a gigantic mass of humanity which, launched like a torrent over the historic area, has inundated it.'
Jose Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1993), p. 50.

36 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/26-10-1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 175.
According to a projection chart of population increase in West Pakistan, it can be seen that 51.8 million people was expected to inhabit the Province in 1965 and respectively 58.78 in 1970, 67.06 in 1975, 75.83 in 1980, 84.5 in 1985,

growth of the province was estimated to reach a percentage of 2.6%.³⁷ Doxiadis in one of his numerous reports to the government of Pakistan outlined quite clearly the country's housing problem by claiming that:

The rate of population increase has far outpaced the development of resources and the construction of facilities and resulted in a progressive deterioration of standards [...]. Unless and until a strategy is devised to combat this phenomenon, the Province can only look forward to further deterioration in the quantity and quality of its Housing and Settlements facilities with serious adverse effects on the health, happiness and well-being of its people.³⁸

Undoubtedly, population increase constituted one aspect of the problem. It was primarily the unprecedented mobility of the people that escalated the problem, and again for Pakistan the challenge was particularly acute and multi-layered. It is true that the advent of the machine age had changed the world permanently, as it offered both the means and the reason for people to widen their moving ability—literally, as well as metaphorically. It seems difficult to challenge the powerful nature of mobility and the positive impact that it can produce, however, in the midst of transitional periods and in the absence of any sophisticated control measures its forcefulness may prove to be destructive. This was exactly the hazard that Pakistan was facing, as deprived of any solid background, it had to cope simultaneously with two major flows of movement; the one of refugees and the other of aspirant industrial workers. Both population categories headed towards the country's major urban centres with

93.57 in 1990, 103.09 in 1995, 122.97 in 2000, 123.8 in 2005 and ultimately 135.68 in 2010.

37 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 33/15-06-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 1.

38 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/26-10-1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 129.

the expectation of gaining a better life; and this was synonymous with the imperative need to acquire a house. Therefore, the country's important urban centres, such as Karachi, were under immediate pressure to find some sort of dwelling—decent or not—for the influx of new residents.³⁹ Taking into account the results of the population censuses corresponding to the years of 1951 and 1961, it can be seen that the annual population growth in Karachi reached a percentage of 6.02%, in Peshawar 5.28%, in Hyderabad 6.35%, while the highest percentage in the whole province of West Pakistan, namely 6.37%, was recorded in Bahawalpur.⁴⁰ These percentages describe the increase of urban dwellers in Pakistan, on an annual basis, resulting both from population's natural growth and movement.

It becomes evident that the pace of emerging needs and simultaneous industrial developments was intense, and coordinated effort was required by the competent authorities to address them. In this light, industrialisation and urbanisation were destined to evolve in parallel. For example, the contribution of industrial activity to the economy of West Pakistan during the period 1949-1950 was recorded at 7%. Likewise, during the period 1959-1960 the respective percentage climbed to 14%. For the country, this particular decade signified an increase of industrial production that exceeded five times the initial one.⁴¹ Following the same time frame and in terms of urban evolution, the province's urban population witnessed an increase of 60%—according to the censuses of 1951 and 1961—while the rural population, even though it increased in actual numbers, declined from 82% to 77% of the total population.⁴² According to the same source

39 'They have flooded the city without settling properly in it. All quarters still show the signs of temporary refugee settlements.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad; Preliminary Programme and Plan/36567/p. 30.

40 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/26-10-1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 35.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

and with the view turned to the future, the recorded analogy between urban and rural population of that era, namely 25% versus 75%, was estimated to become 46% versus 54% in the year 2010.⁴³

One might challenge the severity of the problem, assuming that the volume of the abandoned habitats in the rural areas would suffice to cover to some extent the housing demands resulting from the population's increase. The substandard quality of the country's built environment—if seen in its totality—however, significantly limited such opportunities. Similarly, the evacuated Hindu homes could not counterbalance in direct analogy the increased housing needs of the Muslim arriving refugees. This is to say that even though, eight million people left the Pakistani territory after the Indian subcontinent's segregation and respectively the country received equal number of refugees, an overwhelming problem with homeless or poorly sheltered people could not have been avoided. Apart from the obvious reasons for such a phenomenon, suggesting the natural misalignment of departure and arrival *loci*, the latter was also originated in the brutalities that followed partition. In several cities, 'many of the evacuees' properties have either been burnt down or demolished—like in Lahore'.⁴⁴ Furthermore, even in cases where the refugees had been provided with houses sourced from departed people, this could only be considered a really short-term solution. These dwellings were provided on a temporary basis and this fact combined with a substantial lack of resources, which did not allow for

AREA (West Pakistan)	Population 1951 (Census)	Population 1961 (Census)
Urban	6,019,000	9,654,572
Rural	27,761,000	33,225,806
Total	33,780,000	42,880,378

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁴⁴ C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 11/19-11-1954/Pakistan Reports vol.1/23553/pp. 19, 20.

any necessary maintenance activities to take place, resulted in a rapidly deteriorating image of these buildings.

c. Planning for the Future

Doxiadis used to claim that long-term predictions are more accurate than the short-term ones.⁴⁵ This viewpoint, of course, implies something deeper than a belief that foreseeing what the distant future will bring is an easy task. It is primarily a statement of trust in the ability of people to define their future. It is an acknowledgement that the distant future provides all the necessary time for decisions to be made, for planning to take place and for plans to be implemented. In a sense, planning interrelates present with future in a very conscious way, as even the first, uncertain, or maybe wrong step taken today is equally taken for the sake of tomorrow. Doxiadis was urged to take this first step, knowing that it would certainly have some disadvantages.⁴⁶ But, in a rapidly changing world the idea of standing still was not really an option. In alignment with the spirit of the era and forced by the inadequacy in terms both of quality and quantity of its housing sector, Pakistan had to proceed vigorously with planning. And since our interest is focused on the housing field, building is also involved in the planning process. In fact, it is a story of planning for the country's present and future, or otherwise it is a story of building for the people at present and building the people for the days to come.

The truth is that the country had already entered a phase of development, since its economy started to develop and become

45 Dimitris Filippidis, *Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης (1913-1975), Αναφορά στον Ιππόδαμο* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1913-1975); A Reference to Hippodamus] (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 2015), p. 372.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 367.

progressively dependent on industrialisation.⁴⁷ This fact predefined a certain increase of the per capita income and subsequently the amelioration of living conditions. As per the consultants' words:

There is evidence to suggest that housing standards rise with real income in most countries. The reason for this is partly due to the fact that rising income makes it possible for people to improve the immediate environment in which they live, partly because house-building itself constitutes and causes an increase in real income.⁴⁸

Therefore, in a sense, the natural course of the path that Pakistan was following would eventually lead to the desired prosperous future; or maybe not? The idea of excluding any interventionist policies and approaching the development process like a natural phenomenon, can, of course, result in the retardation of progress and worse. First of all, in such a scenario neither the climax of development could be adequately controlled nor the potentials offered could be fully exploited. Considering the hypothesis that uncontrolled development can ultimately achieve the same results, but at a slower pace and subsequently over an extended period of time, the following remarks

⁴⁷ The following table presents comparative figures for years 1947 and 1960 on vehicle traffic in Karachi, indicating economic growth—the green column is an addition to the original table.

	1947	1960	Increase	
Motorcars	2737	26179	23442	856%
Motorcycles	515	7417	6902	1340%
Buses	458	2228	1770	386%
Taxies	116	2067	1951	1682%
Motor Rickshaws	0	3749	3749	-
Trucks	953	5832	4879	512%
Total	4779	47472	42693	893%

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PKH 3716/06-10-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.110/23644/p. 1.

⁴⁸ C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 33/15-06-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 101.

can be made. The prolonged time frame required to achieve the aimed development goals allows a probable disruption or divergence of the developmental course, simply due to the changes brought about by the flowing time. Additionally, the absence of control could signify a limited reaction capacity against any problems deriving from the process of development and which, if not addressed properly and in a timely manner, could jeopardise the success of the endeavour. Last but not least and in particular for the case of Pakistan, if any positive results of development were to be attained in the distant future and by means of a spontaneous evolution process, then the benefits in reference to any political agenda would be diminished. This is to say that the Khan regime could not be credited for the progress made in order to enhance its position as the indisputable political leadership of Pakistan and further on, the contribution of Pakistan in reference to the geo-political pursuits at an international level would be nullified.

It becomes apparent, therefore, that the government of Pakistan had to take responsibility in order to formulate an overall housing programme for the country, under the perspective of improving at a vivid pace the present living conditions of its people, while providing a vigorous boost and coordinated support to the already initiated development process.⁴⁹ The interconnection between the housing sector and general development is stressed here below,

49 'The provision of adequate housing in sufficient numbers and of suitable quality to satisfy the needs of the population is a part of the complex process of social and economic development. Adequate and better housing creates conditions for larger and more evenly balanced growth at all sections of the economy, as no governmental economic development program can be carried out in the absence of related physical development and adequate housing for the entire population of the Province in particular. It improves the living conditions and thereby increases the efficiency of the productive classes, which bear the greatest part of the burden of the Province's economic development. The achievement of better housing in turn has a profound effect on social and political stability, which are prerequisites for the economic development.' C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 135.

in a report issued by Doxiadis Associates and submitted to the Pakistani government.

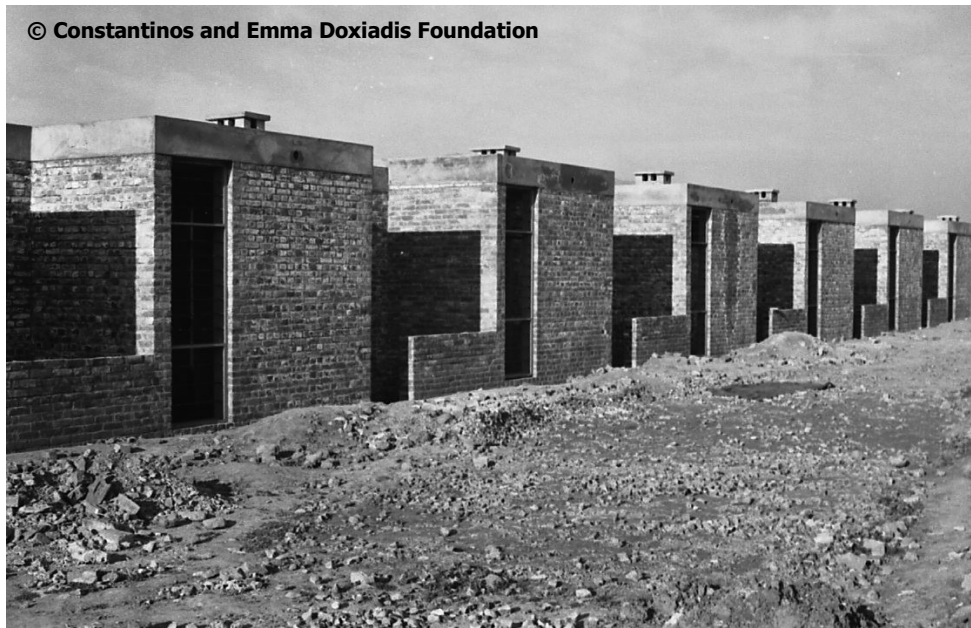


Figure 2: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Row of houses in Islamabad (Negative 31264d)

Thus, the process of rapid industrialisation, which is a must for all developing countries, with all its concomitants entails or rather implies by definition, urbanisation. To the economic plan for industrialisation corresponds the physical plan of urban growth. This is what makes it so necessary for developing countries to engage in intense house-building activity at the same time and to the extent that they engage in intense development efforts.⁵⁰

An insight into the colossal task for which the political leadership of Pakistan aimed, is offered by the following table.⁵¹

Total Needs per Income Group 1965-1985 (in thousands dwellings)						
Income Group		1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
A	Low Income	1406	1817	2164	1892	982
B		1044	2122	2245	2017	1936
C	Middle Income	106	834	1829	3319	4466
D		-	339	1688	3087	6672
Total		2556	5112	7926	10315	14056

50 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 33/15-06-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 101.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

The table depicts the expected housing needs of the different—low and middle—income groups, as per the country’s Perspective Plan for the years 1965-1985. This is, however, more than an estimation of needs; in fact, it is an estimation of needs that have to be fulfilled and therefore it can be interpreted as a defined target, the achievement of which is conditioned on the proper implementation of the Perspective Plan. The challenging nature of the task is self-evident, with a dramatic increase of 450% in the number of dwellings that would be needed within a period of only twenty. When the table is modified to make more explicit the distribution of housing needs between low and middle income groups, it can be seen that while the housing needs of low income groups consistently decrease during the twenty years’ time period, the respective needs of middle income groups present the exact opposite trend.

Percentage of Housing Needs between Low and Middle Income Groups (Targeted)						
Income Group		1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
A	Low Income	96%	77%	56%	38%	21%
B						
C	Middle Income	4%	23%	44%	62%	79%
D						

If emphasis is given to the initiating and ending milestones of the Perspective Plan, an almost complete reverse in the distribution of needs can be observed. Taking this into consideration and in spite of the stated intent of the Pakistani government to prioritise the support of the most vulnerable social groups, a clear tendency towards social restructuring is revealed.

In order for the political leadership of Pakistan to tackle efficiently the challenges derived from the stated goals and upon consideration of the experience gained from other countries, which had already been involved in the mutually beneficial duality of development and housing, the establishment of a competent

institutional framework was a prerequisite.⁵² This need was also emphasised by Doxiadis Associates: 'For this country, which faces colossal housing problems and will have to carry out substantial programmes covering nearly ten percent of public investment, a special Agency for housing is equally necessary'.⁵³ The first step to that end was taken in 1959, with the establishment of the National Housing and Settlements Agency (NSHA), which referred directly to the general government and had as a primal focus of attention the severe housing problems of the country's first capital city Karachi. The changes in reference to administrative structures due to the advent of Pakistan's constitution and particularly the transfer of responsibility for the housing sector from the general government to provincial governments led to the need for an agency that would be exclusively responsible for the housing domain of the Province of West Pakistan, namely the West Pakistan Housing and Settlements Agency (WPHSA). A hint on the importance of establishing a centralised agency to orchestrate comprehensive housing policies, as well as the limited resources of Pakistan in order to support efficiently this task, is provided by means of the following announcement.⁵⁴

52 'Other countries which started government housing activities in an uncoordinated way have, during the last fifteen years, reached the conclusion that a special Department was necessary.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 17/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 3.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

54 'The functions and duties of the WPHSA can be summarized as follows:

- a) To formulate the housing policies and programmes, short-term and long-term both in public and private sectors, and incorporate them in the Five Year Plans and the annual Development Programmes.
- b) To ensure that the policies and programs included in the Five Year Plans approved by the competent authority are implemented.
- c) To ensure the uniformity of the policies and coordination of efforts in respect of social, economic, financial, technical and administrative aspects of housing.
- d) To direct surveys, analyses and study of housing conditions.
- e) To formulate standards for the provision of community facilities i.e. roads, water supply, sewerage, electricity etc., in housing schemes.
- f) To work out standards for house types, community layouts and community buildings.
- g) To formulate legislation, bye-laws and regulations in respect of housing.

In December 1962, the Government of West Pakistan applied to the Ford Foundation to provide assistance for the establishment of Housing and Settlements Agency for the Province of West Pakistan. The grant was approved and in January 1963 an agreement for consulting services to the West Pakistan Housing and Settlements Agency was signed between the Governor of West Pakistan and the International Consulting Firm of Doxiadis Associates.⁵⁵

Summarising the discussion to this point, the idea of implementing a coordinated top to bottom strategy becomes tangible, aimed at triggering and further support the circular succession of cause and effect that defines the duality of development and housing; meaning that development results in enhancing the housing domain, which in its turn contributes with generating further growth. There is a series of events signifying the dedication to the idea of coordination that

-
- h) To provide technical assistance to the local bodies, such as Municipal Committees, Improvement Trusts and the Government Departments in respect of housing schemes.
 - i) To carry out research and experimentation in respect of new building materials and construction methods for housing.
 - j) To advise in the implementation of housing projects whether they are sponsored by the Government, Municipal Committees or Improvement Trusts.
 - k) To evaluate results of housing programmes and their implementation.
 - l) To prepare plans for pilot-demonstration projects in the field of housing.
 - m) To prepare housing schemes for the settlement of displaced persons in West Pakistan.
 - n) To formulate policies regarding allotment of residential quarters/plots, community buildings and commercial sites in housing colonies.
 - o) To acquire land for housing projects and arrange payment for compensation.
 - p) To prepare housing schemes for submission to the Aid Giving Agencies.
 - q) Procurement, storage and distribution of materials required for housing schemes.
 - r) To manage and look after the housing colonies which are to be constructed under the direct supervision of the Housing and Settlements Agency.
 - s) To settle terms and conditions for allotment of residential plots/houses, community buildings and commercial sites in housing schemes sponsored by the Agency.'

Ibid., p. 5.

55 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 42/18-04-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.249/23815/p. 50.

takes place at the top of the pyramid. In more detail, it can be observed that both decisions and implementation procedures are sourced from a centralised channel, namely the country's political leadership in reference to decision making and WPHSA, which has responsibility for implementing the governmental policies. Furthermore, the involvement of international institutions in this nation building effort, which includes financial assistance, as well as expertise transferring, can be interpreted as a degree of coordination at a global level. Last but not least, if the particular aspects of the implemented policies are to be examined, a high degree of coordination can also be identified. The holistic approach, which prevailed as the optimum approach in addressing the country's housing sector, constitutes another perspective on the need for coordination. And finally, it is not irrelevant to all the above that Doxiadis Associates—a single architectural firm—was entrusted with designing a considerable number of master plans and low-cost housing schemes along with consulting on the organization of a competent institutional framework, coupled with the formulation of programmes that exceeded the strict boundaries of housing policies.

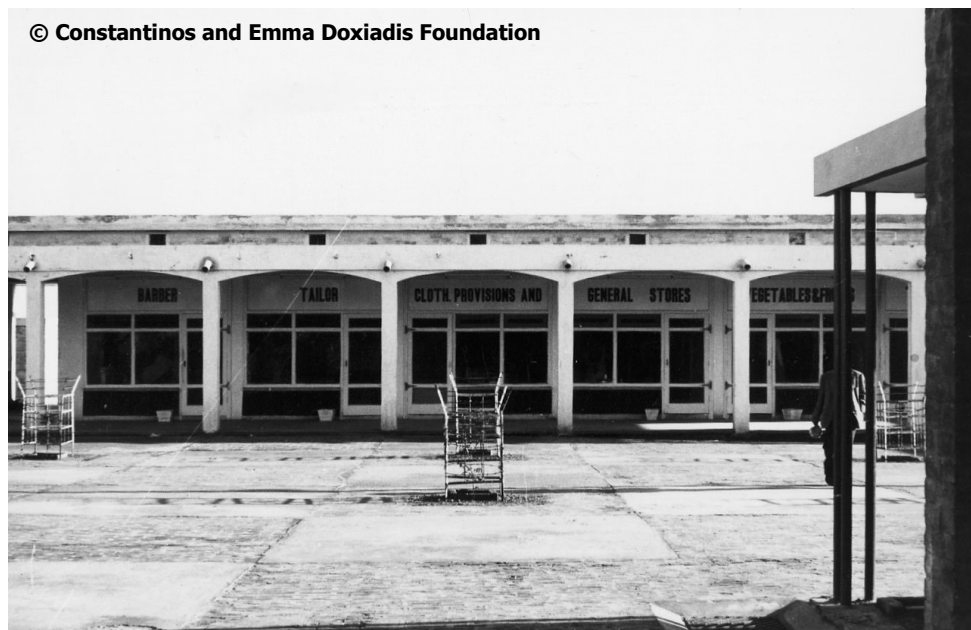


Figure 3: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Neighbourhood shopping centre in Islamabad, 1963 (Diary-PA 109, p. 68, Pakistan Reports vol.172, 23711)

Nevertheless, this orchestrating centralised authority—in the broader sense—situated at the top of the pyramid, aimed to such a strong impact that it could have an impact throughout all layers of the social pyramid; and in fact the degree of success depended on the impact at the base of the pyramid.

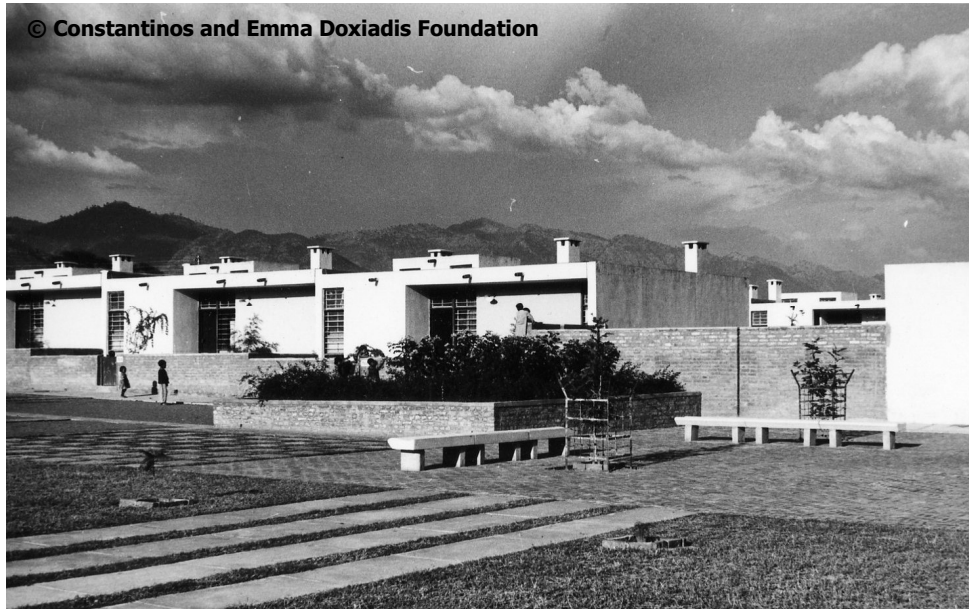


Figure 4: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *View of a neighbourhood centre in Islamabad, 1963* (Diary-PA 109, p. 66, *Pakistan Reports* vol.172, 23711)

In this context, a holistic and long term housing programme for the country was initiated, which, however, was subdivided in three particular categories. More precisely, the urban, rural, as well as the special housing programmes had been launched.⁵⁶ Both urban and rural housing programmes were respectively subdivided in the new urban/rural dwellings programmes and the urban/rural amelioration programmes, while the special category referred to the provision of settlements for civil servants, displaced and homeless families, industrial workers and labour force engaged in large development projects. Common to all these types of housing programmes was the belief in the merit of the community and therefore housing development was by definition coupled with land development works and community buildings' construction. Otherwise, housing

56 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/OCT-DEC 1964/*Pakistan Reports* vol.199/23747/p. 149.

development 'should not merely consist of housing projects, but should provide for full and coordinate community development'.⁵⁷ Understandably, urban housing programmes were to be prioritised over the respective rural ones, since urban centres had already received—and would continue to do so—the major influx of new incomers into the prospect of a better life.⁵⁸ The overall planning, however, aimed at the achievement of a balanced growth between urban and rural areas with a view to preventing the gradual decay of the latter, which would result to an aggravation of the existing social and economic problems.⁵⁹ And at this point, a question should be

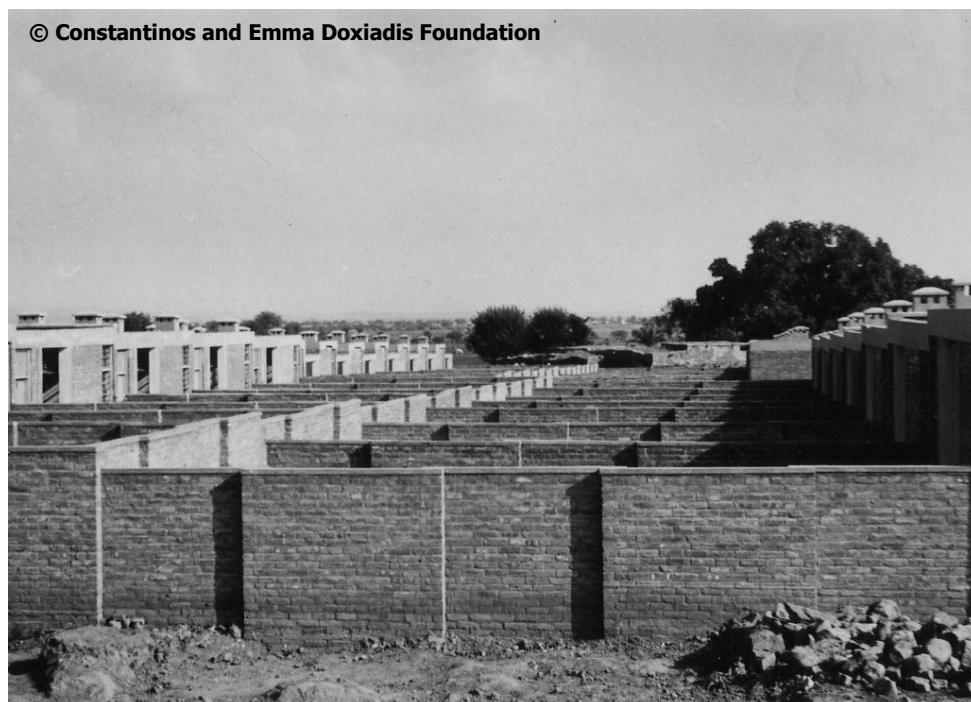


Figure 5: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Rows of houses in Islamabad, 1962 (*Diary-PA 107*, p. 15, *Pakistan Reports vol.123*, 23657)

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁵⁸ 'Another general rule in determining priorities should be that urban needs should take precedence over rural ones. The reason for this are three: a) There are greater possibilities of improving conditions through schemes on a self-help basis. b) The need for housing improvement in rural areas in contrast to that which corresponds to urban areas poses no acute social problem at the time. c) Policies in a way as to catch up with the fast rate of urbanisation, i.e. the rate at which the urban population increases relatively to total population.' C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 33/15-06-1966/*Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801*/p. 54.

⁵⁹ C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/OCT-DEC 1964/*Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747*/p. 147.

raised regarding the role of Islamabad in the midst of this housing frenzy. Undoubtedly, the incentive for creating a new federal capital in Pakistan cannot be credited to the failure of the country's housing sector to meet the needs of its inhabitants at that particular moment; the decision for establishing a new capital city constitutes a far more complex political objective. Islamabad was not a housing scheme, but its existence has been woven with endless rows of houses emerging the one after the other within an extremely short period of time.

In the following pages the particular features of this effort will be examined. As a first step, however, the main philosophy regarding the development of Islamabad needs to be highlighted. The table here below presents the expected income distribution in reference to the urban dwellers of West Pakistan for the period 1961-2010, depicting the effect of the ongoing general development to the rise of population's income and the gradual change of social structuring.⁶⁰

Family Income Group	Annual Family Income (Rs)	Percentage Breakdown of Families										
		1961	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
A0	Up to 900	17	16	14	13	12	12	10	9	8	6	3
A1	901-1200	16	16	14	14	14	13	11	10	9	7	4
B	1201-2400	36	32	30	24	20	14	11	10	9	8	6
C	2401-3600	16	20	22	20	18	15	13	10	9	8	6
D	3601-4800	5	5	6	8	11	15	17	14	10	9	7
E	4801-7200	4	4	6	7	9	11	13	17	19	13	11
F	7201-9600	3	4	5	7	8	10	13	16	18	22	27
G	9601 and above	3	3	3	7	8	10	12	14	18	27	36
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average Annual Income per Family (in Rs)		2630	2940	3380	3880	4550	5220	6050	6950	7980	9180	10560

60 *Ibid.*, p. 189.

The reorganisation of this table takes place as follows, with a view to acquiring a clearer image of the income distribution according to the three social groups, meaning low (A0, A1, B), middle (C, D, E, F) and high (G) income groups. The categorisation of the different income groups derives from Doxiadis Associates reports.⁶¹ The year 1985 can be considered to be a milestone, as it constitutes the end date of the country's Perspective Plan (1965-1985) and it is interesting to notice that actually, it becomes a point of reference for the middle class. This is to say that while low and high income groups continue their trajectory with a similar tendency both before and after 1985, the middle income group increases its strength up to 82% during the first period and afterwards, despite any limited fluctuations, it remains stable. This can be interpreted as a hint of commitment to a strategy that views the necessity for middle class to reach a critical volume by the end of the intervention period.

Family Income Group	Annual Family Income (Rs)	Percentage Breakdown of Families										
		1961	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Low	Up to 2400	69	64	58	51	46	39	32	29	26	21	13
Middle	2401-9600	28	33	39	42	46	51	56	57	56	52	51
High	9601 and above	3	3	3	7	8	10	12	14	18	27	36
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Furthermore, and taking into consideration the income distribution map, which constituted the basis for the master plan of Islamabad, it can be observed that the social synthesis of the new federal capital was meant to correspond with the same of the average urban centre of West Pakistan as this was anticipated to be in the year 2005.⁶² In

61 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 23.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

more detail, the income distribution map indicated that only the 20% of the Islamabad inhabitants would belong to the lower income groups, while the 80% would shape a middle—high class social entity. A slight deviation can be observed in the percentage distribution between middle and high income groups, suggesting that the analogy of 52%-27% as per the table, for the case of Islamabad was defined to be approximately 44%-36%. One can argue, therefore, that Islamabad was not only meant to shape the first fragment of the foreseen global human settlement—Ecumenopolis—but also and most importantly it was meant to become a social reality prefiguring the country's social structure forty years later.

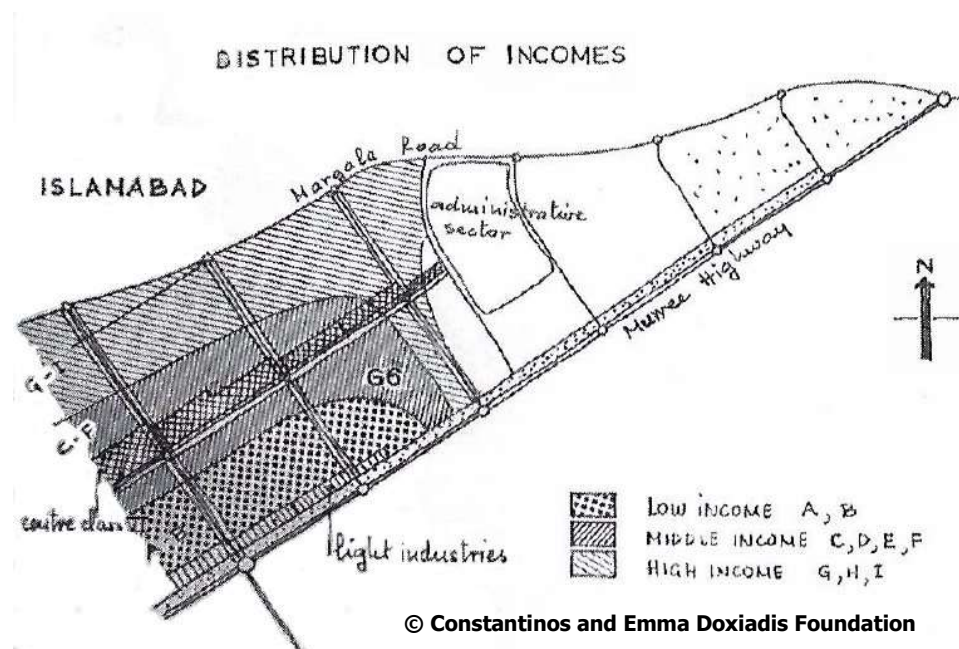


Figure 6: C. A. Doxiadis Archive, *Income distribution map*, DOX-PA 96, 1961, p. 23

Islamabad was intended to be the exemplar for the socio-urban development of the country and this could be both justified and efficiently supported by means of its role as the country's capital city. International and domestic interest was focus on Islamabad, which was prompted by a highly symbolic rhetoric that stressed its function as the seat of government and centre of decision makings. Undoubtedly, the country in its totality could not follow neither the pace of development nor the sophistication that Islamabad presented, but this did not deprive the new federal capital of being a powerful

paradigm. On the contrary, Islamabad constituted a tangible proof of success and could therefore offer strong motivation for maintaining a generalised alignment with the specified developmental pattern, as outlined below. As one Doxiadis' report noted: 'The process of industrialisation and urbanisation that take place now in Pakistan, and more particularly in West Pakistan, goes in hand with the development of a specialised institutional framework, within which economic development takes place'.⁶³ And housing, at the same time, could find its positioning both in the sphere of needs and in the sphere of solutions addressing these same needs—confirming housing as an instrument of economic growth.

Housing is an acute social need, which, according to Doxiadis, can significantly influence development, if it is to become a demand. This is to say that housing can produce an economic impact, only if it is to be expressed in financial terms of purchasing power. In this respect and as per the consultants' words:

It has, moreover, been taken for granted that needs in housing should be clearly distinguished from actual demand for housing. Housing needs consist of the socially necessary number of dwellings at a given stage of development, whereas housing demand refers to that part of the needs which can be quantified in financial terms, in relation to prices, income and 'subsistence'.⁶⁴

The country's Perspective Plan for the years 1965-1985 stated that the social aspect of the 'housing for all' idea should be translated into an efficient developmental instrument;⁶⁵ the need of a home—

63 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 36/16-01-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 18.

64 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 33/15-06-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 3.

65 'Thus, the houses needed to be built to rehabilitate refugees and homeless families are designed to serve the concrete social need to provide homes for helpless people, but the needfulness of the latter cannot be translated in terms of actual demand, because they cannot afford to pay the cost of their housing, though they need it very intensely.'

perilous when unsatisfied—was to be transformed into a productive demand.⁶⁶ The productive nature of demand stimulation lies in the fact that the latter can contribute in reducing the percentage of unmet needs, as per the following statement. 'Only by influencing the market conditions of demand and supply, will a maximum percentage of needs be satisfied'.⁶⁷

In this respect, the action plan for Pakistan appears to have a twofold perspective; suggesting that the total volume of investment in housing needed to be increased, while simultaneously being redirected from the traditionally high income groups to those of low and middle income.⁶⁸ Subsequently, the government of Pakistan had to expedite public investments and to provide the necessary incentives to stimulate the private sector.⁶⁹ Doxiadis, while

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 36/16-01-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 4.

66 'In other words, conditions of demand are related to the conditions of income and purchasing power. As housing is one of the most basic needs, demand for it is most inelastic, from a certain income and above. In other words, below a certain level of income the tendency will be to crowd together with relatives, friends, etc., since the cost of obtaining accommodation is far too higher from what people at that income can afford. But demand conditions have been changing in the past decade owing to the high rate of urbanization and to the increase of population in general. These two phenomena, coupled with that of a rapidly rising urban middle class has created a new situation in which the demand for housing has altered both qualitatively and quantitatively.'
Ibid., p. 4.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

68 'In this respect, the present report has as its task, not to propose measures that are to discourage higher income housing investments, but rather to indicate by description of demand and supply conditions that the shift of the emphasis from higher to middle incomes is in fact more remunerative for the entrepreneur.'
Ibid., p. 2.

69 'For this reason, in the initial stages, public sector investment should be quite large in order to encourage the private sector, as there are many infrastructure and other works, which only under government initiatives can be performed. Thus, the relationship of private to public investment is not a simply quantitative one; private investment presupposes a necessary state expenditure in land development, which will invite the private entrepreneur to build houses.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 33/15-06-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 44.

highlighting the necessity for public investments to precede the private ones, emphasised that 'the ekistic programme is less than any other sector of the development's programme intending to the utilisation of only public funds'.⁷⁰ In support of his position he referred to the statement of G. S. Tolley:

The objective is to determine how the resources of the government can be used to complement and supplement private resources more effectively and what government actions (legislative and administrative) will most effectively get the allocation of private resources to the most profitable uses.⁷¹

Once more, the decisive role of the political leadership in terms of controlling the development process in Pakistan is revealed. The same is reflected in the information reported by the press of that time. Particularly, in an editorial of *Pakistan Times* (Lahore: 13 June 1960) we read:

In this situation, a comprehensive national housing policy can ensure the most fruitful utilisation of scarce resources allocated to housing. It is heartening that an attempt is now being made to formulate such a policy and to reorganise the Central and provincial housing agencies with a view to ensuring greater co-ordination [...]. All the resources and energies must be concentrated over the next years on building houses for people with modest means, and this cannot be accomplished until luxury construction is totally ruled out.⁷²

70 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 11/19-11-1954/Pakistan Reports vol.1/23553/p. 13.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

72 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PKH 1506/02-07-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.70/23614/p. 2.

and 'The power of public regulation should be so used as to direct private investment into desirable channels'.⁷³

In addition to the general strategy of development that the Khan regime orchestrated and implemented and taking into consideration the example of Islamabad, it can be noted that the government of Pakistan proceeded with gestures that covered the whole spectrum of intervention policies. In more detail and in reference to the implementation stage, the government, besides the land development works and the community buildings' construction,

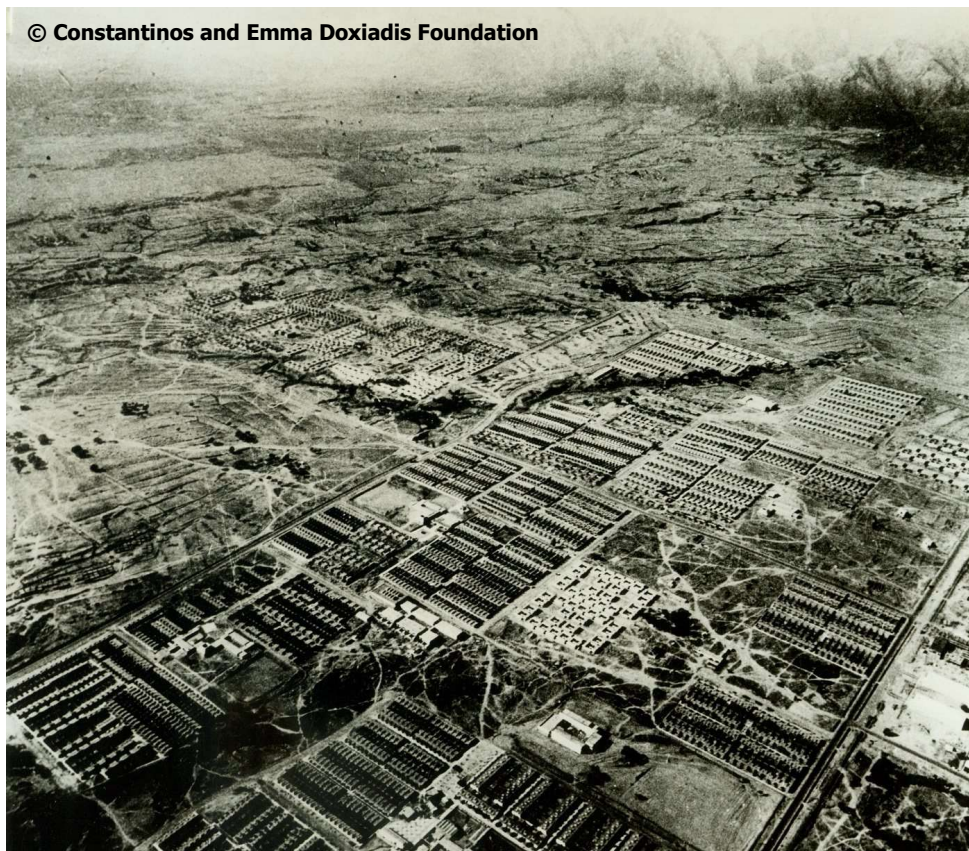


Figure 7: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Aerial view of G6-1 and G6-2 class V communities in Islamabad (file 17666)

also undertook responsibility for the construction of dwellings. Even though Doxiadis had been excluded from participating in the design of the landmark buildings of Islamabad, such as the Presidential Palace, the Secretariat, or the Great Mosque, he was deeply involved with designing a great number of different house typologies.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Reasonably the house can be considered to be 'the most important element in any human settlement',⁷⁴ as 'it contributes to the organisation and formation of the general physical complex environing all the basic functions of man, i.e. his habitation, work, physical and mental culture and communications'.⁷⁵ When Islamabad is seen in an aerial view, a different kind of monumentality is revealed.⁷⁶ This is to say that the monumental character of this urban entity was not to be found in its distinguished edifices or in the numerous two-level intersected highways, but instead it was to be recognised in the massive volume of houses that emerged almost concurrently at the hitherto empty grounds of Potwar Plateau. This image constitutes solid proof of a remarkable socio-economic impact that became possible by means of multi-layered planning strategies. The examination of the specific measures taken can offer an insight both into the core philosophy of the planning policies and the objectives to be achieved. Taking as a starting point that:

In view of the financial limitations and the magnitude of the housing problems, the policy of the Government should be that instead of satisfying the complete needs of a few, to improve the housing conditions of as many families as possible.⁷⁷

74 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 14.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

76 'When speaking about architecture, authors usually mention only a few well-known monuments. It is this concentration of our attention on the top of the pyramid of the past, which leads along the wrong track and thus deprives our thinking of the sound basis of the foundations of every architecture and new style. Perhaps not every house may be worth describing, but all of them taken together can in fact: a) Explain the social and economic trends of their regions and their era [...]. It is only by studying the total architectural expressions of a nation that we can obtain a real picture of its accomplishments and of the different possibilities, which are offered both for the present and the future.' C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 115/22-04-1962/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 36.

77 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 142.

it remains to be seen what steps were followed in this direction. The

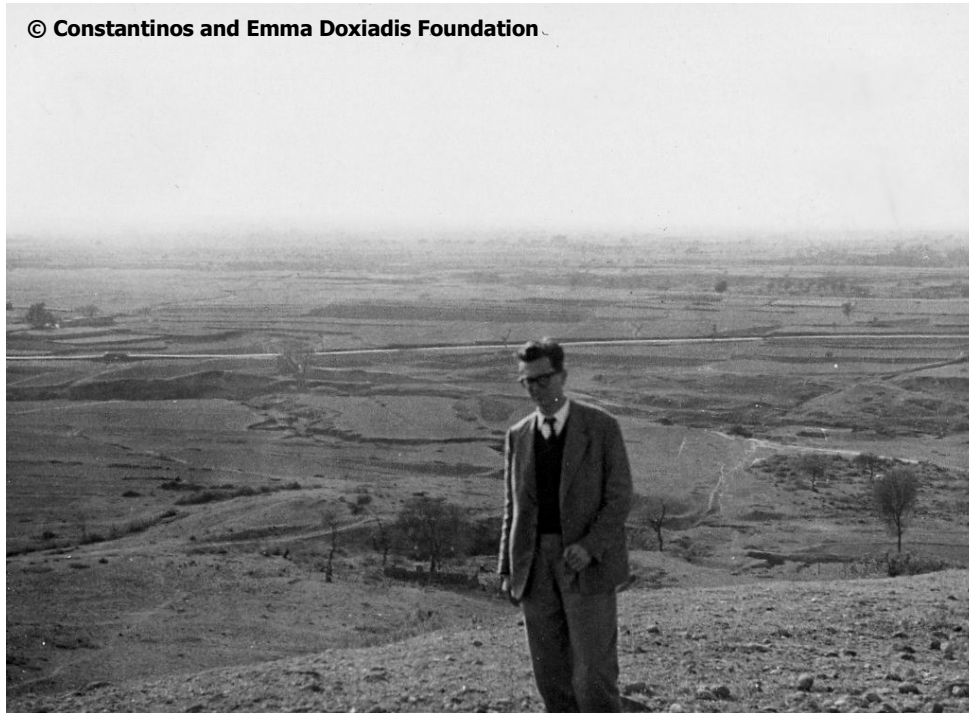


Figure 8: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Ioannis Frantzeskakis (DA Engineer) in Islamabad area, 1960 (Diary-PA 100, p. 62, Pakistan Reports vol.41, 23592)

basic principle that shaped the backbone of housing development—generally in Pakistan and particularly in Islamabad—was the idea of consistency with regard to the following issues. The kind and extent of governmental support was to be strictly defined by the income group to which the purchaser belonged. Furthermore, the cost of the property had to fully comply with the owner's income status.⁷⁸ Governmental support was primarily to be provided to low-income groups, as this sector of Pakistani society had been suffering most from the poor conditions of the country's housing sector. As the active assistance of this social group in the process of general development on the basis of its own strengths could only be considered as a utopia, the government of Pakistan undertook the responsibility for

⁷⁸ 'Thus, house type A01, intended for the lowest income groups, provides only those items which refer to the rudimentary structure of the house. Further conveniences are added to the houses of category B, starting with such fundamental items as doors and windows, flooring of the shelter and parts of the garden, the standard being raised even higher for the houses of income category C.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 31.

constructing dwellings for the less privileged members of the society, which, however, would have had to be paid by the prospective owners—either in full through long term loans or partially and by means of combining loans and government subsidies. As per a Doxiadis Associates report: 'The subsidies are a measure of both social and economic policy in the sense that the provision of housing for low income families contributes towards the economic development of the Province through increase of the productivity of the properly housed workers.'⁷⁹ With a view to achieving a viable balance between the support offered by the government and the subsequent obligations on the house purchasers, the idea of providing partially completed dwellings prevailed as the most realistic. Instead of constructing fully completed houses, the government proceeded with the construction either of house foundations or of nucleus dwellings. Under this perspective, the allocated public funds would suffice to address the needs of a greater part of the population and the beneficiaries would be financially burdened according to their abilities. But above all, the idea of providing a nucleus house 'with minimum facilities and services capable of expansion and/or gradual improvements'⁸⁰ created the critical, minimal basis to commit people to development and progress and to stimulate individual incentives to undertake the next step.

Accordingly, home ownership prevailed over rental housing. An exception to this tendency was the provision of housing for special groups of people, such as the civil servants. The usual requirement for these people to offer their services from different posts across the Pakistani territory specified the provision of dwellings on a lease basis. In this context, the government of Pakistan had been engaged in the construction of completed dwellings for the specific social group. An

79 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 192.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

additional exception related to civil servants had been the provision of comprehensive housing assistance not only to low income groups, but also to the higher earners. Direct subsidies, however, were available only for the financially weaker members of the community. At this point, it needs to be noted that high income groups—either belonging to the ranks of civil servants or not—were to be entirely excluded from any financial support. Nevertheless, despite any exceptions, ownership was seen as a critical factor for the enhancement of the sentiment of belonging—both in spatial and social terms. The economic benefits sourcing from this approach appeared to be equally important, as described here:

- a. The capital spent by the government will start to be recovered within a short period of time, so that it can be used for financing further the housing programme.
- b. The cost of maintaining the dwelling will be borne by the owners and not the government.
- c. Home ownership helps to develop in the occupants the pride and interest which are necessary for constant improvement and enlargement of the dwellings, creation of human communities and individual expressions instead of institutionalised camps.⁸¹

and 'In addition, the owner becomes a permanent member of the community and is interested in its development, so that he usually comes to constitute an important factor in the promotion of social order'.⁸²

In accordance with a rhetoric emphasising that 'in settlements we cannot stop the development, we can only plan for it or not',⁸³ the

81 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

82 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PI 1515/02-02-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.111/23645/p. 3.

83 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 11/19-11-1954/Pakistan Reports vol.1/23553/p. 13.

process of property allocation became another point of focus of attention. This issue appeared to have a twofold perspective, meaning that on the one side it was important to define the criteria according to which property distribution should take place, while on the other side it was equally necessary to define the prioritisation for the same. This is to say that an action plan was needed, according to which available houses and prospective occupants would have to be matched. But, since supply and demand were far from being aligned, prioritisation in terms of meeting the existent needs could only be considered inevitable. As already mentioned, the cost of dwellings had to be consistent with the income of their inhabitants and for this reason different house typologies corresponding to the status of the different social groups were either designed or materialised.⁸⁴ At this point it needs to be clarified that the cost of a house also included the cost of land and land development as well. Since all costs related to land acquisition and development were to be public expenses, the system of property distribution affected all income groups regardless of any actual house construction on behalf of the government. In the cases, however, where governmental support was not involved, property allocation followed the dictates of a kind of free economy, according to which interested parties had to buy the available plots and proceed with building, in alignment, of course, with the regulations set by the Capital Development Authority.⁸⁵

84 'Previous experience regarding the percentage of its annual income that a family can spend on housing shows that the cost of a house should be about 2.5 annual family incomes, or together with the value of the plot (value of land plus land development) about 4 annual family incomes.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 17.

85 'The program provides for a certain encouragement of lower income housing, but to a limited extent and not at the expenses of higher income groups, which would be unrealistic in a free economy.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 41/15-02-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.249/23815/p. 56.

An example regarding the process of land allotment can be provided through the following correspondence between the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and the Federal Capital Commission: 'I am directed to refer to letter No. PA-41/60 dated the 27th May, 1960 and request you kindly to allot us a plot of

The multifaceted importance of maintaining a balance between the income status of people and the status of their habitats is highlighted here:

It should be noted that a proper ratio of cost of house to income of occupant is essential, not only to make it possible for the house to be bought on easy terms, but also to ensure that it can be easily and properly maintained by the family living in it. If a house is unduly luxurious in relation to the income of its occupants, it will be impossible for it to be suitably furnished or maintained. It will therefore deteriorate continuously with a resulting loss in national wealth. A proper ratio of cost of house to occupant's income is also essential for

land measuring approximately 50 acres for the purpose of construction of residential colony for the employees of this Commission. A crossed cheque No. H/3-869300 dated the 9th June, 1960, for Rs 75,000/- (Rupees seventy-five thousand only) from the National Bank of Pakistan, Karachi, is enclosed herewith, as an advance towards the cost of this land. This amount is being advanced on the understanding that it will be adjusted in the light of the actual cost of the land allotted to us.' And 'I am directed to refer to your letter No. 650/105/P-60, dated the 10th June, 1960 and to say that the Capital Development Authority have received your cheque No. H/3-869300, dated June 9, 1960 and that the Authority would provide land in Islamabad for meeting the requirements of the Atomic Energy Commission. The accounts would be settled in due course. As announced in the press, the Capital Development Authority will submit the final master plan of Islamabad to Government sometime in October [...]. The Atomic Energy Commission will be informed as soon as the Authority is ready to allot plots. As a matter of policy, the Authority will allot developed plots of various sizes to the applicants rather than large blocks of undivided land (The sizes and number of plots have been worked out after dividing the future population of Islamabad into various income groups). The total area that the Authority will allot to the Atomic Energy Commission will, therefore depend upon the number of heads of families and the income of each one of them [...]. I may clarify that the Capital Development Authority have prescribed space standards for various income groups [...]. In this connection, the Atomic Energy Commission may kindly indicate whether they prefer to have an enclave of their own or they would like their plots to be distributed in the various sectors which are being designed for specific income groups. The Authority, would however advise that the Atomic Energy Commission should fit into the design of the plan of Islamabad rather than create a colony of their own. I may explain here that the Authority will exercise a broad architectural control over the buildings that are to be constructed in Islamabad. It would, therefore, be advisable if the Atomic Energy Commission would design their residential house in consultation with the Authority.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 987/03-10-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.76/23620.

social reasons, since the style of living imposed by the house must be in keeping with the class of people living in it.⁸⁶

Consequently, it had been decided that any annual loan instalments for housing purposes should not exceed the 25% of the family's annual revenues.⁸⁷ This would ensure that people could afford their financial obligations, could maintain decent standards of everyday living, and could possibly make some savings, which would ideally be channelized again in the productive sectors of economy.

Regarding the prioritisation of housing distribution, the basic rule that had to be followed was that 'no family must be given preference over another without sound social and economic criteria'.⁸⁸ But still, it was unrealistic for every social and economic need to be satisfied. The philosophy that actually regulated the selection process was described as follows:

There is no doubt that major housing schemes are necessary for the needy families, but if lack of a dwelling is the sole qualification for assistance there may be a danger that urban housing projects will cause additional influx of population into these areas from rural districts. Therefore, it is necessary to give priority in the construction of dwellings to those of the population groups which form the backbone of the overall economic development of the Province.⁸⁹

Consequently, the creation of a counterbalance appeared to be necessary with a view to controlling the influx of people into the urban

86 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 17.

87 'From previous experience and on the basis of various studies, it had been considered that the cost of houses should be equivalent to the sum of money which each income group would devote yearly for housing over a period averaging 15 years.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 38/10-12-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 13.

88 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 248.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

centres while offering an alternative to the existing population. This counterbalance was to be found in the parallel development of certain rural housing schemes, which were meant to be paradigms of integrated development. In this respect, strong motivation had been offered to middle income groups, by means of providing completed houses, as well as financial assistance in the form of loans. This kind of rural support was only exceptionally available in urban housing schemes. For low income groups, the same policy as in urban housing schemes was to be followed; suggesting the provision of loans, subsidies and nucleus dwellings.

After examining the diverse aspects of housing development in Pakistan in general and in Islamabad in particular, a more detailed look at the actual focus of attention, namely the house, needs to take

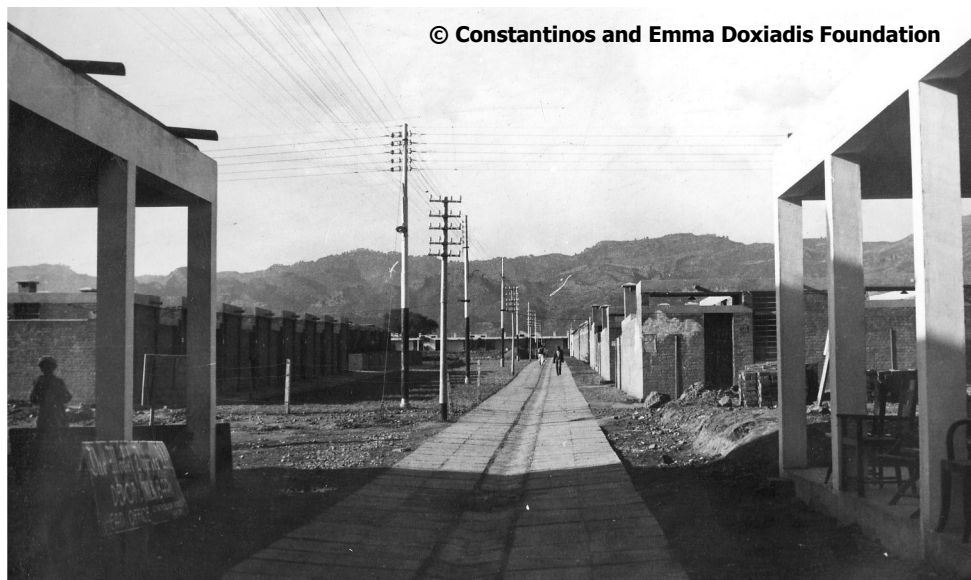


Figure 9: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Neighbourhood Centre in Islamabad, 1963 (Diary-PA 109, p. 58, Pakistan Reports vol.172, 23711)

by means of its material hypostasis—plot dimensions, plan layout, materials used—affirms its contribution in terms of addressing needs, generating further needs, depicting social status and culture, as well as moulding social status and culture. Undoubtedly, and despite any coordinated efforts, the path towards modernisation was meant to be long. Taking into consideration the great differences among the distinct social groups, it seems that the key factor for achieving the desired generalised progress could be found in the idea of

coherence—meaning that everyone had to participate in development, however, gradually and each moment up to the point that this was actually feasible. Related to this approach is Doxiadis' interpretation of Gandhi's mud hut.⁹⁰ According to his notes from a trip to India:

I am asked if I understand why Gandhi has lived in this mud house and I say that it is my impression that he must have lived there not because he thought that all Indians should live in mud houses but because he thought that there was the starting point from which new Indian architecture and ways of living should be developed.⁹¹

The same applies to Gandhi's idea about the handloom. As per Doxiadis' notes:

I don't believe that he must have thought that India's future lies only in the handlooms, but probably he wanted to show that it is from the handloom that they must start in order to develop a new economy as the handloom is understood by the people.⁹²

In other words, Doxiadis identified the actual opportunity for modernisation in gradual and consistent development, which would initially be based on the known. With the known as a starting point

90 Doxiadis criticised the development of architecture in India as being alien to the local abilities. 'I feel there has been no link between the real architecture and the efforts made today by the Government. I explain that I doubt if the ideas of Gandhi who started by building and living in his mud hut have been understood by the people who are defining the Government's plans in this sector.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, INDIA NOTES (vol.1)/vol.2/OCT-NOV 1955/24966/pp. 38, 39.

'He wanted to develop a mud house to live in but with all the sanitary facilities. He was actually economised in everything but in sanitary facilities [...]. He wanted to find a pattern of a house, the material of which had to be found locally.'

Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

compatible with existing skills and abilities, the proper conditions could be created, which if coupled with a nexus of support measures and mechanisms could become the springboard for a 'conscious'⁹³ and therefore 'successful'⁹⁴ development.

In alignment with the above, Doxiadis proceeded to design a series of house typologies, which were approved by the Capital

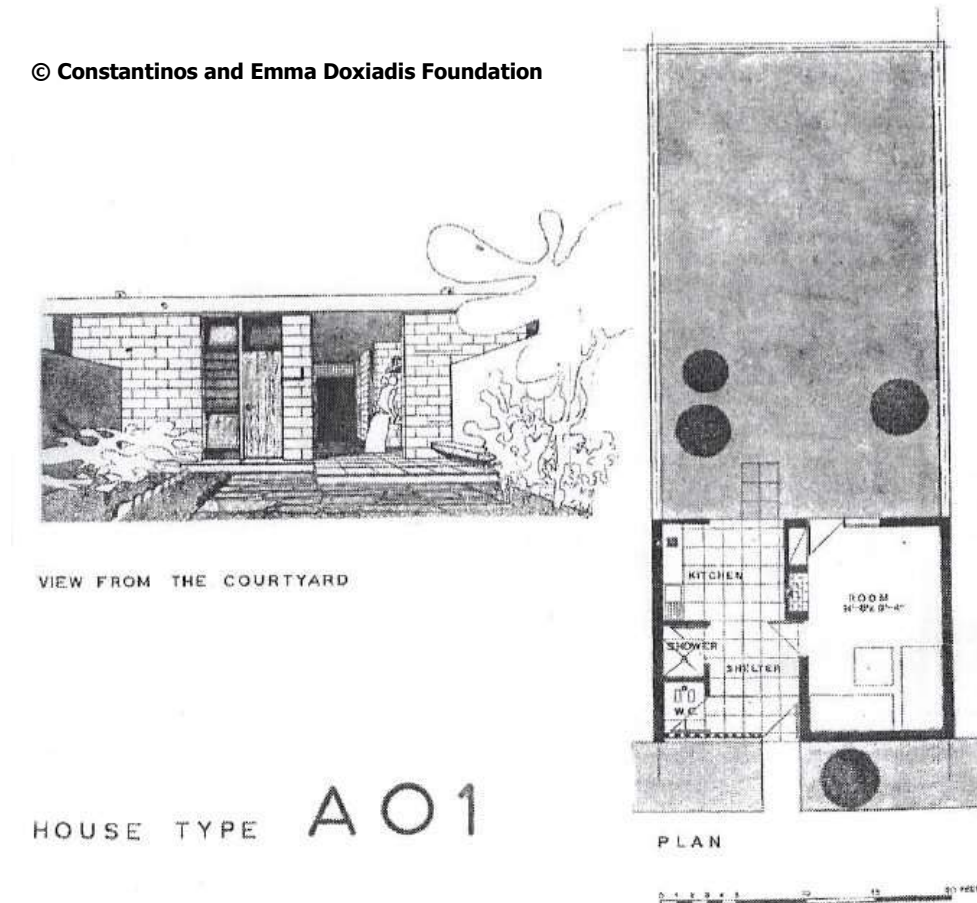


Figure 10: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Low-income house type A01 (DOX-PA 96, 1961, p. 35)

Development Authority. As stated by one of its architects: 'The houses for the lowest income group had already been designed by Doxiadis and he was permitted to go ahead with this project. These were modest and compact houses, suited to the requirements of the people of Islamabad'.⁹⁵ The absolute minimum for low-income families was

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹⁵ Zahir-UD Deen Khwaja, *Memoirs of an architect* (Lahore: Printhouse, 1998), p. 100.

to be found in a plot of land 20 feet wide and 50 feet long, which included a hard surface of approximately 30 square meters. The proposed dwelling—Type A01—was organised in two clusters of equal area, or otherwise in one main room and a shelter, which included all auxiliary facilities—kitchen, shower and W.C. The shelter, this semi-outdoor space, actually constituted the core of the house, as besides accommodating the household activities it was also the link between public space and the private open space—back yard—as well as between public space and the family room. This type of house was the basis for developing the other low-income house types, namely all A and B typologies. However, even this very basic form of dwelling was not to be without all necessary sanitary facilities, as well as of all qualitatively distinct types of spaces—indoor, outdoor, semi-outdoor.⁹⁶ This is highlighted in an article in *Ekistics* magazine on the spirit of Islamabad: 'Independently of whether houses are built for low incomes or for high incomes, they need in both cases all types of spaces.'⁹⁷ and elsewhere: "The qualitative effect of socialisation on our cities introduced a great number of 'essentials' which short while ago were not even know".⁹⁸ Nevertheless, it seems that this particular type of house did not find its way towards materialisation, as it conflicted with the commitments of Capital Development Authority, regarding the minimum standards of the houses to be provided.⁹⁹ The

96 'Regarding the optimum utilisation of the sum allocated to house construction it has been adopted as a general rule that provision of adequate living space in the house should take priority over technical refinements. The reason is that an incomplete construction can gradually be completed by the occupant himself, while basic deficiencies in the space layout can never be remedied and will always hinder living comfort.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 31.

97 Doxiadis Associates, 'The Spirit of Islamabad', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 12, no. 73 (1961), pp. 315-335, p. 329.

98 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 112.

99 Maurice Lee in his article in *Ekistics* magazine is referred to the smallest low income house designed by Doxiadis Associates, or otherwise 'a tiny space to house a family of up to eight people', which consisted of two rooms.

Authority had already broadly communicated that all houses in Islamabad would have shower facilities and at least two rooms.¹⁰⁰

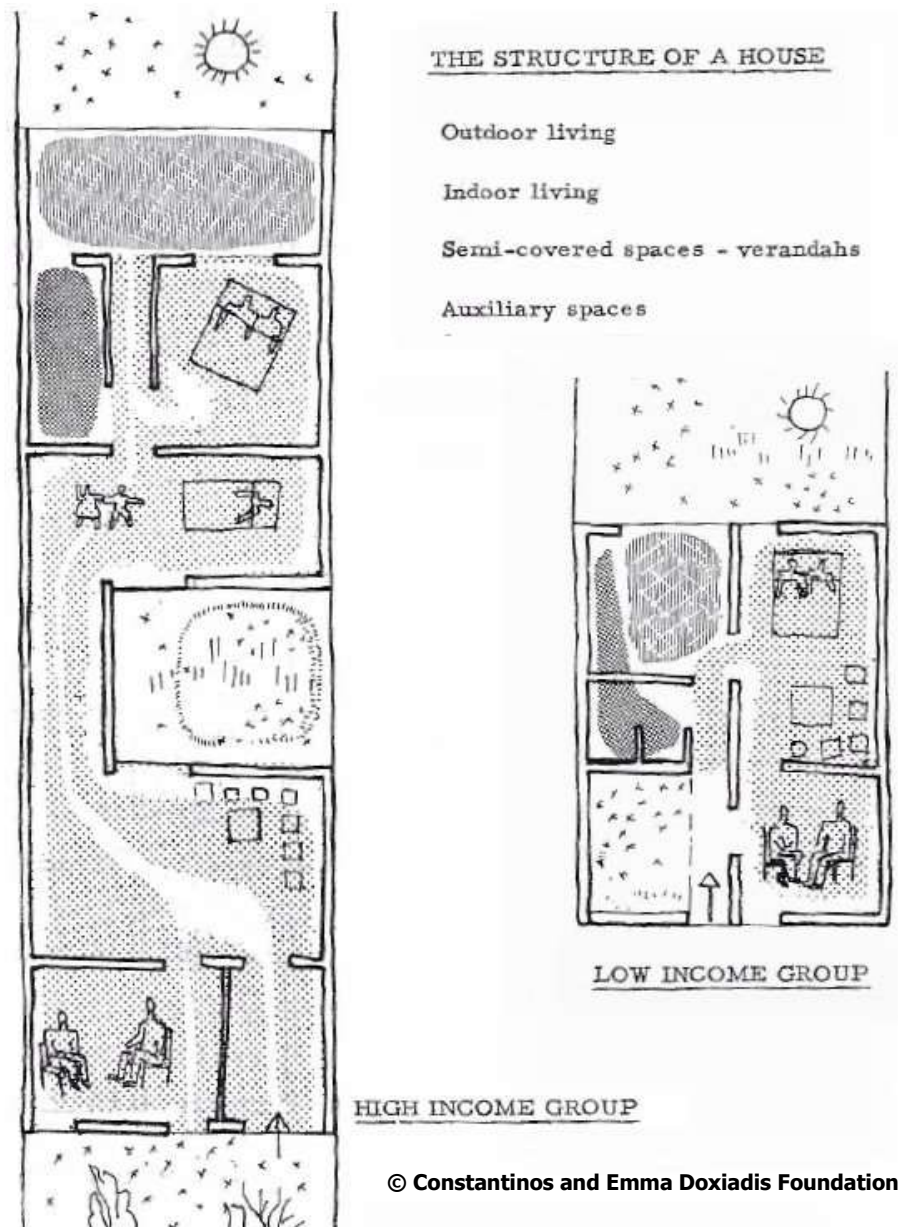


Figure 11: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77, 1960, 36567, p. 334

Understandably, such a retreat would challenge the credibility of the Pakistani government and could possibly disrupt the sense of equality among people belonging to the same social group.

All low-income houses were to be developed according to the row building system, which reasonably had been considered to be

Maurice Lee, 'Islamabad; the Image', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 25, no. 150 (1968), pp. 334-335, p. 335.

100 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, R-PI 276/1962/Pakistan Reports vol.139/23670/p. 2.

more cost effective than semi-detached and detached housing schemes. And this is not only related to the cost of the construction itself, but also involved the land development costs and subsequently the total cost for the development of the community. Since the length of the plot façade increases proportionately from row to semi-detached and detached building system, the requirement for providing affordable houses for people with limited financial means practically left no other option than building low-income houses in rows.¹⁰¹ The continuity of the façade allows for a synthesis at a larger



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Figure 12: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Pedestrian zone in Islamabad, 1963 (Diary-PA 109, p. 67, Pakistan Reports vol.172, 23711)

scale, suggesting that each building is deprived of its distinct character and instead it becomes the necessary part of an entity; in alignment with the synthesis in social terms, which aimed to the creation of a coherent whole on the basis of appropriately classified individuals. If the requirement for an increased level of privacy due to socio-religious reasons is taken into consideration, the idea of a unified and solid façade becomes further intensified. The high walls, separating all private open spaces from the adjacent public ones,

101 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 38/10-12-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 121.

became an equally important feature of the architectural synthesis. The probable monotony of this absolute barrier between private and public spaces was to be overcome by means of built volumes of different heights—also necessary for improving ventilation conditions—as well as contrasts of shadow and light, deriving from



Figure 13: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *On the continuity of the facades in Islamabad, 1963* (*Diary-PA 109, p. 81, Pakistan Reports vol.172, 23711*)

the arrangement of the different architectural members—for example, recessed walls, projected ceilings, etc.

The requirement for clear segregation of private and public life defined also the architectural programme and plan of all house typologies regardless of the income group to which the referred.

Even the smallest and most rudimentary house type should be conceived in such a way to provide two distinct areas for every day. The front area mainly devoted to reception and guests, and the rear devoted to family life and household activities.¹⁰²

Considering that the idea of a single room house had been abandoned, all type A dwellings consisted of two main rooms, plus the auxiliary spaces—kitchen, shower and W.C. The front room, or

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

otherwise the 'public' space of the house had a separate entrance and

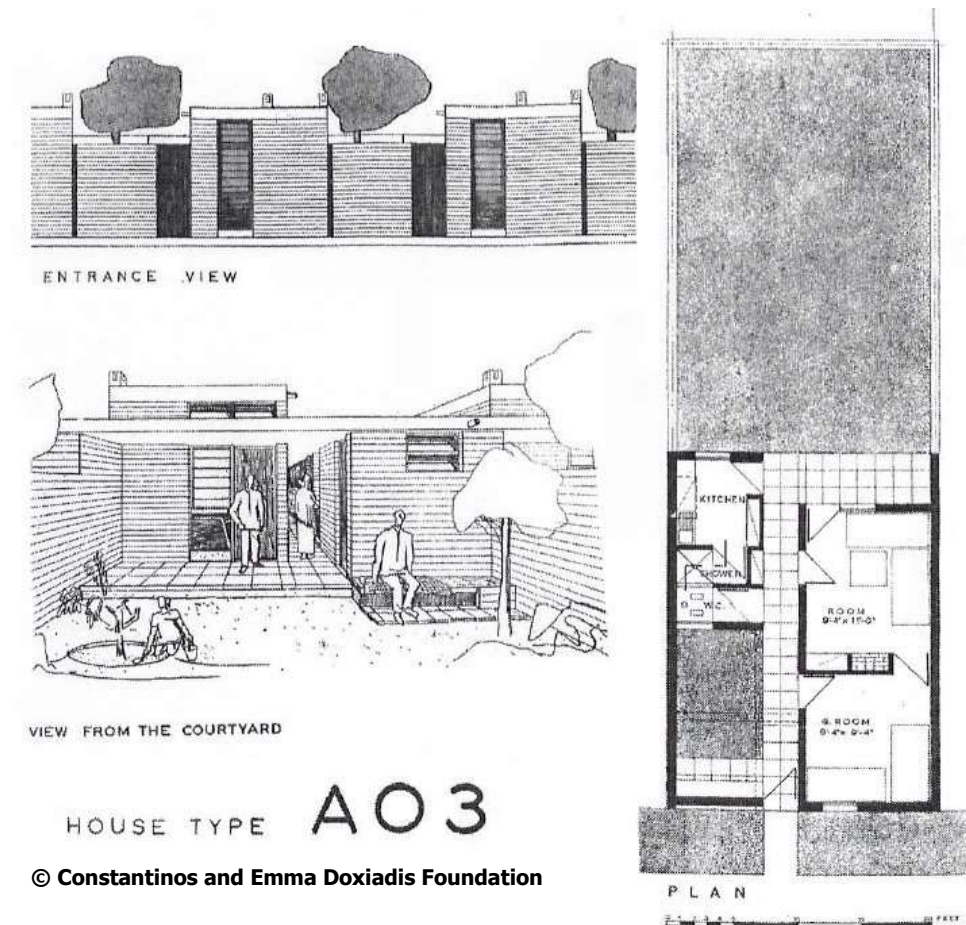


Figure 14: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Low-income house type A03 (DOX-PA 96, 1961, p. 39)

a distinct outdoor space accompanying it. The same was applicable in reference to type B (B01-B04) low income houses, however, this category of dwellings consisted mainly of two family rooms (B02-B04) and additionally a separate guest room. Another difference that can be identified between type A and B houses is the approach of organising the kitchen facilities. In all type B dwellings, the kitchen was accommodated within an enclosed space, while in type A houses the kitchen could be either a separate room or simply incorporated into the shelter area.

Despite any particular differentiations, all houses for low-income groups had been designed with the same philosophy. They all shared equal width, 20 foot plots, while the respective depth varied from 50 to 60 feet for people belonging to income group A and 60 to 70 feet for income group B. Therefore, as per the following table, an

average increase of 23% can be identified, in reference to the area of the allotted plots to people classified as income group B, if compared with the respective ones of income group A.¹⁰³

Income Group		Annual Family Income in Rs.		Average Plot Size in sq. ft.	Plinth Area in sq. ft.
		Range	Average		
A	Low	Up to 1200	800	1125	325-550
B		1200-2400	1800	1460	550-850
C	Middle	2400-3600	3000	1800	850-1000
D		3600-4800	4200	2250	1000-1150
E		4800-7200	6000	4500	1150-1800
F		7200-9600	8400	9000	1800-2000
G	High	9600-12000	10800	13500	2000-2100
H		12000-24000	18000	18000	2100-2800
I		24000 and over		24750	2800-3200

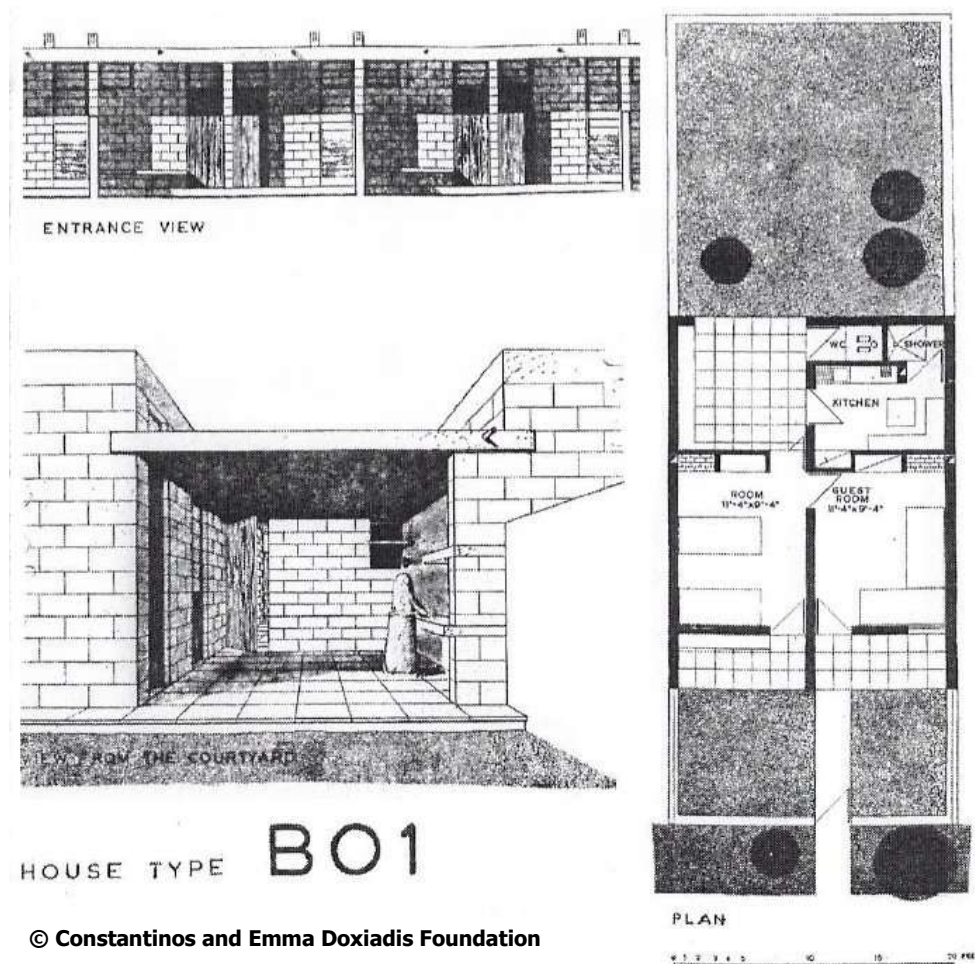


Figure 15: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Low-income house type B01 (DOX-PA 96, 1961, p. 43)

103 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 22.

An analogous increase can be traced considering the average surface of the provided dwellings to the same social groups, however, the percentage appears to be higher, reaching 37%. More exactly, the surface of houses type A was defined to be 40-45 square meters, while the same for type B would have a range of 50-70 square meters.¹⁰⁴ It is interesting to notice that these percentages are reversed—increase of plot area is considerably higher than the increase of built area—if middle and high-income groups are to be examined. For the moment, in order to conclude with low-income

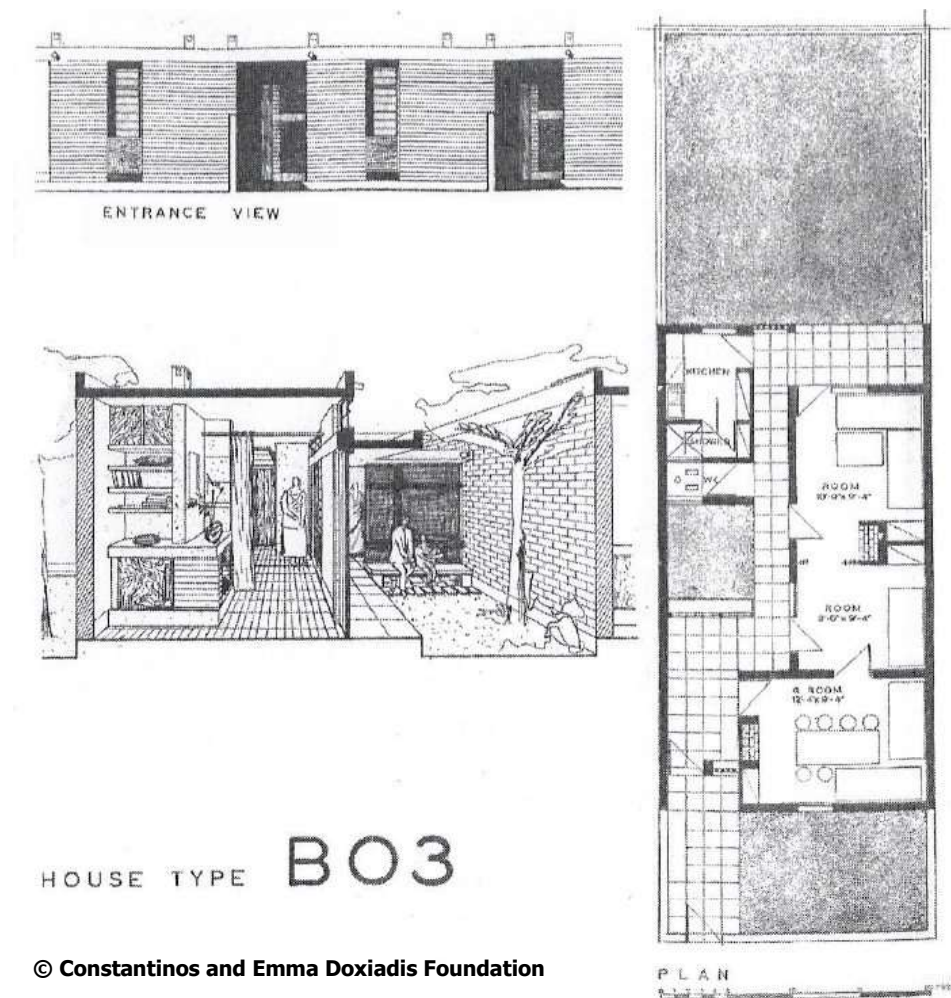


Figure 16: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Low-income house type B03 (DOX-PA 96, 1961, p. 47)

dwellings, it needs to be stressed that the basic feature that defines them also differentiates them from the middle income ones. The

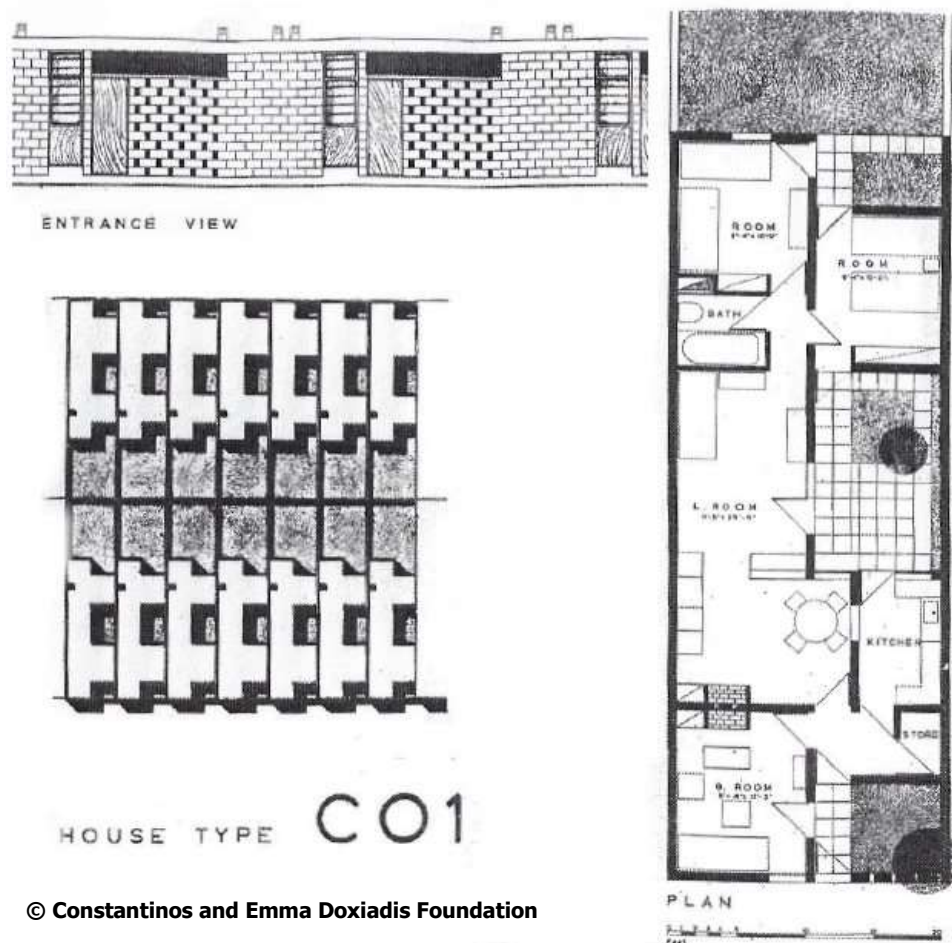
¹⁰⁴ These figures are slightly different than the respective of the table. The figures of the table specifying the plinth area correspond to the initial stage of the study and precede the design of the actual house typologies.

actual living space of these dwellings constitutes a synthesis of indoor, semi-outdoor and outdoor spaces that cannot be disrupted. The low-income house is not a definite enclosed space, the activities of which can occasionally be transferred to open air. On the contrary, its inhabitants live mostly outdoors, while indoors they can find a different degree of protection, according to the particular circumstances—they retreat to the room in order to sleep, to receive visitors, to be protected from severe weather conditions, etc. They may well be at home, but still not indoors. The actual core of the house can be found in the shelter, this semi-outdoor space of variable dimensions—as per the different house typologies—which while flowing throughout the floor plan, does not disrupt the wholeness of living space. On the contrary, it functions as a centripetal force, crating the necessary energy to keep things together. The layout of low-income houses corresponded to a more archaic model of living, which was meant to be altered through the middle-income housing schemes.

The middle-income dwellings, or otherwise type C (C01-C06), were to be erected in plots with dimensions either 20 feet (width) by 80 feet (depth), or 30 feet by 70 feet respectively. In other words, all type C plots derive from type B plots, if a modulus of 10 feet is added either at the façade, or in depth.¹⁰⁵ The total built area of the houses varied from 80 square meters to almost 95 square meters and in some cases (types C03 and C04) the living space was organised in two levels—ground floor and first floor. The architectural programme of these middle-class dwellings specified, without exceptions, the existence of two bedrooms, a living room – dining room for the family, a guest room—always at the front area of the house and with separate entrance—a kitchen, a bathroom and often a storage room. In the case of two-storey houses, the connection between the different levels was to be achieved by means of an interior staircase,

105 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 48.

while the upper floor was to accommodate the principal private spaces, namely the bedrooms and the bathroom. Direct access was to be provided from the upper floor to the outdoor through balconies.



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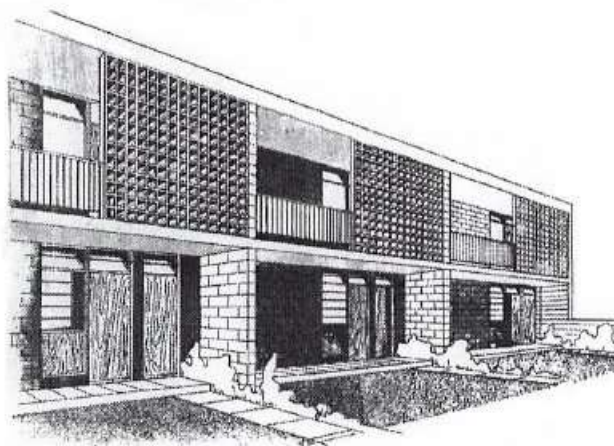
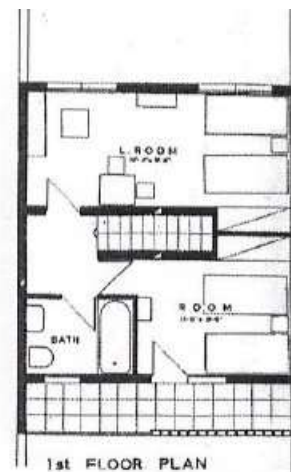
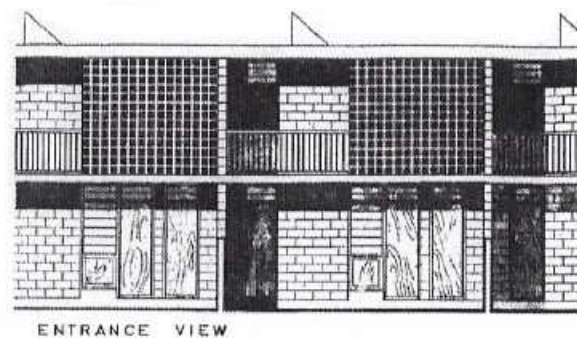
Figure 17: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Middle-income house type C01 (DOX-PA 96, 1961, p. 51)

The issue of privacy was to be addressed by means of installing perforated screens—the traditional jallies—on the balconies facing the street. At the ground floor level of all house typologies, a variety—in terms of quantity and quality—of outdoor spaces is encountered, suggesting front yards and back yards, occasionally inner courtyards, as well as sheltered spaces.

Evidently, the structure of middle-income dwellings is fundamentally different to that of the low-income houses and this is basically not related neither to the increase of total built area, nor to the additional facilities included. All type C dwellings constitute enclosed structures, where indoor and outdoor functions are clearly

demarcated. The same is applicable in reference to the interior spaces, which are now distinguished as private or public in nature. So far, the boundary between private and public—but yet within the limits of the dwelling—used to be solely defined by the guest room. This boundary remained active in middle-income houses, with additional layers of privacy—for example, by distinct rooms for sleeping and socialising with the members of the family, and spatial arrangements for increasing the level of privacy between the

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HOUSE TYPE **CO4**

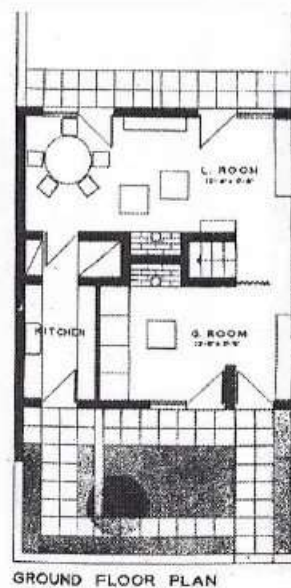


Figure 18: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Middle-income house type CO4 (DOX-PA 96, 1961, p. 57)

bedrooms of parents and children. The core of the house is now changed and the idea of a shelter has been replaced by a spacious living room, suitable for the family's everyday activities. The truth is that the type C layout could stand as it is even nowadays and at a

wide range of spatial coordinates. This might be particularly interesting, if the architectural layout is to be perceived as a signifier of social culture; on the basis that family constitutes the primal social cluster and therefore the cornerstone for the development of social behaviour. In other words, the middle-income housing in Islamabad constitutes a concrete step towards modernisation, under the perspective of interpreting modernity as a widely cultivated universal rather than local culture.

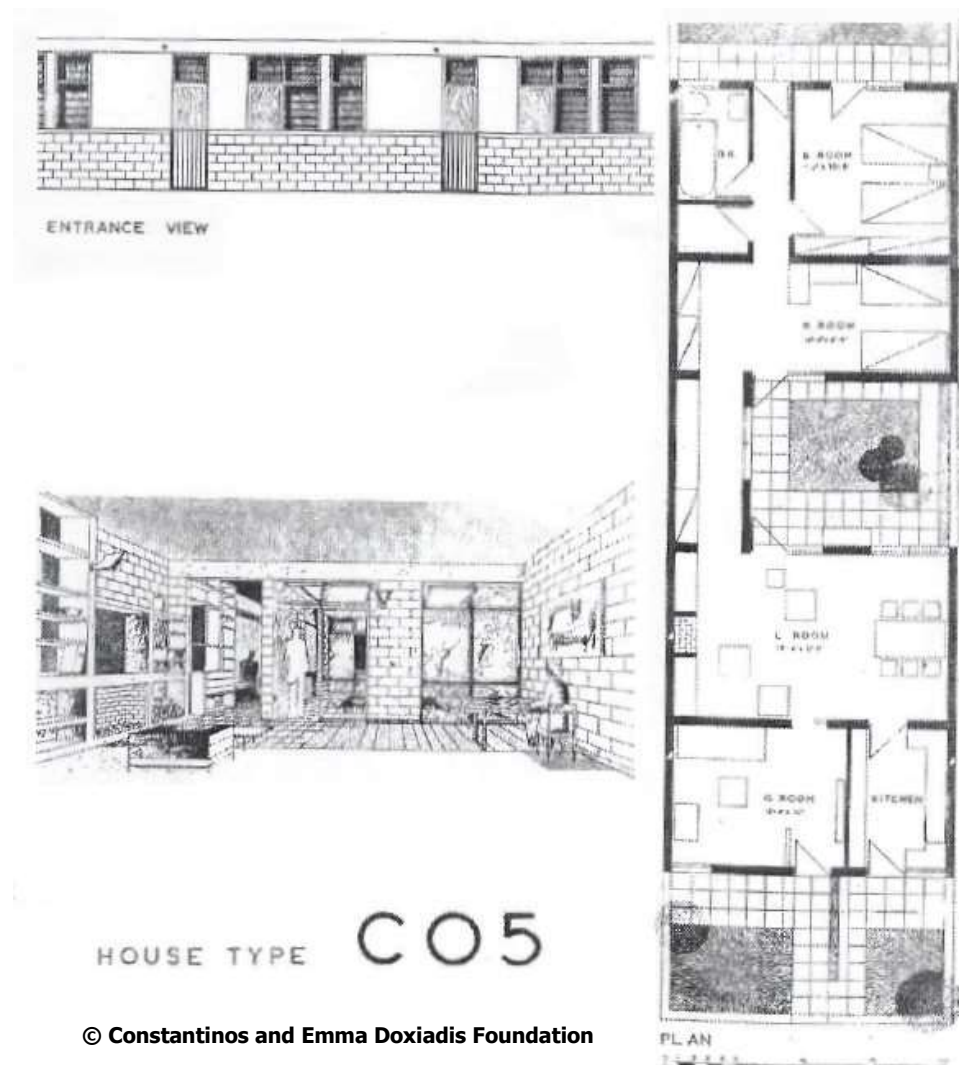


Figure 19: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Middle-income house type C05 (DOX-PA 96, 1961, p. 59)

d. Mobilising Human and Material Resources

The targets set by the Pakistani government were indeed very ambitious. The limited resources available coupled with the immense needs that had to be addressed justify this hypothesis. As presented so far, all efforts had been concentrated on the housing domain: while housing shortages constituted the par excellence problem of the Pakistani society, this same problem could be used as an instrument for achieving an unprecedented development. Nevertheless, even if the ultimate degree of success could not be measured, the leap that the country of Pakistan had to make could be clearly presented with measurable means. According to the consultant:

West Pakistan is expected to enter the middle income group within four decades. However, taking into consideration the present and future housing needs of the Province, a special effort has to be made from the first decades to invest in housing an amount relevant to the one spent by the middle income group countries.¹⁰⁶

The expenditure taken into account refers both to private and public investments in housing. In actual figures, a low income country, such as Pakistan, would be expected to invest just 3% of its Gross Domestic Product in housing on the basis of private initiatives; a percentage which could ultimately reach 5%, if public investments are also to be counted. The intended alignment of Pakistan with middle income countries in terms of housing development signified an overall expenditure, which would correspond to 10% of the country's Gross Domestic Product. Therefore, the actual volume of investments, as well as their rate of return, needed to be augmented in a rapid, coordinated and sophisticated manner; in other words: 'Development remains an abstract idea until it is framed by an institutional setting

106 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 41/15-02-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.249/23815/p. 62.

through which, resources, both human and material, are pooled together and used systematically and efficiently to materialise the development idea'.¹⁰⁷

The required systematisation with regard to development planning could be analysed on three main axes of action, according to the triptych 'supplier, product and consumer', which, however, would be coordinated and monitored centrally. The first axis is related to the immediate strengthening of entrepreneurial activity in the housing field, by means of identifying the investor as the key factor of this process. If the entrepreneur or whoever can influence housing activities from the side of the supplier, is considered to be a critical parameter, the same is valid for the potential consumers of the provided goods—of housing, in this case. Therefore, the second axis of action focuses on the people with a view to enhancing both their willingness and ability to participate in the development process. Last but not least, attention was to be concentrated on the house itself, under the prism of developing it with the necessary qualitative features so as to become not only desirable but mostly accessible; and the idea of accessibility is related to both the financial strength of the consumer and the actual cost of the product. In other words, the entire supply chain of the housing domain was supposed to be under governmental control with a view to mobilising all contributing parts and maximising returns. In this respect:

The effort should develop in two directions. One is to mobilise all possible financial resources in order to increase the investment in housing, while the other is to increase the productivity of the housing sector in order to obtain maximum results with the investment mobilised.¹⁰⁸

107 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 42/18-04-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.249/23815/p. 3.

108 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 38/10-12-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 1.

and "Development is placed under control only when an institutional machinery is set up and used effectively to control the 'forces of change' (demographic, economic, physical, technological and social) and direct them towards pre-determined and desired ends".¹⁰⁹

On the basis of normal conditions in terms of supply and demand, housing investment is considered to be a rather conservative entrepreneurial option, which is expected to offer mediocre returns, counterbalanced by a reduced level of risks. In this respect, a great number of investors are reluctant to get involved in this area. Especially in Pakistan, where housing activity had previously been limited to people belonging to the high income group the prospective investment interest appeared reduced—high income people represented a narrow social cluster and therefore the total volume of investments was equally limited. Nevertheless, up to that moment, these were the only prospects for entrepreneurship in the housing sector; prospects that were about to change, both naturally and through strategic planning.¹¹⁰ Pakistan was ready to enter a period of non-regular conditions of supply and demand due to the governmental economic initiatives that aimed to translate general economic growth into an improvement of personal income status, which would result in increasing broadly the demand for better housing conditions. As middle and even low income people seemed ready to consider the idea of acquiring a dwelling as a realistic one, the group of potential consumers in the housing industry attained remarkable dynamics. This fact, coupled with the existent housing shortages created a promising investment environment. Investors, however, had to be convinced that housing could actually offer higher

109 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 42/18-04-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.249/23815/p. 3.

110 'Loans should not be given to high income families, because expansion of their building activity would cause a further strain on the already limited financial potentials of West Pakistan.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 143.

returns than those originally anticipated and also to be provided with the necessary support measures in order to make housing investments profitable and therefore attractive.¹¹¹ In brief, the situation can be described as follows:

The private housing market has not been attracted by the market of housing for the lower income groups and there is consequently no supply of dwellings in large numbers for these groups. Since there is great shortage of housing stock for especially the lower income groups, the government of West Pakistan should explore all possibilities for the diversion of private house building activity towards this market.¹¹²

One of the basic hindrances regarding the profitability of housing investment had been identified as taxation. High revenue taxes used to discourage investors from getting involved in the housing industry. Additionally, the profit margin that allowed for the simple process of merchandising empty plots further prevented the establishment of a solid entrepreneurial sector, as this constituted an opportunistic approach that could not contribute to general development. In this respect, the government of Pakistan proceeded by reducing the taxes sourcing from housing investments and in parallel, applied taxation policies on urban plots that were to remain unbuilt for a long period of time.¹¹³ The West Pakistan Housing and Settlements Agency had

111 'Under normal conditions of supply and demand at the economy, capital is attracted in various sectors to the extent of its returns. In the housing sector, these returns are usually of the order of 70% of the invested capital. This means that investors expect to recover their capital within a period of 15 years. Since houses have an economic life of more than 15 years, returns of the capital are in reality much higher than 70%. This allows the housing sector to become competitive with other economic sectors, which usually show much higher returns.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 33/15-06-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 15.

112 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A247/OCT-DEC 1964/Pakistan Reports vol.199/23747/p. 133.

113 'It is however important to apply the tax in such a way as not to be a heavy burden on the small, low-income earning possessor of an empty plot that he cannot build on it. It is furthermore equally important that this tax should not be applied to organisations such as, Development Authorities, Housing

also been actively engaged in supporting housing entrepreneurship by means of developing an 'information cell'.¹¹⁴ The Agency, besides informing the public on the existing legislative framework with regard to housing, took responsibility for exploring actual housing demand conditions and sharing this information with potential investors. Thus, the suppliers of the housing industry would be directed to the most promising business areas; minimising delays, disappointments, or failures. Last but not least, the Agency not only had to support the existing entrepreneurial community, but also to expand it. In other words, the 'housing for all' idea had been promoted with the same zeal to the people who were to acquire a home and to the people who were meant to contribute in delivering those homes; otherwise, the increased volume of demands could not be adequately met and development would be at stake. This aspect of the Agency's role is clearly depicted here below: 'It would serve as a propagating and advertising agency for making the idea of housing investment popular among people of all classes who can afford it'. Therefore, the consistency in implementing developmental policies with a top to bottom direction and with a view to creating a generalised impact appears again to be verified. This strategy is summarised as follows:

In conclusion it must be stressed that the way to succeed in making housing good an attractive investment activity consists in the direct and uniform application of the policies suggested that constitute a single network and can provide investment in housing into the mainstream and economic advance.¹¹⁵

The use of the terminology 'mainstream' is of particular interest. It may be used in reference to housing investments, but the idea of

Corporation and other establishments that acquire larger areas of land and develop them.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 36/16-01-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 24.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

mainstream regarding entrepreneurship in housing actually presupposes the same for housing per se. One might challenge this implication by claiming that housing demands had already reached a high level and that investment needed to be promoted in order to satisfy this demand. But if the conditions had been so crystal clear, entrepreneurship could have proceeded by exploiting the opportunities in the normal way and with minimum governmental support. The following quotation highlights very vividly the importance of shifting public interest in housing.

In many countries insufficient attention had been given to acquainting general public with housing problems and this led to inertia and incomplete mobilisation of available resources; public interest should be awakened through exhibitions, conferences, congresses, etc., as well as through press, radio and other mass-media.¹¹⁶

In a sense, people, first of all, had to be convinced that they needed a proper house, or more accurately, that they had the potential to acquire the house they needed.

The seeming paradox of advertising housing to the people who need it, is related to the fact that the house had been treated as an instrument of development. In reference to that: 'For any development operation this should take top priority. The public interest should be raised by all means'.¹¹⁷ In fact, housing can be considered to be the absolute means of development under the perspective that it addresses fundamental needs, refers to everyone without exceptions and involves a considerable part of other economic sectors. The typical hindrance, however, regarding the acquisition of a home, can be identified in funding constraints. The significant financial resources that are required to buy a house can hardly be

116 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PKH 3130/02-06-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.108/23642/p. 2.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

accumulated by the average working people—often, the savings of one generation contribute in order that the housing needs of the next generation to can be met. In this respect, it may have been challenging for people to completely finance their housing. However, a kind of savings, analogous to the family's income status, still existed; and at that point, these savings became the actual focus of attention.¹¹⁸ More precisely, savings were considered to be a fragmented and therefore unproductive fund, which if unified, under the prism of a coordinated mobilisation and canalisation in the housing industry, growth could be achieved. "To put it differently, mobilisation of 'dormant' resources is necessary".¹¹⁹

For the theoretical unification of 'dormant resources' a shared aspiration was needed and this was easily to be found in the idea of a home. People's interest in housing had been—and always is—indisputable. Therefore, if people were offered a viable scenario that could lead in housing acquisition, they would be willing to follow it and even to make sacrifices with a view to ensuring, or expediting the achievement of the set goal—'if people could refrain from consuming some less necessary commodities and/or devote some of their savings for housing'.¹²⁰ In other words, on the basis of the triggered development and with the aim to further strengthen it, people had been driven to participate in this process of economic growth. The following quotation explicitly depicts the approach implemented.

118 "It is assumed that there is a potential that lies dormant and that people could save more for housing investment, if only the right institutional framework existed to encourage them by suitable policies. The basis for the calculation of the 'potential percentage' that could be allocated to housing was derived from the data given in the booklet 'Housing Short-range Tactics and Long Term Policies' by the Planning Commission*."

* 'The above document suggests cutting expenditure from certain less necessary items such as entertainment etc., which form a small or great share of people expenditure, depending on their income.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 33/15-06-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 38.

119 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

120 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

If a realistic and attractive possibility to get a dwelling could be place before this part of the population, part of those small amounts could be collected and create a significant fund. The amount per family is certainly small, but the number of A and B category families is great.¹²¹

Nevertheless, neither motivation nor commitment could alone ensure the success of the whole effort. Once more, the existence of an appropriate institutional framework was a precondition for the successful implementation of the specified strategies. "It is evident that if the appropriate financial institutions existed, a greater amount of savings would be canalized to finance housing, without being 'saved' unproductively 'under the mattress', as it were".¹²²

Since the housing sector was meant to drive the development of Pakistan, then the house itself—as final product—deserved special attention. Undoubtedly, the critical factor in order for the house to be commercially viable is the minimisation of construction costs. This in itself constitutes a multi-layered parameter, as it involves issues of design, availability of materials, construction techniques, as well as specialisation of human resources. According to Doxiadis:

For this, large-scale industrial production of building materials will be necessary, in order to bring down the cost per unit. In the process of ekistic development in a country, the efficient and cheap production of building materials is a presupposition for a rapid growth of the housing sector as a whole.¹²³

Pakistan, however, which suffered from a lag in development and lacked significant industrial infrastructure was dependent on imports and exposed to fluctuations in the currency exchange rates, potentially increasing costs. Accordingly, even though Islamabad was

121 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

122 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

123 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 36/16-01-1967/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 25.

destined to be a modernist urban project of international recognition, its materialisation had to originate in local construction methods. In this respect:

According to the report of 'Housing Cost in European Countries (United Nations, Geneva, 1963)', the prefabrication system may result into a decrease in the construction cost by 10-20% only when well organised. On the contrary, in countries like Yugoslavia, the example of prefabricated building given in the report shows an increase in the cost of about 20% as compared traditional methods. It is a matter of proper organisation and it depends on the local conditions of materials, labour and their proper use, whether and to what extent prefabrication is actually more economical.¹²⁴

Modernisation in construction—interpreted as the generalised use of industrially produced building materials—was to be achieved gradually and on the basis of the progress attained through the development of the housing industry itself.¹²⁵ In this respect:

It is considered that the adoption of current constructional methods and materials at least for the first stages of the project is the only realistic approach to the subject and the only possible way in which a high rate of construction may be achieved right from the beginning. Nevertheless, a continuous evolution and improvement in constructional standards should be one of the main targets of the Islamabad programme, and

124 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 38/10-12-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 59.

125 In reference to the Chandraghona paper mills: 'We notice that the project has a modern Swiss tile factory created for the production of tiles necessary for the completion of this whole project. Then we learn that production of bricks in this factory costs Rs 50 per thousand whilst production of the same type of bricks with local methods costs only Rs35 per thousand. Is this not a characteristic example of an introduction of mechanisation in a country which can still produce its own projects like for centuries by using local methods and much more labour at cheaper prices?'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/30-10-1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 121.

a gradual introduction of better building materials and methods should be adopted in order to secure a smooth transition from the current construction type to the most efficient and up to date mass production techniques.¹²⁶

Although Islamabad was not originally dependent on mass production techniques, this was set as the ultimate goal, which also extended beyond the remit of the housing industry. Modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation and standardisation are different aspects of the same reality. It might have been ineffective, if not impossible, for Islamabad to take its first steps towards materialisation on the basis of prefabricated materials and mass production techniques. Nevertheless, adherence to standardisation in design and dimensioning was a precondition. This was primarily a requirement of the large-scale architectural synthesis that was taking place and a foundation for the industrial orientation of building construction in the future. In Islamabad, dimensional coordination and standardisation were to be achieved through the one-foot *modulus*.¹²⁷ According to Doxiadis:

In a housing programme entering a period of intensive development, it is of utmost importance to foresee and organise respective action along lines of standard designs and dimensional coordination. Such are imposed both with respect to external and internal considerations [architectural synthesis]. External considerations include such factors as speed and economy which can be achieved only through the application of mass production techniques. These are necessarily based on the standardisation of dimensions of relevant design types and of construction methods.¹²⁸

126 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/JAN-FEB 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 29.

127 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 38/10-12-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 14.

128 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

The housing sector in Pakistan was intended to be the cornerstone of the country's economic and industrial development. In parallel, however, the success of the housing programme depended on the positive results of industrial development. Once again, a cycle of interdependencies is revealed, meaning that concrete steps needed to be taken in both directions. More accurately, a vibrant housing sector could justify the industrialisation of building materials production—expansion of existing or creation of new industries—while this very same industrialisation could further support housing activities—the reduction of construction costs and the speed in construction translate into better commercialisation of the housing product. The above accompanied by support measures—for example education and research could be a solid basis for achieving gradual modernisation.¹²⁹ In this respect:

If we speak of Islamabad in the early Sixties, when the economy of Pakistan requires the use of local materials on every possible occasion, then many of the universal forces will not exert any influence, since the local materials will be those which will influence the buildings. If we speak of Islamabad in the Seventies, however, then the situation will be different, and far more different again one or two generations later.¹³⁰

129 'He recognises [member of the Planning Board] that education should now provide a different class of people, people who will have to abandon the countryside to go to the industry. A lot of vocational school are necessary, industrial, technical, commercial and agricultural.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/21-10-1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 12.

'I ask him [Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government] on this occasion if he would care to see a building research centre of the United Nations and the Pakistan government organised in his area to carry out experiments in building. Well, he thinks, his government would certainly agree to such scheme if the UN will not have been committed to it with any other country.'
Ibid., p. 42.

130 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 115/22-04-1962/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 42.

e. Towards the Fulfilment of Common Goals and Aspirations

Summarising, this chapter examines mass housing policies as an instrument for shaping a new social order. In fact, mass housing becomes the first critical or rather the first organised step to that end. The reality of an industrialised society was synonymous with the reality of an urbanised society. The influx of people into major urban centres had already been triggered and translated into massive housing needs; needs that in turn translated into problems and opportunities as well. Given, especially, the different level of development on a global scale, the opportunities available were even greater. This is to say that the emerging Global South as a developing power offered a vast field for the deployment of strategies that encapsulated the experience gained from countries that were already developmentally advanced. Taking into account that modern development constituted a global phenomenon—modernity could not be considered fulfilled if it did not spread globally—these developing countries understandably became the focus of attention.

Mass housing proved to be a highly effective instrument in terms of social management and generalised economic growth. Its effectiveness can be identified in the fact that it produces a significant and direct impact at the level of the individual, which translates into social impact—indirect—and not vice versa. More accurately, the provision of housing to the individual signifies personal development that is expressed in various ways—improved living conditions, increased income, optimism, potentials for further development. With mass housing policies, this positive impact spreads to the social strata without, however, being initially disconnected from the individual perspective. This transfer of impact from the individual to the social level translates into generalised improvement of living conditions and economic prosperity. Generalised prosperity leads to a coordinated prioritising of values and therefore to the formation of a shared culture with a view to ensuring the continuity of progress. Once a

social precedent is established, the individual becomes powerless. On the importance of social coordination in reference to modern development Raymond Williams wrote: 'But in our society, because of the way we produce, there is so large a degree of necessary common interest and mutual effort that any widespread withdrawal of interest, any general mood of disbelief, can quite certainly be disastrous'.¹³¹

Mass housing was intended to produce an important socio-economic impact. Understandably, Patrick Geddes wrote: 'What is the very core of economic history if not the story of the home'.¹³² It is true that mass housing became the driving force for economic growth, however, this presupposed the implementation of a wide range of policies. In this regard, and on the initiative of Pakistani industrialists to provide housing for their staff, Doxiadis wrote: 'Would it not be better to build houses for their workers than to increase their salaries? I mention that I have noticed tragic examples of the way an increased income was spent in underdeveloped areas'.¹³³ This approach emphasises control over both the social and the economic spheres. Financial resources were to be channelled into specific activities—housing in this case—and people were to be led to a specific pattern of behaviour. The presumably restrictive nature of such an approach is, however, counteracted; the idea of housing, or rather the ideal for

131 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 2013), p. 316.

132 Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution; an Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1915), p. 111.

Patrick Geddes emphasised the dependence of modern development on the participation of the individual. He wrote: 'Yet within this labyrinthine civic complex there are no mere spectators. Blind or seeing, inventive or unthinking, joyous or unwilling—each has still to weave in, ill or well, and for worse if not for better, the whole thread of his life.'
Ibid., p. 5.

133 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/22-11-1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 327.

housing cannot be challenged. Relevant to this is Markus Daechsel's argument: 'Doxiadis represented development at its most fortified, its hardest to resist, because his theoretical work was careful to anticipate and preempt any potential criticism before it could even be articulated'.¹³⁴

The following excerpt from Doxiadis Associates correspondence constitutes an excellent summary of the expected impact of Pakistan's mass housing programme:

From the angle of social progress, it should be emphasised that housing is the field in which government action has the most direct effect on the people and yields the quickest returns. It helps to encourage factors that contribute to order and progress, especially when it promotes the growth of a class of small property owners, i.e. people owning their own houses. In helping those classes of the community which are in greatest need the government strengthens national unity and upholds the concept of a government for the people.¹³⁵

This is a succinct description of the objectives of the government of Pakistan, namely development, social reformation, national unity and the strengthening of political power. Could the implemented housing programme successfully address all of the above? This cannot be answered with a yes or a no. The failure or success of the programme is one aspect of the discourse and most likely the failures coexisted with successes and vice versa. There was, however, something that could be a real stimulus for the Pakistani society; the shared dream for a better future that was gradually formed through the emerging rows of houses in Islamabad. And this is important because 'equality

134 Markus Daechsel, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 294.

135 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PKH 2154/07-12-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.71/23615/Appendix II, p. 1.

in urban space is measured [...] by aspirations everybody can share'.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), p. lxi.

3. SOCIAL FRAGMENTATION AND UNIFICATION

a. Towards a new social order

The cornerstone of social reform in Pakistan had already been laid through the mass housing policies implemented in the early stages of its development. A hint of the significance and anticipated impact of such policies can be found in an excerpt from the 16th century Akbarnama vol. III, which Doxiadis interestingly used as an introduction to one of his reports: 'Delightful villas and imposing towers have also been built. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain [...] and are conducive to the dignity which is so necessary for worldly power.'¹ And it continues, shifting the focus from the individual to the collective: 'People that are attached to the world will collect in towns, without which there would be no progress'.² The city is identified as a key parameter for development on a global scale—'worldly power'. But the built environment and the people constitute the city as interdependent and inseparable fragments of a whole, and therefore can only evolve in parallel. The responsibility for all of the above is credited to 'The High Authority',³ which 'has passed new regulations, kindled the lamp of honesty, and put a stock of practical knowledge into the hands of simple and unexperienced people'.⁴ In summary, Doxiadis urges the government of Pakistan to take all necessary initiatives to train and guide its

1 An excerpt from 'Ain i Akbari' translated by H. Blockmann, which constitutes a 16th century detailed document recording the administration of Akbar's Moghul empire, was used as an introductory text to DOX-PA 29 report, prepared by Doxiadis Associates for submission to the Pakistani government. C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 29/May-December 1959/Pakistan vol. 16/23567/p. 133.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

citizens to fulfil both their personal and collective development. The possibility of progress is implied to be global, while the contribution of architecture and urban planning to this end is denoted. In this respect:

There is an evolution and a development. For the sake of argument let us allow ourselves to simplify their meaning by accepting as evolution the change of things by themselves, while as development the desired change brought about by man. Our cities and urban centres have evolved enough and together with them their intricacies, complications and problems [...]. We must work out the method, the plans and the organisation tools by which to develop our cities in the future, according to the pattern that will fit our needs and lives and not to allow them to grow in the chaotic nature as up to now. The people who will administer the life and growth of this country will want to govern the development of its centres and not only to follow their evolution.⁵

Kevin Lynch describes the city and the way it is interpreted by its inhabitants as an entity. He writes: 'City forms, their actual function, and the ideas and values that people attach to them make up a single phenomenon.'⁶ Here, the interdependence of urban and social fabric is emphasised. Considering that both meaning and interpretation are controllable features—the meaning can be revisited and interpretation is susceptible to communication tactics—social formation becomes possible. The present thesis aims to explore the spatial and social interrelations that shaped the phenomenon of Islamabad and in particular to examine the methodology that allowed a predefined social synthesis to emerge alongside the synthesis in spatial terms. In

5 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-LH 39/29-10-1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 11.

6 Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped; Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), p. 40.

Islamabad, social and urban planning were intertwined. A hint of the intended prioritisation is provided through Doxiadis Associates correspondence. We read:

In order to be designed in large scale (1:4,000 & 1:1,000) the part of Islamabad, which is going to be developed during the first five years and which according to the preliminary report will include approximately 30,000 inhabitants, it is absolutely necessary the decision regarding the synthesis of population's incomes.⁷

The idea of social reformation based on urban planning policies is not radical, raising a question on the distinctiveness of Islamabad. Apart from the fact that Islamabad was created on a *tabula rasa* basis and under the auspices of the political authority—confirming that predetermined goals were sought—its development was also synonymous with the implementation of innovative theories of modern urban planning. In fact, Islamabad was heralded as a pilot project with global impact and more specifically, was intended to be the 'first city which is to guide the nations to a new era of living'.⁸ This view was anchored in the multi-layered theoretical framework introduced by Doxiadis for the development of the Islamabad master plan, which could be summarised in the following key words: Ekistics, Dynapolis and Ecumenopolis.

Doxiadis was one of the architects and theorists who severely challenged the modernist city as it had evolved before the mid-twentieth century. Characteristically, he talked about 'urban

7 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 2354/27-08-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol. 66/23610/p. 1.

8 'This is apparent in many ways and becomes clearer from the fact that Islamabad is already attracting the interest of scientists who want to be acquainted with its creation.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 188.

Ibid., p. 188.

nightmares',⁹ or otherwise 'dystopias'.¹⁰ Convinced, however, that the trajectory of the world could not be changed and that 'future developments are going to be so fundamental that they will profoundly affect our thinking, planning and designing',¹¹ he recognised no alternative but to act in a timely and revolutionary way. In this context, Doxiadis introduced Ekistics, or the science of human settlements, which constituted a holistic approach to urban planning, incorporating valuable input from the economic, political, technological, cultural and social areas. Furthermore, he developed a new pattern of urban evolution, namely the Dynapolis model, which could effectively support the perpetual expansion of the urban phenomenon without compromising its qualitative and functional characteristics. The concept of Dynapolis originated from the recognition of time as a vital parameter for the interpretation, implementation, management and ultimately the viability of any urban environment. Last but not least, Doxiadis conceived, or more exactly foresaw, the phenomenon of Ecumenopolis or the unified global urban settlement. He insisted that 'it is too late to speak of local and national issues, too late even to speak of an Eastern or Western world [...]. The earth is the space we are talking about; neither more nor less than our whole planet'.¹²

Doxiadis had the privilege of implementing for the first time an amalgamation of his theories into a single project. This is to say that the new federal capital of Pakistan was designed according to the

9 Constantinos Doxiadis, *Architecture in Transition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 19.

10 Constantinos Doxiadis, 'Ecumenopolis: Tomorrow's City', in *Britannica Book of the Year 1968: Events of 1967*, ed. by Encyclopedia Britannica, (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1968), p. 4.

11 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 128.

12 Constantinos Doxiadis, *Architecture in Transition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 23.

Dynapolis model, with respect to the Ekistic principles and with the aspiration to shape the first fragment of Ecumenopolis. In other words, Doxiadis had the opportunity to experiment with the findings of his research and also to communicate his theories to a global audience, since the magnitude of the Islamabad project was expected to attract the interest of the international community. At the same time, for the political leadership of Pakistan, which aimed at modern development, the implementation of a project in full alignment with global modernisation was the most solid proof of its commitment to this goal.

The idea of modern development signified above all the formation of a cohesive social entity that could further contribute to the developmental process. Under this perspective, Islamabad was designed as an integrated system of life, the synthesis of which was based on hierarchically ordered subsystems; and the canvas for this synthesis to take place could only be the master plan of the city. The main questions to be addressed in this chapter are: how did Doxiadis' theories inform the master plan of Islamabad? How was the Islamabad master plan intended to meet the needs of socio-economic development?

b. Introducing Ekistics in Islamabad

Doxiadis conceived the first abstract idea of Ekistics in 1941 in the mountains of Pindos and the villages destroyed by the war; the scene of a teacher teaching his students outdoors in the drizzle next to the school ruins was the trigger. Doxiadis asked: How can you teach without school? The teacher replied: The students are the school. According to Doxiadis, it then became possible to shift from the fragmentary aspect of things to the purpose they serve; suggesting that any real meaning is not to be found in the building, the walls, the

teacher, etc., but rather in the school, the house and the city.¹³ Almost twenty years later, he had the opportunity to implement the theory of Ekistics in the Islamabad master plan. In fact, it was the first urban planning project based entirely on the principles of Ekistics.

Ekistics (from *oikos*, the Greek word for a house or dwelling) is the science of human settlements. It coordinates economics, social sciences, political and administrative sciences, technology and aesthetics into a coherent whole and leads to the creation of a new type of human habitat.¹⁴

More exactly, Ekistics is a holistic approach to urban planning that emphasises the balanced interrelation of the five primary elements that define urbanity. These are described as follows:

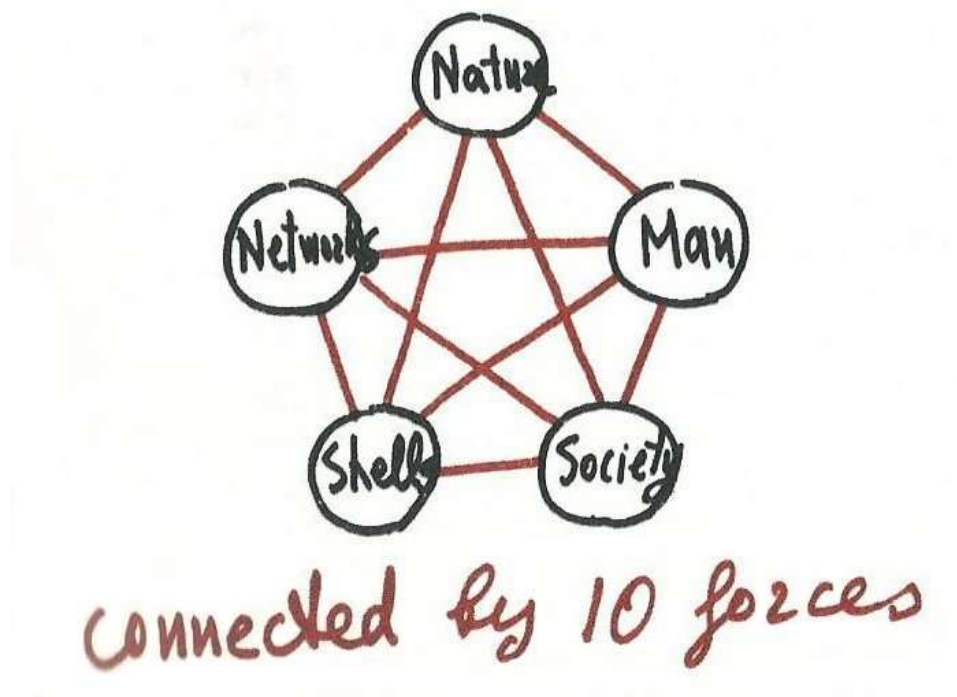


Figure 1: The five elements that shape human settlements, The Ekistics Grid, Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: *Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements*], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtsis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 49

¹³ This was formulated by Doxiadis in 1973.

Dimitris Filippidis, *Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης (1913-1975), Αναφορά στον Ιππόδαμο* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1913-1975); A Reference to Hippodamus] (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 2015), p. 118.

¹⁴ Constantinos Doxiadis, *Architecture in Transition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 96.

Nature: the total natural environment which provides the basis for the creation of settlements and the context in which they function. *Anthropos*: the inhabitant, as an individual. Society: the systems of interactions between *Anthropoi*. Shells: the structures which shelter *Anthropos*, his functions and activities. Networks: the natural and man-made connective systems which serve and integrate settlements, such as roads, water supply and sewerage systems, electrical generating and distribution facilities, communications facilities, and economic, legal, educational and political systems.¹⁵

In order to illustrate the complexity of the urban environment, Doxiadis devised the Ekistics Grid, which correlates these five elements with the respective scientific disciplines—economic, social, political, technological and cultural. The qualitative characteristics of the urban system depend on the creation of appropriate interrelations between the urban elements and the scientific disciplines—what is deemed appropriate is determined by the objectives pursued. The total number of possible combinations is astonishing; according to Doxiadis it exceeds 33 million.¹⁶ But the Ekistics Grid is more than a representation of the parameters that shape urbanity; it is a tool for implementing analysis and synthesis. Given the shift of interest to the purpose that the urban entity is intended to serve, the urban planner can escape neither from the holistic nor from the fragmentary perspective of things. It is about a twofold process that evolves in parallel; the main objective must be analysed in the various elements that can fulfil it and also these need to be coordinated in order to achieve the final goal—the analysis unfolds in a top to bottom direction, while synthesis follows the opposite direction.

15 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 9.

16 Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), pp. 18-21.

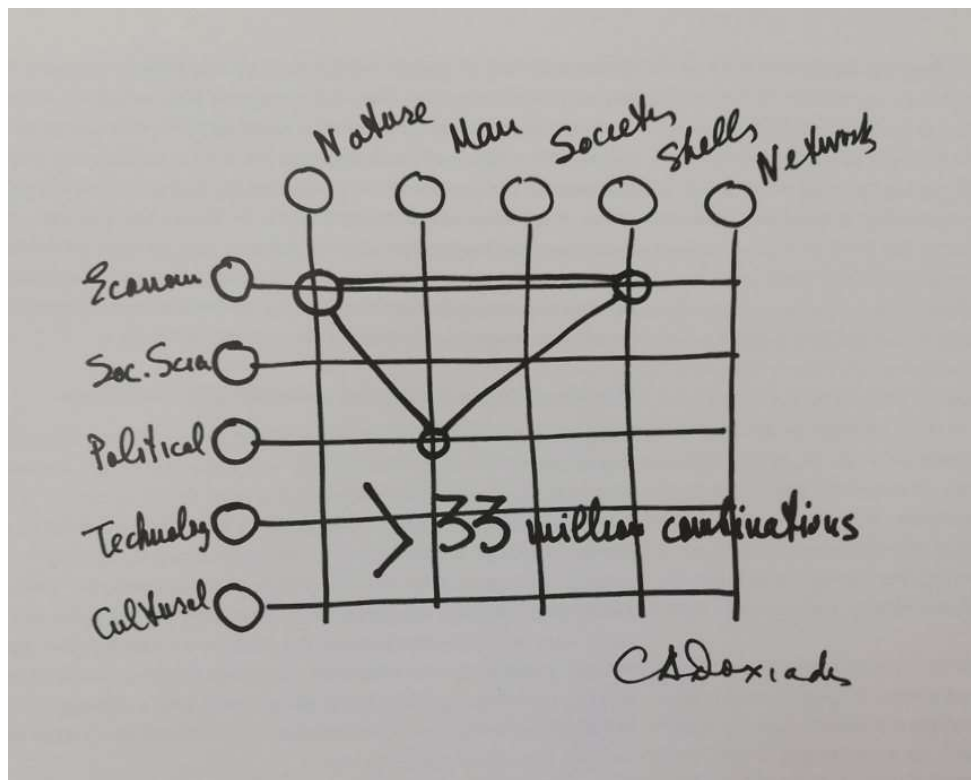


Figure 2: The Ekistics Grid, Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtsis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 19

Considering Islamabad and its role as a guideline for the modern development of Pakistan, the implementation of policies for all that constitute development and urbanity is a prerequisite. And at this point a question arises; who could be the competent scientist to meet the multifaceted requirements of this kind of urban planning? According to Lefebvre: 'The urban phenomenon, taken as a whole, cannot be grasped by any specialised science'.¹⁷ Similarly, Patrick Geddes recognised in the western scientific specialisation the lack of perceptual ability of the whole. He said:

Each of the various specialists remains too closely concentrated upon his single specialism, too little awake to those of others. Each sees clearly and seizes firmly one petal

¹⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 53.

of the six-lobed flower of life and tears it apart from the whole.¹⁸

The concept of Ekistics could be described in three steps: definition of the total system of life, all the relationships that form the system, and the method that allows the management and control of the parts of the system.¹⁹ The implementation of Ekistics presupposed the formation of a multidisciplinary team as the specialised knowledge had to be coordinated in order to meet the needs of a common purpose. The comprehensive but analytical nature of Ekistics both required and facilitated a multidisciplinary approach. According to Doxiadis Associates:

To our experience specialised scientists are very hazardous workers in the planning of settlements because they have a restricted view of the problems to be solved. They have also the tendency in analysing the facts in a very detailed way, adding up an enormous amount of information, views and suggestions. To use a technical term. They get themselves 'out of scale'. To our opinion there are two ways to prevent such 'out of scaleness' [*sic*]:

- a. To train the specialised scientist in Ekistics.
- b. To frame his efforts with an organisation.

The scientist who has been trained in Ekistics learns that he is not 'the only man' in the game. He understands that his contribution is a part of the general effort and tries to adjust the use of his knowledge to the requirements of the other 'specialised scientists'.²⁰

18 *Patrick Geddes in India*, ed. by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (London: Lund Humphries, 1947), p. 26.

19 Constantinos R. Pertsemlidis, 'The foundations of Ekistics: An attempt to test the validity of *Athropocosmos* model in the context of modern evolutionary theory', (Updated version of the paper 'The Foundation of Ekistics. Formalisation Scheme of Ekistics. Theory and Knowledge', Symposium on 'Constantinos Doxiadis and his work', Athens, 2007), p. 3.

20 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 489/12-04-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol. 74/23618/p. 1.

Doxiadis acknowledged the new role of housing policies and urban planning as an integral part of economic development—this was not yet a general trend but was deemed necessary.²¹ In this context, Ekistics could stand up to critical analysis as an alternative approach to urban planning. Relevant here is Lefebvre's view that: 'The urban phenomenon is universal, which would be sufficient justification for the creation of a university devoted to analytic research on the subject'.²² Indeed, Doxiadis established the Athens Technological Organisation consisting of the Athens Technological Institute and the Athens Centre of Ekistics. The propagation of Ekistics, education in Ekistics, as well as the development of research programmes—including the 'City of the Future'—were the main activities of the Organisation.²³

In a rapidly changing world, Doxiadis could see no other way to successfully meet the emerging challenges.²⁴ On the need to develop Islamabad according to Ekistics, he wrote:

21 Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 36.

22 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 54.

23 An agreement has been reached with the government of Pakistan on the education of Pakistanis in the field of Ekistics. Given the limited specialised skills of the Pakistani people (there were only 30-40 architects across the country) and the exigent needs in the areas of housing and urban planning, a number of 30 candidates per year would be selected to pursue a two-year training programme in Ekistics. The Ford Foundation was to fund the training programme.
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, R-PKH 15/17-03-1959/Pakistan vol. 25/23576/pp. 1-5.

24 'We cannot create cohesive, consistent cities for the people as long as we are going to allow a large number of people to cover the needs of the city, each one in his own way, in an uncoordinated manner. As long as town planners are going to design town plans and the financial officers are going to speak about budgets, as long as the engineers are going to be limited to sewage disposal and the traffic engineers to highway construction, as long as the architects are going to be interested in their own buildings only and try to create only monumental squares, and as long as the housing experts are going to limit themselves to looking into the housing schemes only, then the city cannot be successfully built.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 374.

There is no question that at present, people and government show by the creation of their new settlements the courage of the great Moghuls. There is a difference though between these two tasks because, whilst the target of the great Moghuls was much more limited and very egocentric, the task and the obligation of the present generation are much greater in scale and much more wide. Unlike the great Moghuls, who were only empire builders, the present generation has to serve millions of people entering into a new phase of political, social and economic development and requiring social justice. Where a big architect could serve the vision of the great Moghuls, a big number of technically trained people is now necessary to face the new problems of this era. Where architectural design was enough to serve the great Moghuls, science, technique and architecture, administration and legislation are now necessary to meet the present colossal tasks.²⁵

It is almost self-evident that the complexity of urbanity cannot be approached without looking at it from different perspectives. Where then does the importance of Ekistics lie? An indication can be found in this statement: 'Ekistics starts with the premise that human settlements are susceptible of systematic investigation'.²⁶ Human settlements are understood as systems of life; the unpredictable event of life merges with the controlled nature of a system. At first sight, Ekistics stretches between the rigidity of modernism and the utopian. Doxiadis identified millions of potential correlations that determine the urban environment and still considered it possible to control this environment through hierarchical associations. This, however, should be interpreted in the opposite direction; suggesting

25 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PP 11/19-11-1954/Pakistan Reports vol.1/23553/p. 7.

26 Constantinos Doxiadis, 'Ekistics, the Science of Human Settlements', in *Science*, 170, no. 3956 (1960), p.p. 393-404, p. 393.

that given a predetermined goal, the systematic analysis of all relevant factors becomes a valuable tool for this purpose. The implementation of Ekistics presupposes the exhaustive collection of data and their analysis. Considering the hypothesis of the spread of Ekistics as the dominant theory of urban planning, similarities with the theory of big data can be identified. Last but not least, Ekistics was formulated and communicated on the basis of scientific logic. In the age of the machine—in the age of reason—embedded scientism became a tool for the self-legitimation of the theory itself.

c. Analysis and synthesis in spatial terms

1 November 1959 was the date that the preparation of the preliminary master plan of Islamabad had been initiated and 24 May 1960 was the date of its first approval. The approval was given after a three-hour presentation by Doxiadis to President Ayub Khan, his cabinet and a significant number of representatives from the administrative, military and juridical authorities.²⁷ The presentation also included a relocation from the auditorium to the field of action to enable the visualisation of the proposed master plan. At the end of the day and in a highly symbolic spirit, 'the cabinet had its first meeting in the yet-to-be built Islamabad on top of the Shakarparian Hills'.²⁸ According to the press:

From a hilltop seven miles from here [Rawalpindi], President Mohammed Ayub Khan, in bush shirt and pork-pie hat, scanned a green wilderness from which will spring Pakistan's new Capital City. With him were grouped all the members of his Cabinet. In solemn procession, seated on picnic chairs in a roped-off enclosure and sipping soft drinks, the Cabinet

²⁷ Orestes Yakas, *Islamabad; the Birth of a Capital* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 84.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

formally approved the 'master plan' of Islamabad [...]. Red and white flags indicated key landmarks in the plan, envisaging the expenditure of 200 million rupees (about \$40 million) on construction work in the next five years.²⁹

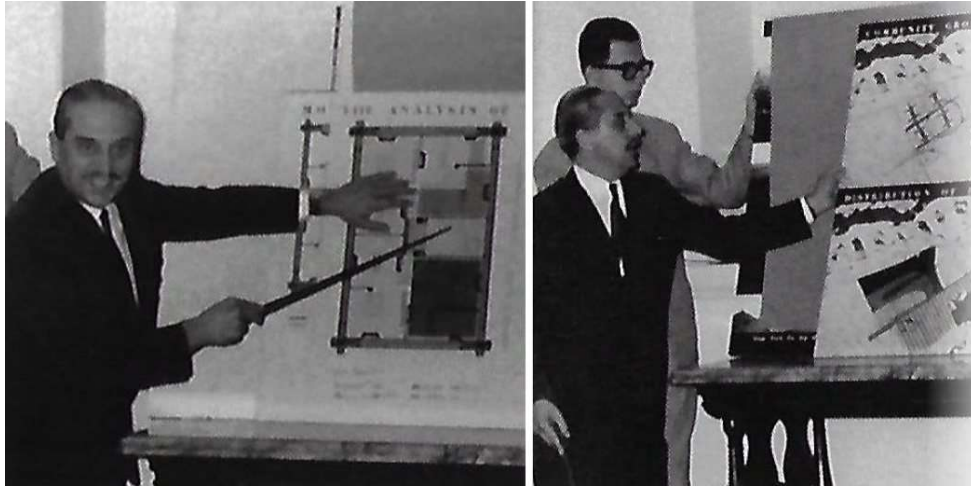


Figure 3: Doxiadis presenting the master plan of Islamabad, 1960, Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: *Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements*], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 360, 362

It goes without saying that the impetus for the implementation of this project was remarkable.³⁰ The temporary but immediate transfer of the seat of government from Karachi to Rawalpindi constitutes solid proof of that.³¹ But, dates can speak on their own; 27 October 1960

29 Geoffrey Imeson, 'Master Plan for Islamabad; Pakistan Prepares a New Capital City', *Washington Post, Times Herald*, 3 July 1960.

30 'After informing F.C.C. [Federal Capital Commission] that D. [Doxiadis] will arrive on 8 February 1960, as expected this trip became a milestone for the development of the project. We are afraid that because of their rush, mainly due to the real pressure to provide housing facilities to so many civil servants who are being transferred from Karachi, they will expect that D. will bring with him the final plans of the new city. As we are fully aware that O-GAP is at the beginning of the data analysis and because we lack information from topographical and population survey, it is considered that a limited amount of work will be ready for submission by February. Please, let us know what D. is expected to bring with him, so as to prepare the ground for F.C.C. in order not to wait for more than what is possible for D. to bring.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives/C-PR 167/31-12-1959/Pakistan Correspondence vol.72/23616.

31 According to the *Pakistan Times* of 3 August 1960: '1. This Order may be called the Seat of the Government Order 1960. It shall come into force at once and shall be deemed to have taken effect on the 20th day of October 1959. 2. From the commencement of this Order and until the President makes any further order in this behalf, Rawalpindi shall be the principal seat of the Government of Pakistan.'

was the date that the final master plan of Islamabad received approval and 20 October 1963 was the date that 'the first baby girl was born in the new capital',³² following the settlement of the city's first inhabitants.

The initial decision, however, to establish the new federal capital of Pakistan in the broader Potwar Plateau area and specifically adjacent to the existing city of Rawalpindi did not guarantee the interdependence of the two urban entities. Various options were considered, including the development of Islamabad either as an expansion of Rawalpindi or as a completely separate urban cluster that would share only certain regional features with the latter. Alternatively, the two cities could be clearly distinct but still amalgamated in order to shape a unified metropolitan area. Ultimately, this was the concept that prevailed as the most appropriate for the materialisation of the country's capital city, mainly because Rawalpindi may have been 'the major man-made obstacle in designing the new capital'³³ in the opinion of the consultant, but above all it was an important asset for the sustainable development of Islamabad. In more detail:

The most important feature in the general composition of the man-made landscape is to be found in the city of Rawalpindi, which with a population of 320,000 inhabitants dominates the heart of the area. It contains all the functions of a city of this size and grade and it sets up those great centripetal and centrifugal forces in the surrounding area, which must be doubly taken into account; this is to say, as constructive forces

C. A. Doxiadis Archives/C-PR 849/09-08-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.75/23619.

32 Orestes Yakas, *Islamabad; the Birth of a Capital* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 136.

33 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Islamabad; The New Capital of Pakistan – Monthly Bulletin No64, March 1964, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, Greece.

on the one hand and as element prejudicial to development on the other.³⁴

The idea of strictly segregating these urban entities, while maintaining unity at a higher level of hierarchy both in terms of space and functions, can be interpreted as the first hint of Doxiadis' commitment to the duality of fragmentation and unification.

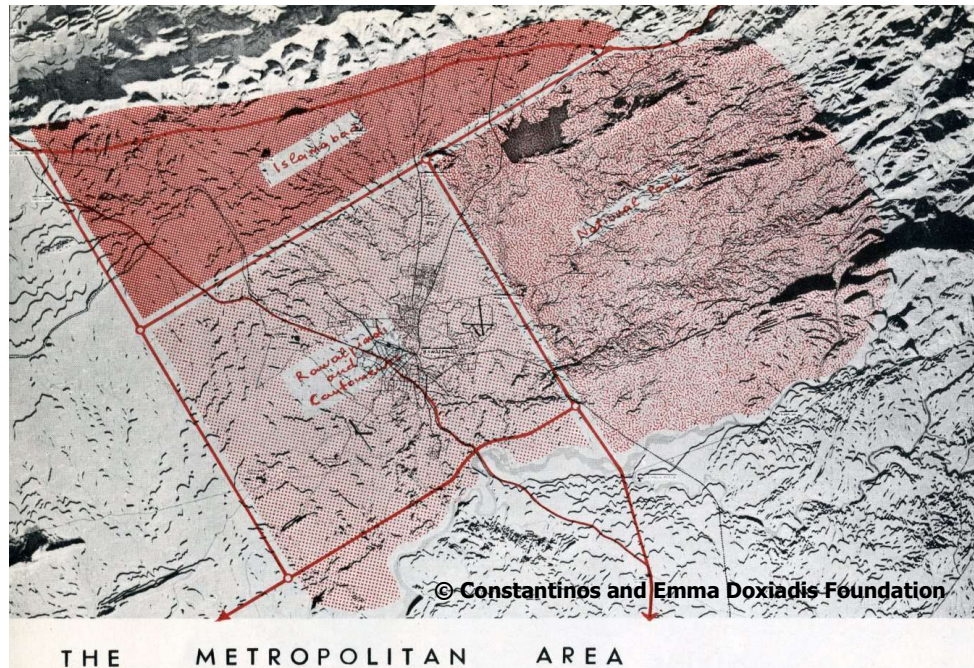


Figure 4: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *The metropolitan area of Islamabad (Islamabad, Rawalpindi and the National Park)*, DA Monthly Bulletin no. 18, October 1960

Therefore, the decision was made to create of a broader metropolitan area, which would consist of three accurately defined clusters: Islamabad, Rawalpindi and the National Park. The boundaries of the unified metropolitan area followed a similarly absolute definition, with the exception of the southwest direction. This is to say that the new metropolitan complex would be enclosed by Margalla and Murree Hills, as well as by the Soan River, while it would be provided with only one possible direction for future expansion. A similar approach can be identified in each fragment of the federal metropolis. A triangular area was reserved for Islamabad, bordered by the Margalla Hills to the north and by the National Park and

34 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 226.

Rawalpindi to the southeast; consistently, this urban entity could have a future development only in the southwest direction. The same prospects for future expansion were predetermined for Rawalpindi, as in any direction deviating from the southwest an indisputable borderline had been established, consisting of Islamabad, the National Park and the Soan River. In reference to the National Park, it was defined as a completely enclosed and therefore static area, with no potential for future expansion; it was flanked by Islamabad, Rawalpindi, the Murree Hills and the Soan River. According to Doxiadis: 'In this way the whole of the Metropolitan area has been divided into three clearly separated and defined areas in such manner as to avoid any unfavourable intermingling of functions in the future'.³⁵

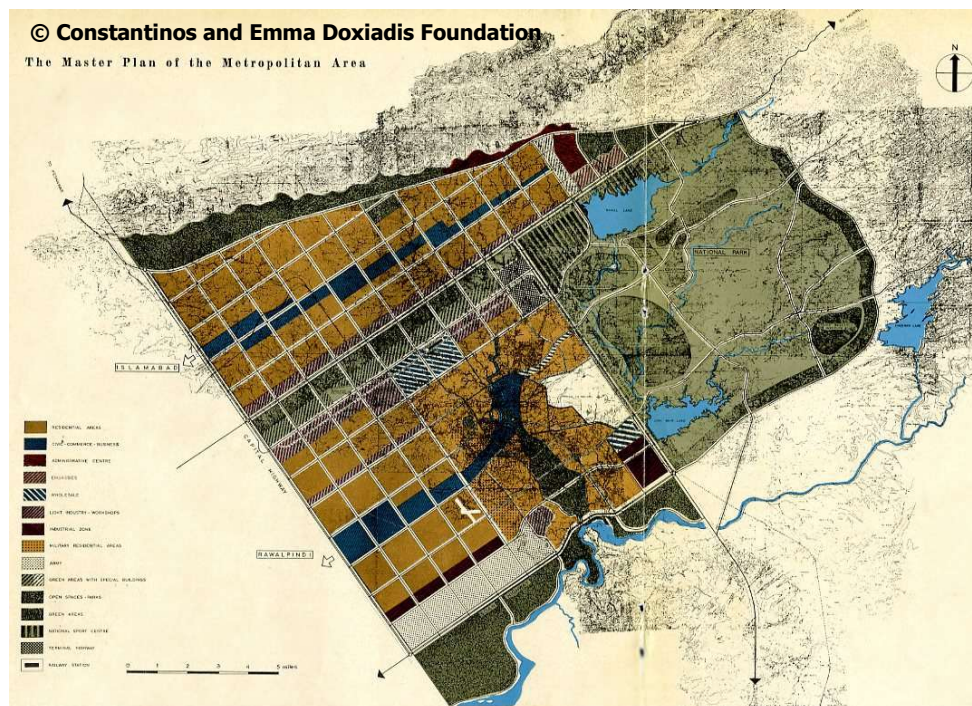


Figure 5: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *The master plan of the metropolitan area*, DA Monthly Bulletin no. 64, October 1964

In other words, the spatial segregation of the federal metropolis was intended to play the role of a safeguard, concerning the functional integrity of each distinct part. By definition, a capital city presents a high degree of complexity, as it serves multiple

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

purposes that are inevitably contradictory to a certain extent. The mere existence of a capital city attracts a dynamically increasing number of functions. And these conditions need to be calibrated if the urban system is to maintain its efficiency. This was exactly one of Karachi's failures: 'Too many functions and installations have been attracted towards the city, such as the army, airports, and other special services. They have practically strangled the city and have closed its possibilities for expansion in several directions'.³⁶ In this light, and in order not to jeopardise the functional competency of the entire federal metropolitan system, a complete fragmentation of functions was decided. Therefore, three distinct functional subsystems were created, which were intended to be complementary to each other and highly coordinated in order to ensure the satisfactory performance of the unified system. In particular, Islamabad was meant to be the administrative and cultural centre at the national level, while a broad spectrum of functions was reserved for Rawalpindi, exclusively regional in character.³⁷ According to the design team:

One of the major principles to be kept is that the two towns should remain separate, keeping their individuality and their functional character. It is only through such a policy that:

36 This refers to the evaluation of Karachi in order to maintain its role as the country's capital city.
Ibid., p. 30.

37 'It was clear that Islamabad had to play the role of the National Capital, whilst Rawalpindi would have to remain as a regional capital. To merge both cities into one would have meant that regional functions—marketing, storage, movement of peasants—would be transplanted into the middle of the national capital, which would be wrong. Or, vice-versa, that national functions would be transplanted into the middle of a regional capital and this would be even worse.'
Doxiadis Associates, 'The Spirit of Islamabad', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 12, no. 73 (1961), pp. 315-335, p. 319.

- a) The Capital will keep the glamour required for its function.
- b) Rawalpindi will be able to continue its developments in balance with the development of the Capital.³⁸

The decision to retain a prominent functional role for Islamabad finds theoretical support in Eric Mumford, who argues: 'The organs of political and cultural association are, from my standpoint, the *distinguishing* marks of the city: without them there is only an urban mass'.³⁹ Last but not least, the National Park was supposed to serve both urban entities equally, by means of accommodating educational and scientific institutions, recreational and sports facilities, as well as agricultural activities.⁴⁰ But above all, it was an important and controllable reservoir of natural landscape that would complete the functional framework of the entire metropolitan area.⁴¹

38 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 237/15-01-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.73/23617/p. 1.

39 This refers to a letter from Lewis Mumford to Sert, dated '28 December 1940'. Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism: 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002), p. 133.

40 According to the initial estimations of Doxiadis, 1/3 of the total area would remain as natural landscape for public use, 1/3 would be dedicated to agricultural activities and the remaining 1/3 of the land would be provided for accommodating facilities of public interest that are compatible with the character of a capital city. The built area was intended to be limited to the minimum possible and indicatively, it was proposed not to exceed the 10% of the proprietary land, as well as any edifice to be recessed at least 100m from all property lines.
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 2228/26-07-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.66/23610.

To an important degree the arable land within the limits of the designated National Park was privately owned. It was deemed necessary to retain the population involved in agricultural activities to support both Islamabad and Rawalpindi in terms of food supplies, however, it was considered equally important to keep these people within the boundaries of the National Park. Phenomena like the following had to be eliminated: 'Even today in Rawalpindi and also in Satellite Town, which is inhabited by people of higher incomes and in fact much higher incomes and superior civil servants, it is commonly used to see cows accommodated in the gardens of homes, but we do not think that this is something that should be implemented, by means of the new Federal Capital's Master Plan.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PI 1490/27-01-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.111/23645/p. 3.

41 'These regulations should be based on the general principle that this area would not only be named as National Park, but it will be one; this is to say that

It goes without saying that even though the three distinct fragments of the new metropolis were to be amalgamated to serve a common purpose, Islamabad was considered to be the true core of the metropolitan system.⁴² The plan to accommodate any function of national interest exclusively in the urban tissue of Islamabad leaves no doubt about this. The following quotations highlight the fact that the urban development of Islamabad was the real focus of attention.

Besides the administration, there are other basic functions which are equally important in a great capital and which complete in it its functions as the country's highest symbol. If the intention of the state was originally to arrange a site to accommodate the highest administrative leadership, the administrative brain of Pakistan, still this intention would be only partly fulfilled unless the cultural centre, the second great function, also move into the capital. With the parallel operation of a Federal Cultural Centre, the second key element in the development of the country will be born. It will form the heart of the higher intellectual leadership of Pakistan, which will from there direct the highest cultural and intellectual manifestations of the country. It will be the very centre where the country's top administrators of the future will receive their training.⁴³

whatsoever its exact development will be, it will maintain the character of natural landscape with greenery prevailing within it and it will have scarcely any buildings.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 2228/26-07-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.66/23610/p. 1.

42 In reference to the discussion on a housing scheme for industrial workers in the metropolitan area, which was decided to be accommodated on the Rawalpindi side, but within the administrative boundaries of Islamabad, can be read: 'This solution presents the following advantages: This area administratively belongs to Islamabad, while of course belongs to Rawalpindi [...]. In all our studies we consider that this area will have a sewage system, as well as water and electricity supply systems, which will be of equal standards as the ones of Islamabad.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PI 1490/27-01-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.111/23645/p. 2.

43 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 75.

and

During a meeting held in presence of D. [Doxiadis], General A.M. Yahya Khan, Chairman Capital Development Authority, suggested that the National Park proposed by us should be known as Semi Urban Part of Islamabad, the main core of the town being known as urban part of Islamabad. The reason, for which this suggestion was made, is that by using this term an emphasis is given to the fact that the National Park belongs to Islamabad rather to Rawalpindi.⁴⁴

Since the issue of boundaries prevailed as critical to the proper development of the metropolitan area, the creation of a comprehensive outline of boundaries—both natural and man-made—was necessary in order that the master plan of the new federal capital to be ultimately defined. Under this perspective, a system of highways in coherence with the natural landscape shaped the backbone of the new metropolis—although this coherence was challenged.⁴⁵ The Murree Highway, following the valley to the southwest, became the indisputable separating line between Islamabad and Rawalpindi, as well as between Islamabad and the National Park. Respectively, the Islamabad Highway, which was arranged perpendicular to the Murree Highway, defined the boundary between Rawalpindi and the National Park. The intersection of these two highways constituted the point

44 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 674/04-06-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.74/23618/p. 1.

45 "When Doxiadis drew them [highways] straight across the ravines, he forgot that the problems of cut and fill would have to be solved without the use of earth-moving machinery, thus leaving the ugly scars of labourers' 'borrow pits'."

N T, 'Islamabad: A Progress Report on Pakistan's New Capital City' in *The Architectural Review*, 141, no. 841 (1967), pp. 211-216, p. 212.

'Their [expressways] landscaping is a challenge as the embankments and cuttings have been left so steep that erosion is rampant and causes planting problems [...]. At present look a bit out of scale used by a couple of camels and a donkey.'

P. C. Collymore, 'News: RSA – Design of Islamabad' in *The Architectural Review*, 143, no. 23 (1966), pp. 1401-1402, p. 1401.

zero for the development of the master plan and their orientation defined the gridiron layout of the urban fabric. The emphasis given to the separation of the two urban entities is highlighted here below:

They will be separated from each other by the Murree Highway, along which the light industry zone will run on the side of Islamabad, and a green zone, and this will be the zone of institutions towards the side of Rawalpindi. These areas, which will be about two miles wide, will separate from each other the continuously built up urban areas of these cities.⁴⁶

and

According to the discussions I [Doxiadis] had after my arrival here [in Pakistan], I realised that even though they accept as a natural separating line of the two cities the Murree Highway, for political reasons they want to maintain as an administrative boundary the line defined by the General in May, suggesting the parallel line located south of the Murree Highway and at such a distance, so as to include two communities class V [...]. Therefore, the administrative boundaries of Islamabad will include the green zone, the green zone with institutions, industry and part of the housing scheme for industry workers.⁴⁷

It becomes clear, therefore, that the uniqueness of Islamabad was sought to be protected. Islamabad and Rawalpindi not only had to be separated by the Murree Highway and the greenery zone, but also the Rawalpindi communities next to Islamabad had to be brought under the administrative control of the latter. In a sense, this was a secondary level of protection against any failures in the development process. Summarising, the general synthesis of the metropolitan area specified the development of two distinct urban entities, which were

46 Doxiadis Associates, 'The Spirit of Islamabad', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 12, no. 73 (1961), pp. 315-335, p. 319.

47 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/C-PR 1001/04-10-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.76/23620/p. 1.

designed to evolve in parallel and to be complementary, following the Dynapolis model.⁴⁸ This model of urban development, which presupposes the linear and simultaneously parabolic expansion of both the residential and the central functions of the city constitutes the instrument that Doxiadis introduced in order to interrelate space and time—according to Ekistics. In his own words:

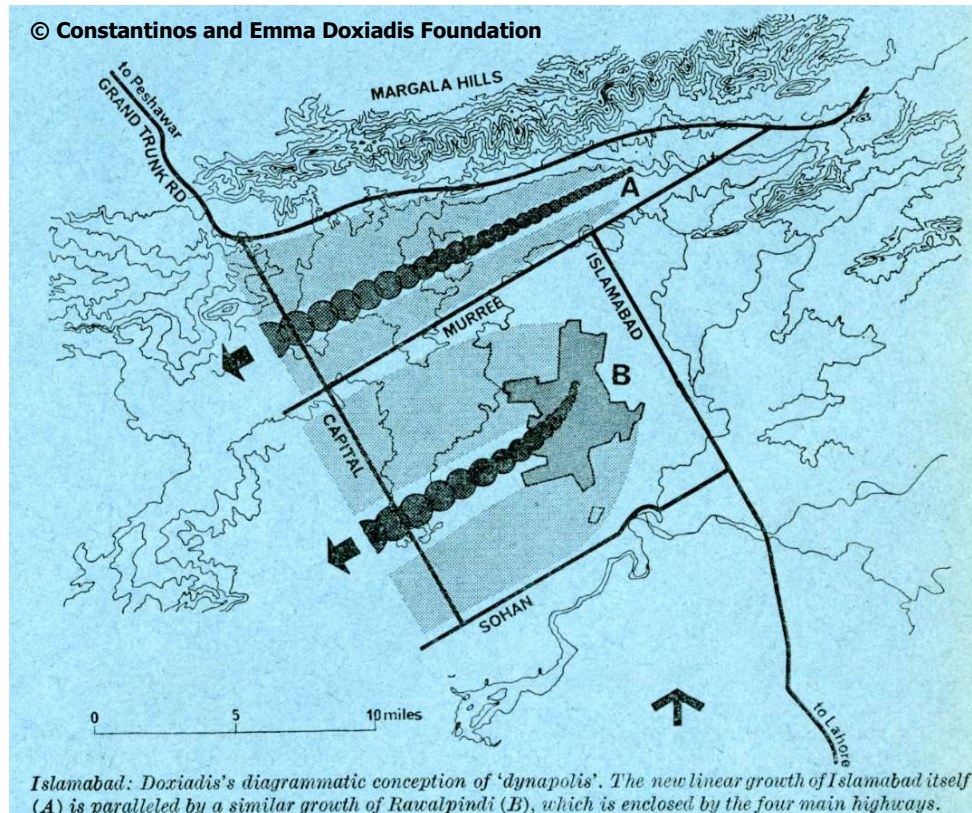


Figure 6: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *Diagrammatic conception of Dynapolis in the metropolitan area* (*The Architectural Review*, March 1967, Folder 6988, Articles – Papers)

The proper name for the city of the future is Dynapolis, the dynamic *polis* or city, which in contrast to the static *polis* or city of the past will possess the characteristics of dynamic development built in it. Thus this city will be able to develop

48 'The cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi will develop as twin cities serving each other in complementary ways [...]. For many years, the existing town of Rawalpindi will perform the duties of a mother caring for her child until the child is grown and becomes self-sufficient.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Islamabad; *The New Capital of Pakistan* – Monthly Bulletin 64, March 1964, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, Greece.

freely and naturally along a planned and predetermined course.⁴⁹

In this light, both Islamabad and Rawalpindi could be perpetually growing and evolving freely in the only available direction—southwest—while maintaining their initial qualities and functional competences, and ultimately ensuring the viability of the entire metropolitan system. It seems that this idea of unlimited future development becomes feasible only through absolute limitations at the stage of planning. This prompts Spiro Kostof's view that: 'Open grids with *laissez-faire* planning cannot aspire to a coherent design. To achieve a formal structure, the limits of the town would have to be determined at the time of origin'.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the conventional perception of a city with strictly defined boundaries is reversed. This is to say that while the walled city of previous times depended on its boundaries to protect itself from external enemies and thus ensure its existence and prosperity, the modernist city also had to be bounded for protection from its internal enemies, namely the uncontrolled and spontaneous development.

The long term viability of the urban environment was critical for Doxiadis and therefore, his approach to planning was entirely based on this principle. He was convinced that if a city was to be successful in the future, the guidelines of its development had to be precisely defined at the time of its inception. And moreover, if the success of a city was to be limited to the present, then this would be synonymous with a complete failure. This belief is clearly expressed through the following quote:

The only way to envisage our goals in size is to relate size to time. Our goals, expressed in size, must be dynamic. Our new

49 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 134.

50 Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped; Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p. 138.

city must become the federal capital not for today, not for tomorrow, but from now on and as long as the government of Pakistan feels that it is the best place for a capital.⁵¹

Under this perspective, the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi were planned according to a methodology that enabled the development of the necessary space only when needed. The idea of introducing the fourth dimension—time—into the planning process ensured the coherence of the scale, as well as the economy of means at all stages of urban development. A visualised aspect of time as the key parameter for shaping the master plan of Islamabad is provided here:

The plan of the city of the future must show the existence of a fourth dimension. The city centre cannot always remain at its geometrical centre because it will then not grow together with the city. The city must cover a whole sector and move together with the centre of gravity of the growing city.⁵²

The Dynapolis model was received with interest, even by people who criticised Doxiadis.⁵³ We read:

In having a tightly build up nucleus constantly expanding, Islamabad is a Mark II capital compared to the Mark I of Brasilia and Chandigarh (and New Delhi), where an essentially static layout of monumental buildings and zoned uses will only gradually have its gaps infilled over the years.⁵⁴

51 Doxiadis Associates, 'Preliminary plan for Islamabad', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 10, no. 62 (1960), pp. 410-439, p. 416.

52 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 29/1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 3.

53 On the occasion of a speech delivered by Doxiadis to the Royal Institute of British Architects: 'Once or twice Doxiadis produced a slick phrase and momentarily concealed the fact that he was not saying anything new [...]. One more thing. And this was the only original thought in the discourse. Our cities must expand on the theory of 'Dynapolis'.'
Kenneth J. Robinson, 'Man is Soft', *Spectator*, 25 March 1960, p. 452.

54 N T, 'Islamabad: A Progress Report on Pakistan's New Capital City' in *The Architectural Review*, 141, no. 841 (1967), pp. 211-216, p. 211.

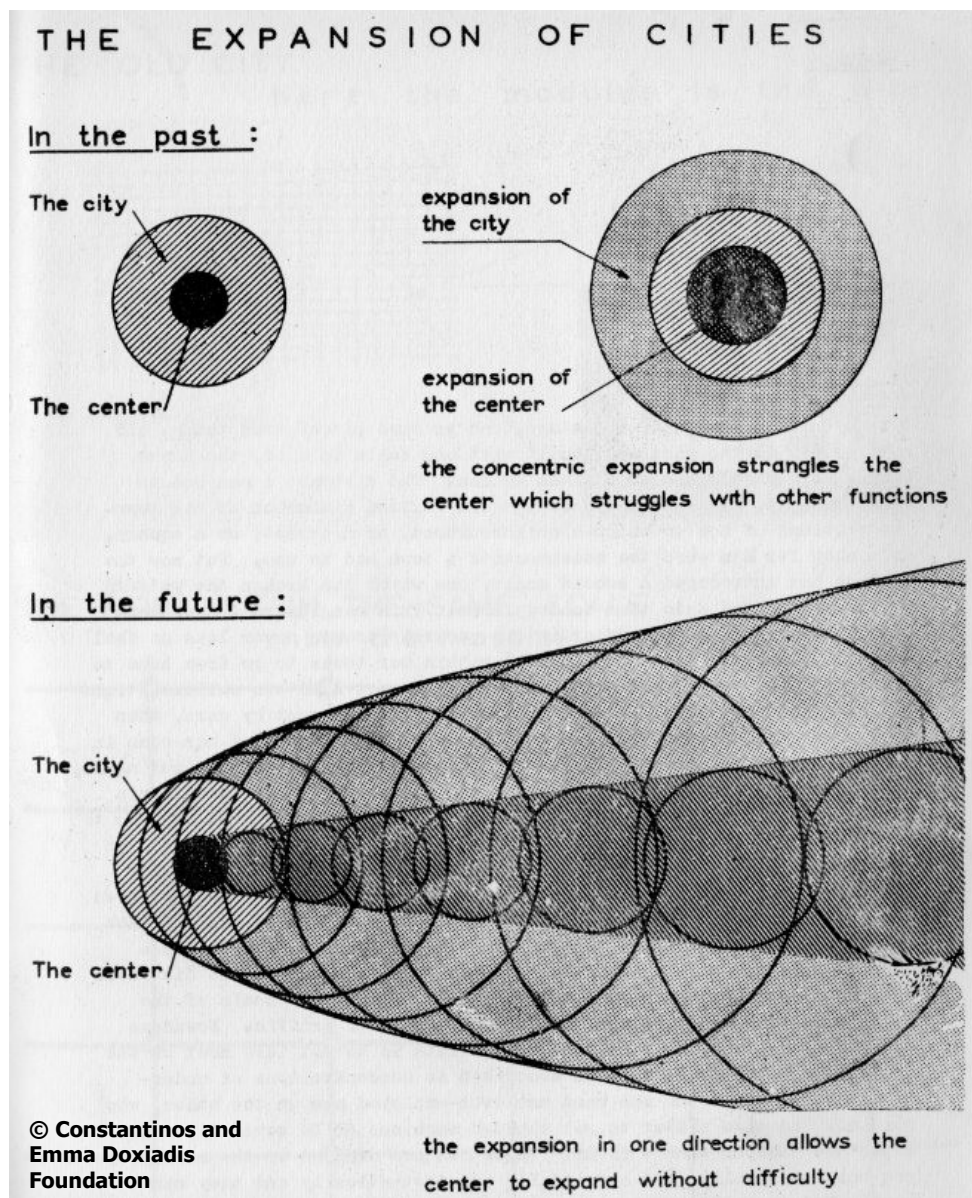


Figure 7: C. A. Doxiadis Archive, *On the expansion of cities* (DOX-PA 29, 1959, 23567)

And also: 'Such cities [Dynapolis] are not mere dreams; Doxiadis is building them in Asia'.⁵⁵ Doxiadis, however, acknowledged that this model of urban planning was difficult to be implemented in existing cities—the *tabula rasa* was the ideal ground for Dynapolis to emerge.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Philip Deane, 'Perspective of Washington: Room for Both Men and Machines', *Globe and Mail*, 29 November 1958, p. 6.

⁵⁶ 'In the Western Hemisphere, Doxiadis thinks that only Canada—which is growing and building communities every day—is likely to develop any exciting and practical ideas about his kind of planning. The U.S. and other Western countries are too committed to the nature of their existing cities and seem intent more on repairing them, than on building fresh monuments testifying to the nature of our civilisation.'

The dynamic nature of both the metropolitan system and its principal subsystems, namely Islamabad and Rawalpindi, should not be misinterpreted as a signifier of spontaneous evolution. On the contrary, the dynamic city depended on a strictly defined and static module, which could be reproduced eternally following the requirements of the historical moment but according to a predetermined pattern. The terminology used by Doxiadis, suggesting the notion of system in *lieu* of urban entity is telling. By definition, a system refers to a group of interrelated elements that operate together for a particular purpose or to create a collective entity. While a city, in contrast, presupposes the interrelation of the elements that give shape and life to it, the qualitative characteristics of cohesion and collectivity cannot be taken for granted. From the outset, therefore, Doxiadis sets the benchmark for the final goals of urban planning, which is consistency and unity. On the importance of unity and the strategy to achieve this, we read:

It is only after this unity has been achieved that the initial group which will conceive and execute the architecture of Islamabad can be gradually split up into more than one groups each of which will later become independent. This independence will at that stage not be dangerous any more for Islamabad, as it will be an independence of movement within the same basic frame.⁵⁷

The basis for the required unity was a single leadership at the level of decisions, a single design team at the level of implementation and a single module in terms of shaping the core of the Islamabad master plan. In this respect:

There is an imperative necessity to create the master builders, the people who are going to be in charge of the overall city,

Ibid., p. 6.

57 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 115/22-4-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 254.

from its conception to the implementation of every detail. There is a necessity for a conductor of the whole orchestra which is going to create a symphony. There is the necessity for a strong conductor who will be responsible for everything within Islamabad. This leadership is provided by the Planning and Development Authority. It should be made the strong Authority which is going to have full control of everything related to the conception and growth in the life of Islamabad and the Metropolitan Area.⁵⁸

In spatial terms, the module, or otherwise the city sector, constitutes the common *locus* for the processes of analysis and synthesis. This is to say that as 'each sector [class V community] of Islamabad is self-contained and self-supported with respect to everyday life',⁵⁹ it becomes at the same time the primary complete synthesis of the urban tissue and the basic fragment according to which the whole city is analysed. In fact, the sector of the federal capital maintains the scale in terms both of size and functions of the city of the past, while through a rhythmical and unhindered reproduction it contributes to the development of a highly complex but still efficient urban entity for the present and the future as well. More exactly, each sector of Islamabad shares the same qualitative and quantitative features with the ancient city of Athens—the latter covered an area of 215ha, had a population of 36,000-50,000, its average density was 200 inhabitants/ha and the maximum distance within its boundaries was 2,100m.⁶⁰ The corresponding figures for the class V community of Islamabad were 294ha, 27,600 inhabitants, 94 inhabitants/ha and

58 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 374.

59 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Islamabad; The New Capital of Pakistan – Monthly Bulletin 64, March 1964, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, Greece.

60 C. A. Doxiadis, 'The Ancient Greek City and the City of the Present', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 18, no. 108 (1964), pp. 346-364, p. 360, 361.

2,400m. The synthesis of as many class V communities as required could lead to a metropolis with a potential population of millions. Undoubtedly, the city sector constituted the key instrument for the implementation of Ekistics, as it could effectively and equally support all four of its principles, suggesting 'unity of purpose', 'hierarchy of functions', 'the four dimensions' and 'many masters and many scales'.⁶¹

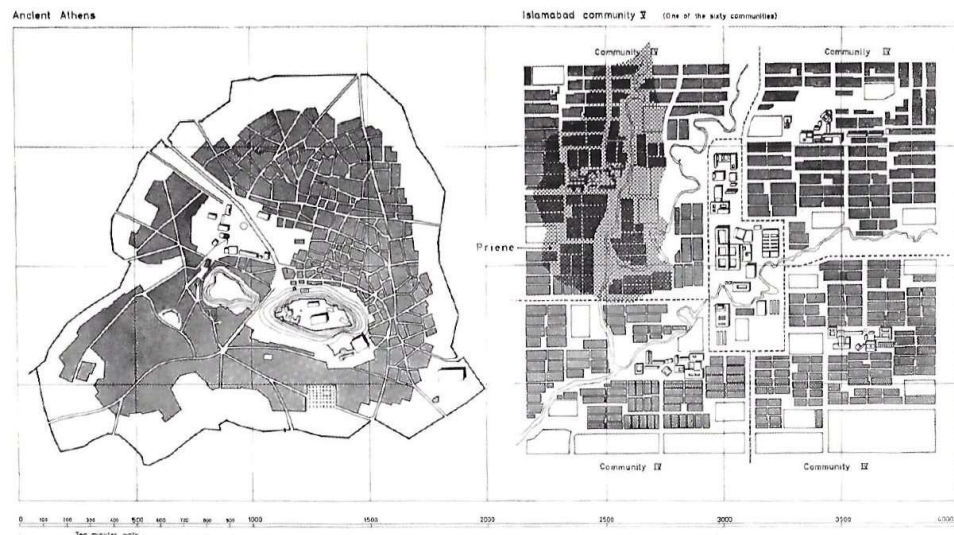


Figure 8: Comparison between Islamabad class V community and ancient Athens, Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: *Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements*], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 201

The sector of Islamabad was designed to form a 2x2km square area that would be an autonomous and integrated urban system of the highest order, but one absolutely dominated by the human scale. It was supposed to include a full range of functions and facilities corresponding to the size of a city numbering approximately 40,000 inhabitants. The main principle regarding the geometric features of the sector is related to the human ability to cover the delineated area on foot and without any real dependence on mechanical means of transport. Furthermore, given that the central functions of this urban

⁶¹ Doxiadis Associates, 'The Spirit of Islamabad', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 12, no. 73 (1961), pp. 315-335, p. 317. [The four dimensions: length, width, height and time. The man is considered the master of the city, which must be created on his scale. Respectively, for the creation of the city, the scale of the motorcar, etc., must be taken into account.]

cluster were located in its centre of gravity, namely at a distance not exceeding 1km from the sector's perimeter, then the issue of easy access becomes self-evident. According to Doxiadis, the shape of this urban module had to follow a square pattern. Since there was no hierarchical direction in terms of circulation, the decision to create urban units with unequal geometric characteristics could not be justified. Additionally, he argued that the previous basis of city planning, namely the oblong block, had to be abandoned and this particular claim reveals an important shift in the inner structure and prioritisation of urban planning methodology. More exactly, Doxiadis urged the abandonment of the traditional block as the city's basic unit, due to the fact that the latter depended exclusively on the dimensions of the plots.⁶² And this translated into a city destined to be conditioned by individual possessions. On the contrary, Doxiadis without diminishing the importance of each individual house, reversed the direction of approaching the subject; meaning that the city as a system of higher order had to define all its subsystems and not vice versa. The following quotation highlights his approach:

We must understand that our architecture, even the architecture of the single house, has started with the conception of the city, continuing through the conception of the community neighbourhood, through the conception of the public spaces into the private spaces.⁶³

Doxiadis' approach finds a precedent in Ludwig Hilberseimer who wrote:

The architecture of the large city depends essentially on the solution given to two factors: the elementary cell and the urban organism as a whole. The single room, as the constitutive element of the dwelling, will determine its appearance, and

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁶³ C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 115/22-4-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 22.

since the dwellings in turn form blocks, the room will become a factor in the urban configuration, representing architecture's true goal. Likewise, the planimetric structure of the city will have a substantial influence on the design of the dwelling and the room.⁶⁴

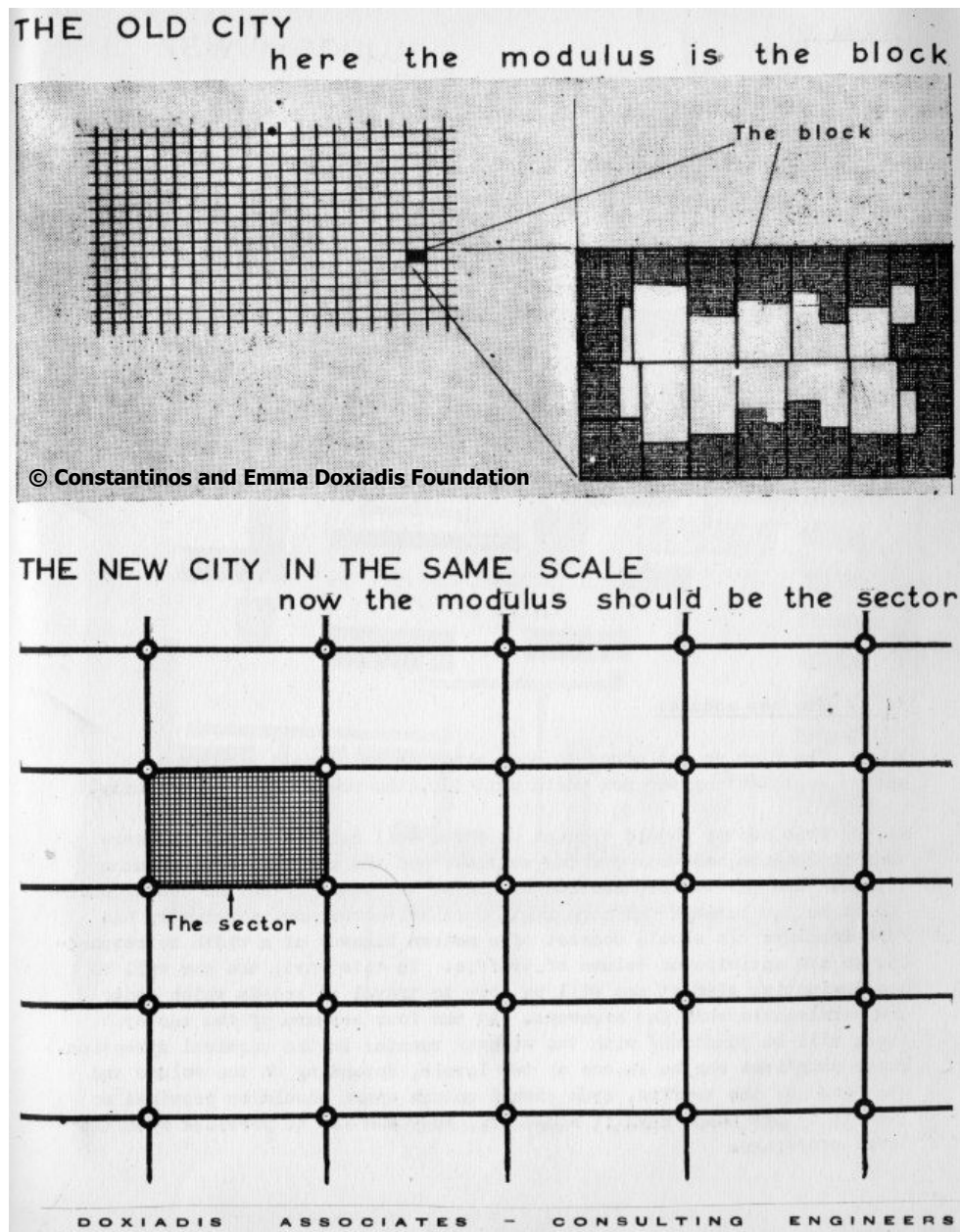


Figure 9: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *On the city modulus* (DOX-PA 29, 1959, 23567)

64 Manfredo Tafuri, 'Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology', in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. by Michael Hays, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000), pp. 5-35, p. 21.

Therefore, the master plan of Islamabad was created on the basis of a unified conception—an ideal, in the words of Doxiadis⁶⁵—which, in order to be materialised, was subjected to a process of fragmentation and hierarchical analysis before its synthesis into a coherent whole.

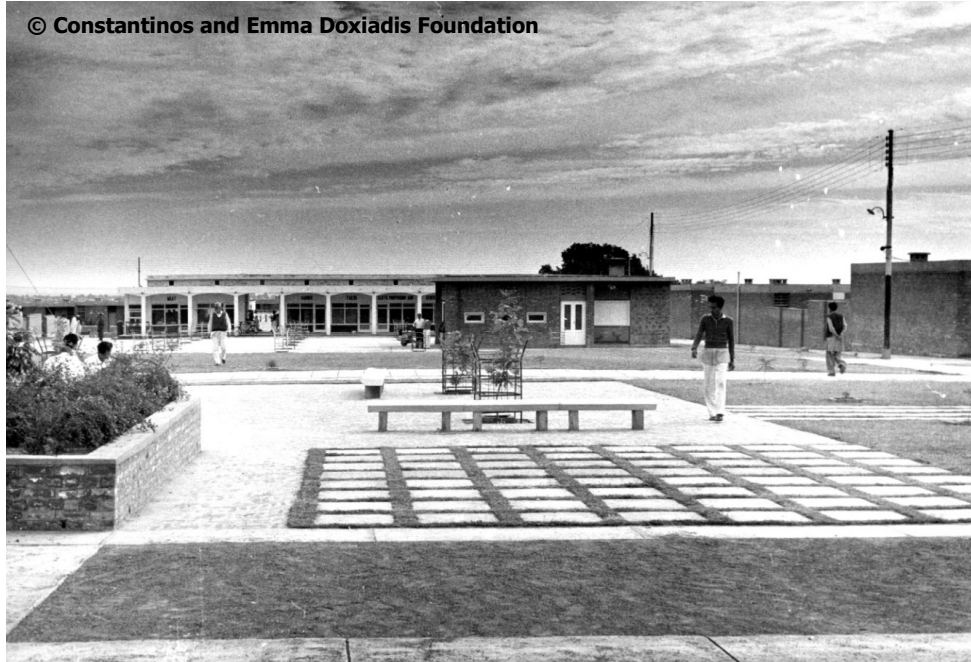


Figure 10: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *View of a neighbourhood centre in Islamabad* (File 17679)

One of the elements that contributed to both the consistency and the hierarchical structure of the Islamabad master plan was that of scale. As already noted, the sector of the city was defined by the human scale, meaning that all its characteristics and corresponding interrelations were subordinated to the measures of *Anthropos*. This is due to the consideration of space as a critical factor for the proper development of people and their interaction. In other words, the inhabitants of the new capital city had to be offered the appropriate space to live and perceive in every aspect and within which they could receive the necessary influence. The creation of human-scale urban units was the basis for the creation of spatial arrangements of a certain quality, which in turn constituted the basis for the development of real human communities.⁶⁶ And it appeared essential

65 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/R-PA 60/28-1-1960/Pakistan vol.53/23597/p. 1.

66 'The result was that anyone could easily perceive the ancient city in all its extent as a synthesis. The outcome was that the city not only formed a

for people to be moulded through human communities of this scale before entering the anticipated phase of global communities. According to Lefebvre, social synthesis is a prerequisite for counteracting the inherent global inconsistency.⁶⁷

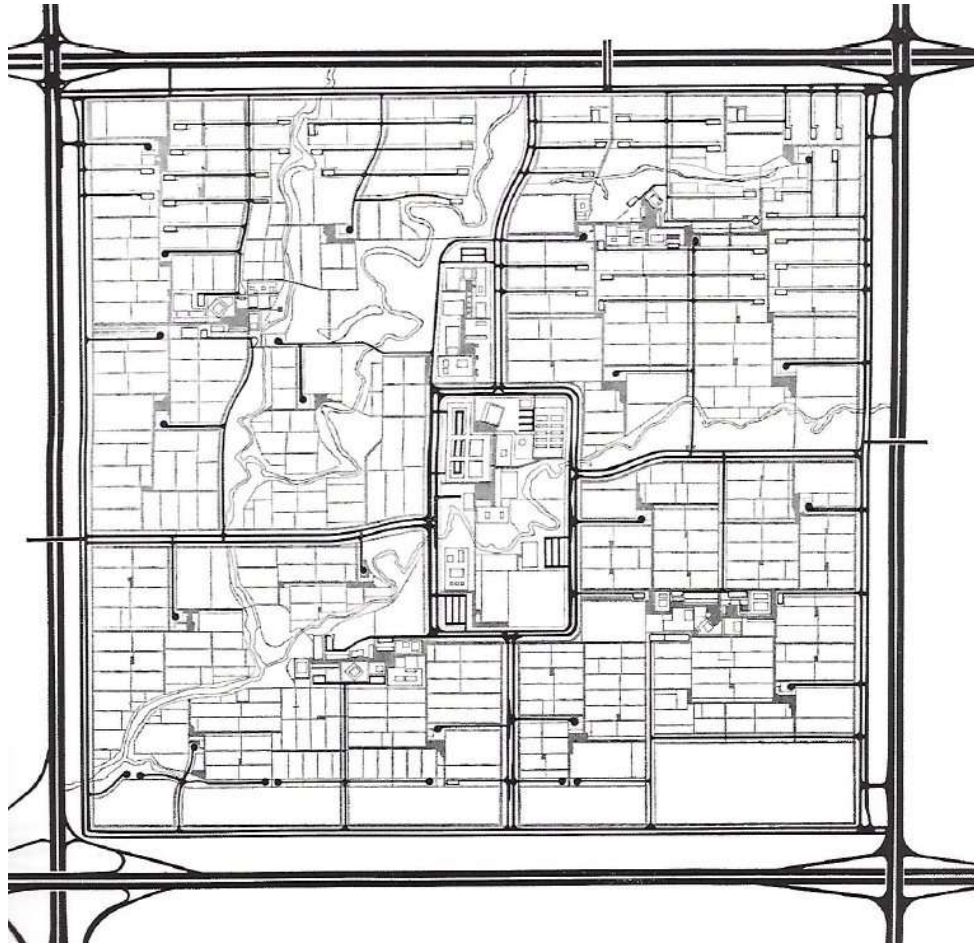


Figure 11: Class V community in Islamabad, Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: *Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements*], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtsis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 121

Undoubtedly, the reinstatement of human scale in urban planning alone could not meet the requirements of a highly industrialised and rapidly developing world. This was especially true

community of people, but that this community was readily perceived by every inhabitant who dominated over its entire area with all his physical capacities. He could view it, he could hear its messages, he could walk over it very easily. The city belonged to man, it was built on the human scale.'

C. A. Doxiadis, 'The Ancient Greek City and the City of the Present', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 18, no. 108 (1964), pp. 346-364, p. 351.

⁶⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 58.

for Islamabad, as it had not only to comply to modern trends but also become a tangible paradigm of pioneering urban planning policies. In any case, the concept of a perpetually expanding city would be completely misaligned with an exclusively dominant human scale. Thus, it was imperative that the class V human communities of the city be linked to each other mainly by mechanical means of transport and therefore to make a shift from the human scale to that of the machine. In fact, the master plan of Islamabad constituted a synthesis of hierarchically ordered scales, following the general philosophy of its planning.⁶⁸ In other words: 'In all cases where we have to design an element of a city, we have to bear in mind that it serves one specific scale of needs, and it has therefore to be accordingly designed'.⁶⁹

It has become clear that the main principles for the implementation of the Islamabad master plan were those of consistency and unity, while the main instrument for achieving these goals was hierarchical ordering. Since the notion of hierarchy was deemed to be the guiding line of Islamabad planning, this can be interpreted as a shift of interest from the particular urban features to their interrelations. Given that the module of the city was the class V community, the way in which these communities were to be interrelated could only be appraised as an issue of paramount importance. The rationalised and systematised approach to planning, as already described, along with the square pattern of the master plan

68 'In the past only one scale was necessary, the scale of man within the city. Now several scales are needed. A house is still built to the scale of man, but a road outside of this house may either be in the scale of man, if it is meant for pedestrians only, or in the scale of a slowly moving car, if it is a small residential road, or in the scale of a car moving at high speed if it is a highway. The conception of the road, its design, its material, its type of construction, the expenditures involved, will all depend upon the role it will have to play, upon the scale which it has to serve.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 115/22-4-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 144.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

module, inevitably leads to the implementation of a gridiron layout. Therefore, the triangular area intended for the development of Islamabad was structured by means of a grid of roads, following the orientation defined by the two principal highways—Murree and Islamabad—as well as the geometric features of class V community. Once more, the grid becomes a feature that amalgamates the processes of analysis and synthesis, or otherwise fragmentation and unification. According to the words of the design team: 'The basic lines of the master plan are on a grid [...]. This grid gives a certain rhythm to the city. It allows for a rhythmical separation of its parts and thus for a synthesis within each rhythmical part'.⁷⁰

There were, however, voices criticising the implementation of a grid pattern as incompatible with the landscape. According to an article in *Architectural Review*:

The whole layout is based on the most rigid grid of squares [...]. 'There is no reason for the main roads to be curved' Doxiadis has said, 'unless the form of the landscape compels us to do so'—and in fact he has allowed virtually no curves, even though the Potwar Plain is undulating, being eaten into by deeply eroded water courses. Sometimes the grid results in roller-coaster gradients for straight roads, and in a city where the housing is almost entirely single-storey, the failure to follow the natural contours sufficiently means a monotony of aspect and an excessive dictation of pedestrian movements, even though vehicles and pedestrians are meticulously kept apart.⁷¹

And also: 'The master plan doesn't exploit the natural landscape of the area and forms another landscape of its own'.⁷² But could the

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁷¹ N T, 'Islamabad: A Progress Report on Pakistan's New Capital City' in *The Architectural Review*, 141, no. 841 (1967), pp. 211-216, p. 211.

⁷² Vic Tapner, 'Islamabad: City without a Heart' in *Building Design*, no. 376 (1977), p. 12.

master plan of an exemplary modernist city ever escape the rationale of the grid?

Doxiadis finds a clear precedent in Hippodamus of Miletus—5th century B.C.—the so-called father of urban planning who introduced the gridiron layout in the city plan. In a sense, he was a modernist of his time, implementing master plans for cities to be created *ex-novo*—the grid became the signifier of functionality and beauty. And he went further, as according to Aristotle, he devised the model of the ideal city taking into account the socio-political parameters—coordinating the spatial and social arrangements.⁷³ On the other side, the grid was the epitome of modernism. Starting with the comparison of Le Corbusier between the 'pack-donkey' who 'takes the line [zigzag] of least resistance'⁷⁴ and the man who has purposes and the logic to pursue them and therefore follows the straight line, the grid emerges as the only suitable tool for urban planning. This is because the straight line is coupled with the right angle, which again is praised by Le Corbusier for its uniqueness and its contribution to defining 'space with an absolute exactness'.⁷⁵ The attachment of modernism to the grid is further emphasised through the forty different grids presented at CIAM 9— 'the most ever at a post-war Congress'.⁷⁶ Spiro Kostof wrote about the grid: 'The virtue of the grid is precisely in being a conceptual formal order, non-hierarchical, neutral, until it is infused with specific content [...] The grid carries no inherent burden of its

73 C. A. Doxiadis, 'The Ancient Greek City and the City of the Present', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 18, no. 108 (1964), pp. 346-364, p. 349.

74 Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow and its Planning* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 5.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

76 Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2002), p. 228.

own. The grid is what you make it'.⁷⁷ The grid emerges, therefore, as the natural consequence of the *tabula rasa* approach.

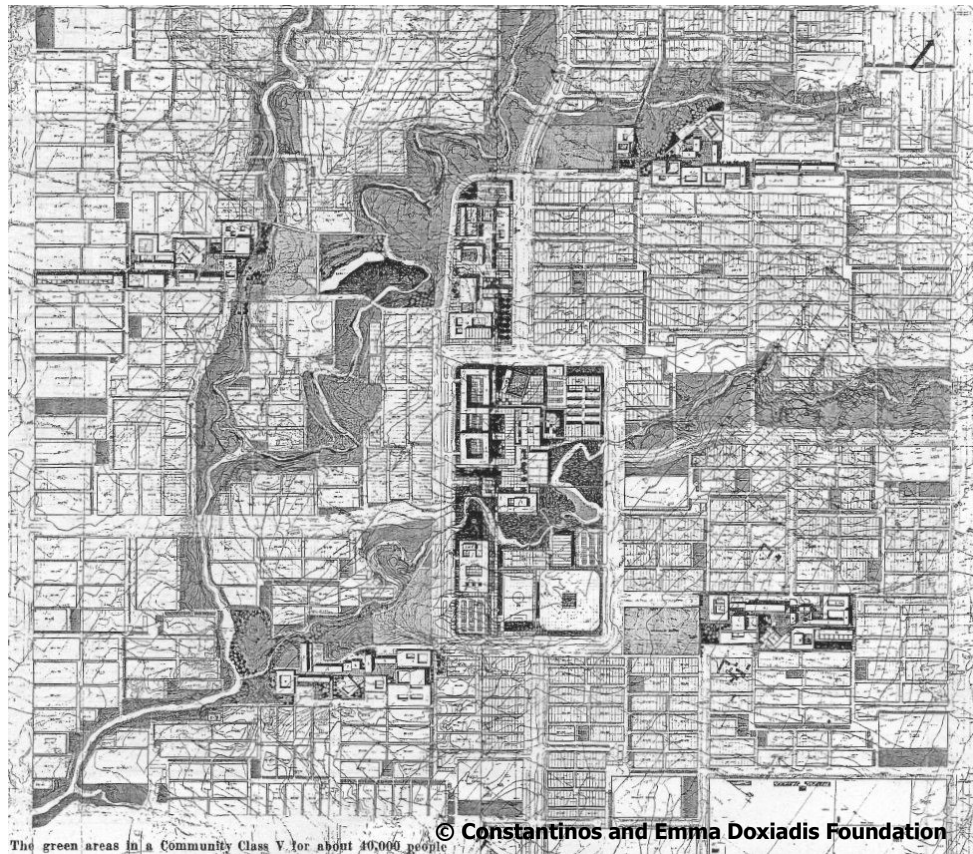


Figure 12: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *The green area in a class V community in Islamabad*, DA Monthly Bulletin no. 64, October 1964

Taking into consideration the above, Doxiadis could not escape the implementation of a grid dependent master plan for Islamabad. Ekistics, on the other hand, sought for the balance of all elements, natural and man-made, that define the urban environment. The expected increase in the use of mechanical means of transport translated into a requirement for straight lines, which if combined with the general characteristic of the landscape—that of a plateau—justified—at least in principle—the commitment to the gridiron layout. At this point, however, it is worth mentioning that the rigid structure of the grid was infused in a systematic way with clusters of the natural landscape, with a view to creating a dialectical relationship between the diverse elements of the urban entity. More exactly, it was decided

⁷⁷ Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p. 157.

that the central green areas of each sector of Islamabad should be fragments of the original landscape, rather than man-made open spaces. The following excerpt stresses the commitment of the design team to create a comprehensive nexus of interrelations with regard to all the basic features of the urban system, namely nature, man, society, shells and networks. We read:

This has been already done in the conception of the master plan, where the basic line of the Murree Highway has been accepted, following the deepest line of the landscape. This was the best expression of the connection of man and his means of transportation with the landscape. When the Islamabad Highway was decided vertically to the Murree Highway, towards the Margalla Hills, this was the expression of man's desire to connect himself to the basic features of the landscape [...]. When it was decided to place at the end of this highway a very important building of the Capital, such as the Great Mosque, this was an expression of the symbolic connection of highways movement with monument and with the hills behind.⁷⁸

For Doxiadis, the very essence of urban planning could be identified in the creation of a unified system of life resulting from a hierarchically structured nexus of interrelations and covering the whole spectrum of human activities. In his own words: 'The essential nature of settlements results from the fusion and interactive balance between their container—or physical structure—and their contents—or *Anthropos*'.⁷⁹ The spatial correlations of the Islamabad system of life have already been analysed with the exception of the relationship between the administrative section and the rest of the urban fabric.

78 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 115/22-4-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 153.

79 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 7.

This is an issue of paramount importance, given the political role of Islamabad. It is not coincidental that similar examples of modernist capital cities—Brasilia, Chandigarh—are recognised mainly for the synthesis of their administrative complexes. It should be noted, however, that this thesis does not include any analysis of the administrative buildings, as they neither belonged to Doxiadis' remit nor are related to the objectives of this research. The administrative sector is to be seen only from the perspective of urban planning and not architectural design. For this special function, the apex of the triangular area located northern of the Islamabad Highway was reserved for the administrative centre. This area constituted the most prominent fragment of the urban entity, as due to its location at the Margalla foothills it could offer ample views of the city, as well as Rawal Lake in the National Park. And since it could offer views of the city, it could also be seen from the city, creating visual correlations of an imposing character and subsequently increased impact.

The administrative sector would be a synthesis of built and open spaces of a monumental scale and specifically, it would consist of the Presidential Palace, the Parliament, the Supreme Court, the Secretariat Building and the Great Mosque.⁸⁰ Once more, a complete segregation of functions was intended, as any function related to local administration was excluded from this section; only administrative functions at national level were to be accommodated in this area. The axis of the civic centre of Islamabad, namely the Capital Avenue—the so-called Blue Zone—which was to accommodate the city's central functions, originated in the administrative sector and was destined to follow the path of the city's perpetual growth according to the

⁸⁰ 'It should be borne in mind that special conditions will prevail in the administrative sector because of its unique character. The open spaces required will be of a monumental scale; avenues, piazzas, etc. will be designed to be used for processions and parades. The administrative sector must acquire its proper eminence as the seat of the country's government and as the outstanding element of the federal city.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, R-PA 69/14-03-1960/Pakistan vol.53/23597/p. 4-5.

Dynapolis model.⁸¹ In contrast, the administrative sector should remain a constant focal point for the city at all stages of its development. This means that irrespective of whether Islamabad consists of only two sectors, as planned in the first five-year programme, or becomes a real fragment of Ecumenopolis, the administrative complex was predetermined to maintain its dominant and in every aspect influential character. According to Doxiadis:

Mr. Zafar asked how I can reconcile my views that the centre of the city will be at the centre of the expanding city, whilst the Federal Administration buildings are going to be outside. I explained how this can happen and how this has to happen. The central administration buildings are going to be the brain of federal capital and the brain of the nation actually, whilst the centre of the city is going to be the centre of the life of it. The one is a specialised symbolic notion; the other is the central notion of the city. The first is a special function; the second exists in every city.⁸²

81 'The main axis runs through the core of Islamabad. This will be called the Capital Avenue and will look towards the Presidential Palace, which is located on the top of the hill in a commanding position.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, The Administrative Sector of Islamabad – Monthly Bulletin 28, May 1961, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, Greece.

'With these landmarks now properly placed on the landscape and the overall composition of the city, there is no doubt that the section of Capital Avenue between its crossing with Islamabad Highway and the Capitol Hill should be very monumental in character, marking the final approach to the most important symbol of the nation.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PAK-A269/1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 16.

82 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Diary-PA 100/10-02-1960/Pakistan Reports vol.41/23592/pp. 98F, 98G.



Figure 13: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, View of model along Capitol Avenue (File 17666)

The hierarchical segregation of the administrative complex from the rest of the city should not be seen as a threat to the unity of the urban entity. On the contrary, Doxiadis sought unity through hierarchical ordering. In this respect, the idea of formulating consistent interrelations between the administration and all other urban functions that will not be subjected to changes due to the future development of the city reinforces the level of unity attained. And this is mainly because, in the long term, the risk of losing the connection between the political authority and the subjects of control is eliminated. Furthermore, there is also a clear symbolic aspect that dictates these spatial arrangements. The establishment of the administrative sector at the starting point of Islamabad, namely at the

apex of the triangular area, signifies the dependence of Islamabad on the political authorities. In visual terms, the whole city seems to derive from the administrative sector with the prospect of expanding to infinity. And this is true, as despite the fact that the Khan regime needed Islamabad for the purposes of its own legitimisation, self-determination and representation, any project of this magnitude cannot be realised unless it is orchestrated and fully supported by a centralised and strong political leadership.

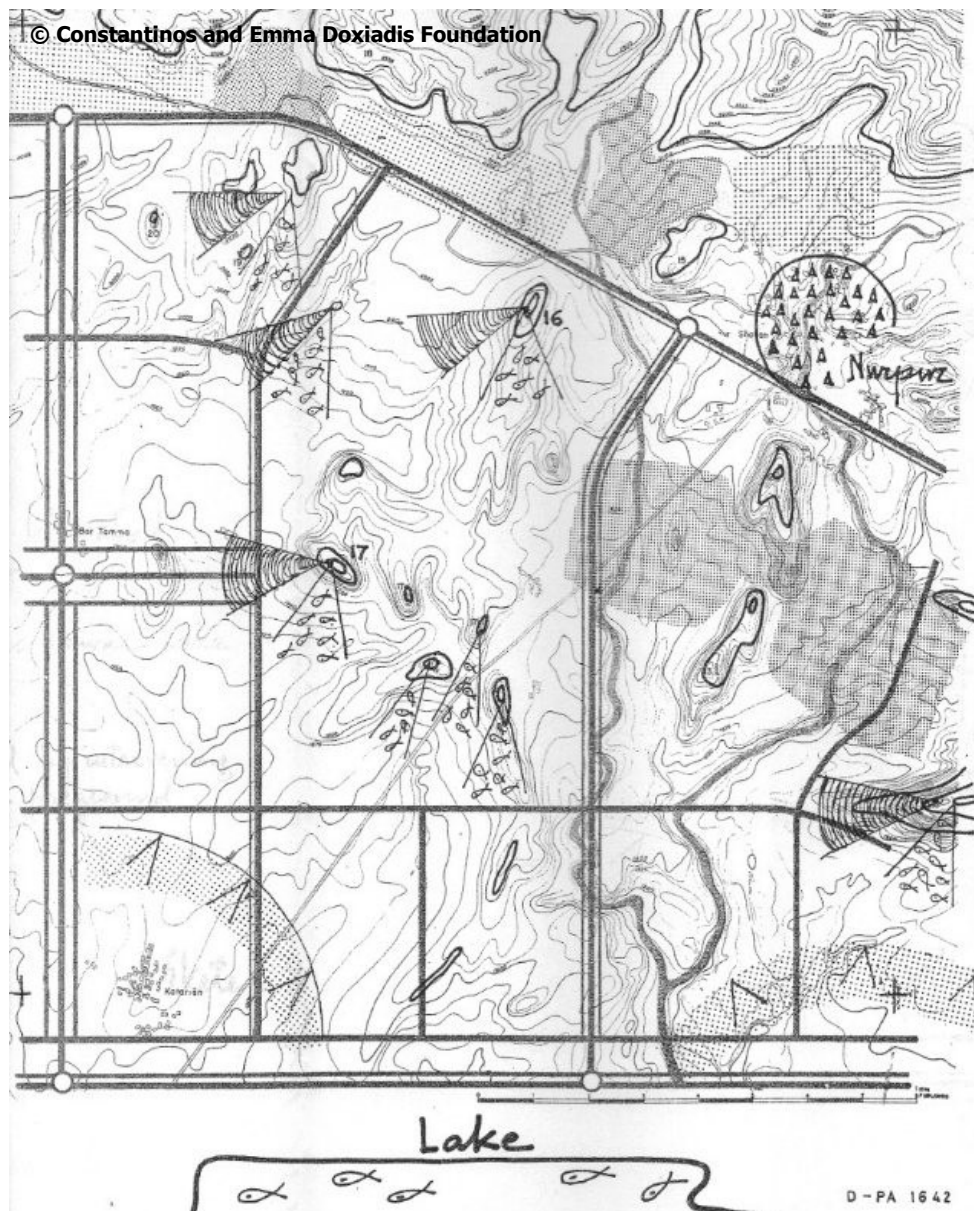


Figure 14: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Sketch on the views of the Capitol area (DOX-PI 22, 1962, Pakistan vol.130, 23661)

Having as a starting point that 'city planning in essence, is allocation of space and organisation of human activities with a view

to realising certain predetermined social, economic and political ends',⁸³ the development of Islamabad on the basis of Ekistics is justified. This is because Ekistics focuses on coordinating all these aspects of human life in relation to the principle of unity and purpose.

In this respect:

The basic rule is that the scale of a city is an ekistic one, based on all economic, social, political, administrative, technical and aesthetic considerations. No definitions of policy should be allowed without due recognition of the importance of all these factors and the necessity for a balance between them.⁸⁴

The balance sought between all the parameters that determine the system of life of Islamabad translates into the formation of a nexus of interrelations that serve a single purpose. Similar to Sitte's definition: 'urbanism is precisely the science of relationships'.⁸⁵

d. Analysis and synthesis in social terms

Architectural history is overwhelmed ideas and ideals that interrelate physical interventions with social reformation, including the redirection of interest in community planning with a view to producing an impact on the wider social spectrum.⁸⁶ This shift is related to the change in vocabulary used, suggesting the 'Habitat'⁸⁷ of Team-X, or

83 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *Report on the preliminary master plan and program of Islamabad (part I)*, Federal Capital Commission, President's Secretariat Government of Pakistan, Printed by the Manager Central Army Press G.H.Q, Rawalpindi, [1959, or 1960], p. 1.

84 Doxiadis Associates, 'Islamabad: The scale of the city and its central area', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 14, no. 83 (1962), pp. 148-161.

85 Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped; Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p. 83.

86 Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism: 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002), p. 179.

87 "Habitat' is a word used by the French to describe not only the home but also its environment and everything appertaining to it."

Doxiadis' 'Human Settlements', which emphasises the content of the urban environment. The emergence of the human as the focus of attention in urban planning constituted another aspect of a single phenomenon, namely the socialisation of architecture.⁸⁸ If urban planning is to be accepted as an effective instrument of social planning, then the *tabula rasa* federal capital of Pakistan could only be considered as the ultimate field of action. And this is because 'A treasured advantage of these new starts was that the ruler could design an ideal population for his city, and coerce it to live in premeditated relationships'.⁸⁹

As already described, the synthesis of the Islamabad master plan was based on a 2x2km module, corresponding to the size of a small-scale city that could accommodate a maximum of 50,000 inhabitants. The physical characteristics of the module derived from the hypothesis that within these boundaries the formation of a community was still possible. In the planning of Islamabad, therefore, two levels of synthesis can be identified that take place simultaneously and interdependently; the rhythmic reproduction of the city sector that shapes the entire metropolis and the corresponding reproduction of the human community that gives life to it. In reference to urban planning on the basis of human communities, we read:

Planning aims at creating integrated human communities and not just conglomeration of houses. People live in communities,

Monique Eleb, 'An Alternative to Functionalist Universalism: Ecochard, Candilis, and ATBAT-Afrique', in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. by Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Rejean Legault, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000), pp.53-73, p. 56.

⁸⁸ 'This is because the architect must now build for the masses, creating architecture for everybody and not for a certain leading class alone. At the same time, he has to build much larger numbers of houses and buildings.' C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 115/22-4-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/ 36569/p. 38.

⁸⁹ Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped; Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), p. 34.

where they must satisfy the great variety of their needs and desires. The community should therefore always be the unit of planning and include residences, places of work, residential facilities and all services necessary for healthy and pleasant living.⁹⁰

and 'Within the appropriate shell, house, block of houses, small and bigger neighbourhood, sector of the town, town, region, country, life of the family and of the community will be developed in a harmonious inter-dependence and freedom'.⁹¹ But there is a seeming paradox, for while the notion of community appears to be the basis for meaningful urban planning, at the same time the urban environment is considered the determining factor for the development of meaningful human communities. Or maybe this is not a paradox, but rather an implication of the intended shift in the very essence of urban planning; suggesting the shift from spatial to social arrangements.

If it is accepted that urban planning aims at creating communities to improve the living conditions of their individual members, then the extent of physical and social interventions should be scaled from the class V community to the smallest possible social cluster. And that was exactly the philosophy behind the master plan of Islamabad. Following Ekistics and in particular the principle of hierarchical ordering, each class V community of Islamabad was a synthesis of several communities of lower order—class IV—which in turn could be analysed into a number of class III human communities and so forth, until reaching the elementary social fragment, namely class I community. The classification of human communities was based on their size and the functions involved. Each human community, depending on its size, included a certain number of functions, with the prospect of maintaining a certain degree of

90 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 29/May-December 1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 12.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

autonomy. For the functions that could not be supported by the scale of the community, the latter was to depend on more complex communities—communities of higher order.

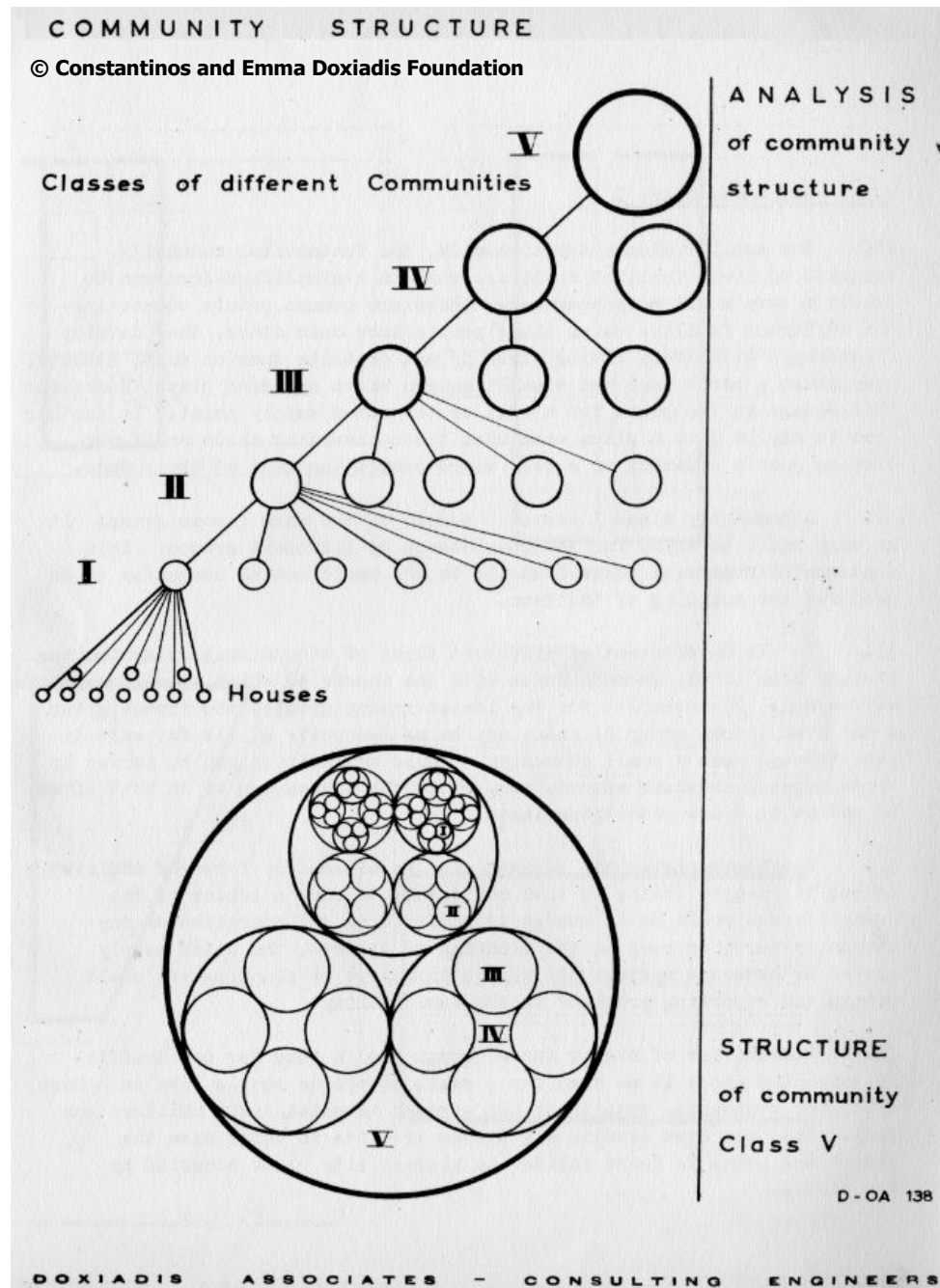


Figure 15: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 29, 1959, Pakistan vol.16, 23567

The fundamental community of Islamabad was that of class I and corresponded to the structure of a small-scale neighbourhood. It consisted of 10-25 families sharing the same residential street and possibly an open space for social gatherings. But the real common denominator and strength of this type of community was the ability

to develop interpersonal relationships. This explains why it was deemed necessary for the residents to have a cohesive social background. The physical characteristics of these elementary communities varied and depended on the social group inhabiting the neighbourhood.⁹² According to Doxiadis Associates: 'The basic principle that should be observed in the structure of a residential community is that its physical pattern should be in complete accord with the social organisation of the human group that is expected to settle in them'.⁹³ This can be considered important for a series of reasons. Primarily, it is a matter of coherence that should appertain to all aspects of urban planning. Additionally, it is related to the idea of creating a comfort zone for the people inhabiting the community and thus facilitating the process of both personal and social development. Last but not least, it is related to the viability of the community itself. This is to say that if the built environment does not align with the conditions of its inhabitants, then it is doomed to fail; either because it will be abandoned for not meeting the expectations of its population or because it will decline due to a lack of support from its inhabitants.

With regard to the weaving of the urban fabric, the class II community was a more complex but still elementary social cluster, which was to accommodate approximately 75 families or 3-5 class I communities. In terms of functions, the shared element of this urban

92 'For example, for the lowest income groups, the income group A and even income group B, there may be no necessity at all for cars to pass through such a small community. These communities can be served by roads passing at their extremities, while the houses can be on both sides of narrow or wider pedestrian lanes [...] Communities of higher income group need a road for car traffic. In this case there is no need for a small square as people live in houses of higher standards, with their own gardens in which their children can play. They may even live in big block of flats in which case the connecting point is found inside the biggest city block occupied by the flats.'
Ibid., p. 14.

93 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PAK-LH 38/1966/Pakistan Reports vol.239/23801/p. 3.

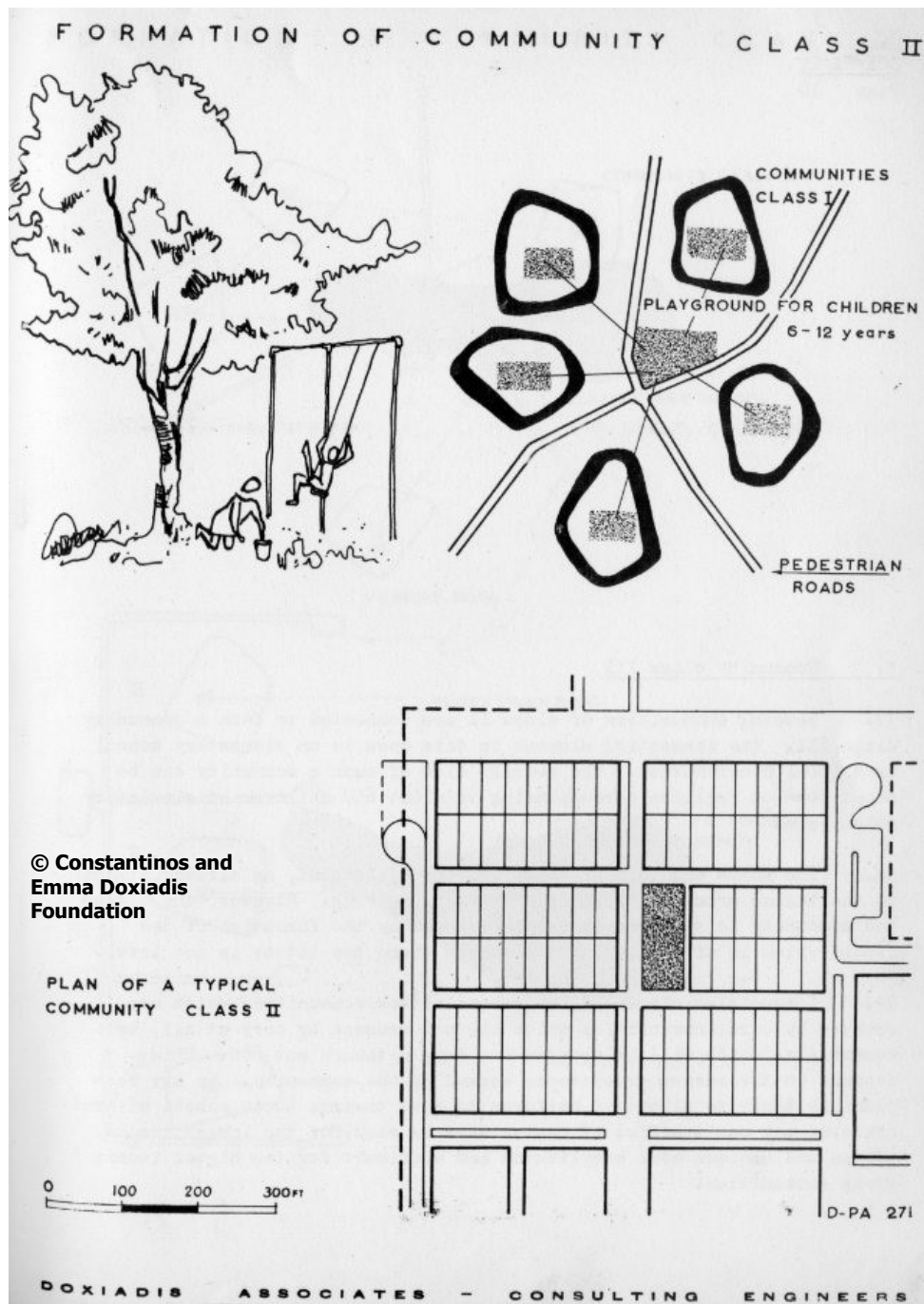


Figure 16: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 29, 1959, *Pakistan* vol.16, 23567, p. 153

entity was a playground, corresponding to the needs of children aged five to twelve. Social homogeneity was still a prerequisite for the smooth functioning of this system of life, due to its fundamental structure—the more advanced a system is, the more variables it can coordinate and support effectively. In terms of physical appearance and with respect to the consistency of physical and social characteristics, the main diversity that could be identified was the prevalence of pedestrian areas in low-income communities over the

implementation of integrated traffic networks in communities occupied by higher income groups.

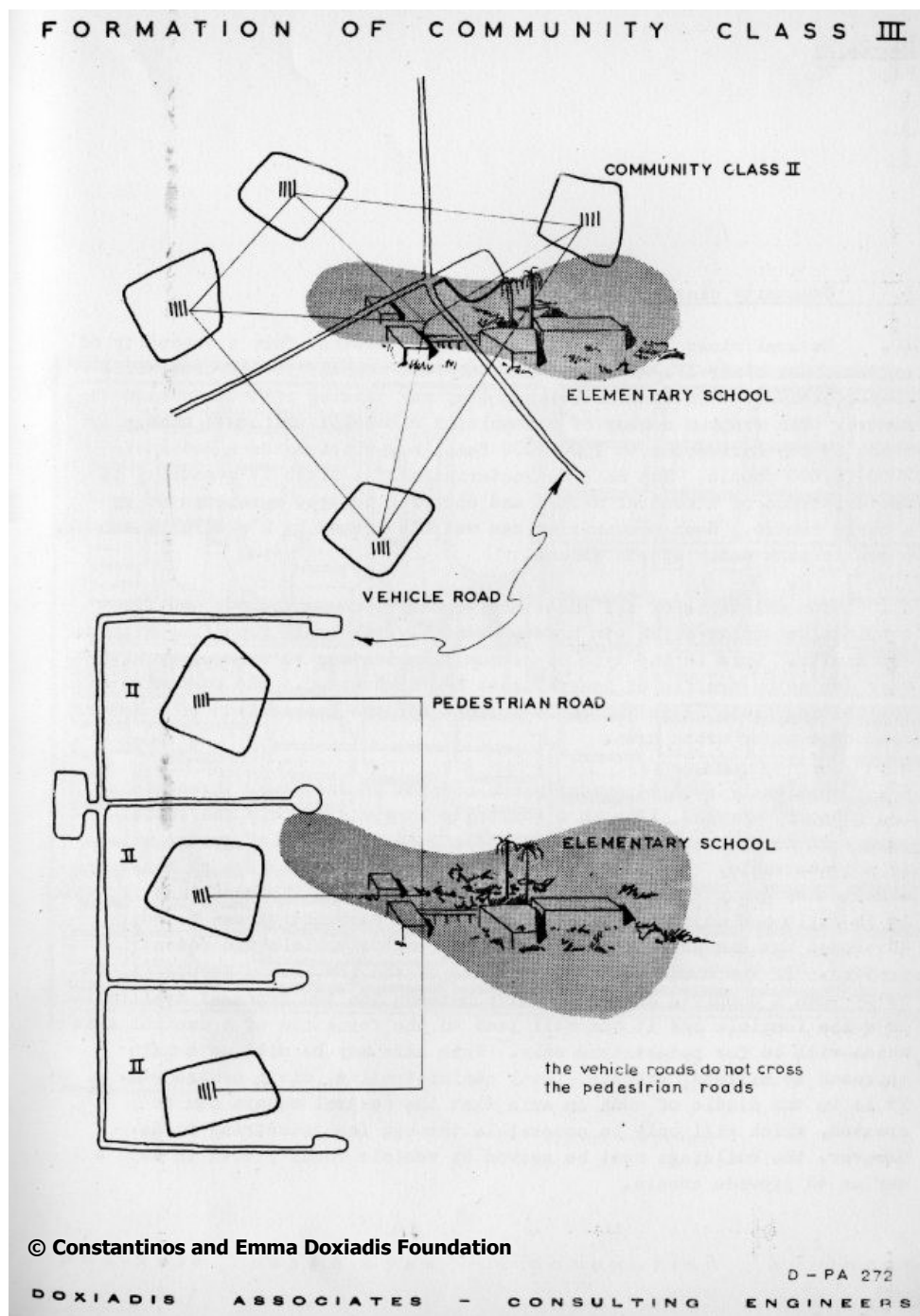


Figure 17: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 29, 1959, *Pakistan* vol.16, 23567, p. 155

Similar qualitative features of social integrity and physical appearance defined the formation of class III community. This type of residential urban cluster consisted of several class II communities, corresponding to a total of 600-700 families. The common functional element for this socio-urban fragment was an elementary school and

occasionally a small local market. The idea of organising these communities on the basis of educational facilities is related to the need for easy and safe access of children to their schools. This was to be achieved through the scale of the community, which was still consistent with that of a neighbourhood, along with the implementation of an extensive pedestrian network, with the fewest possible intersections with vehicular traffic. The class III community constituted the module of synthesis for the next human community in the hierarchy, namely class IV community.



Figure 18: C. A. Doxiadis Archive, Islamabad class IV community in Sector G6 (Maps and Drawings 28151)

The class IV community consisting of at least 2-3 class III communities or 1,500-2,000 families—translated into 7,000-10,000 inhabitants—was defined as the first integrated community and therefore the real basis for urban planning. According to the consultants' words: 'Provided with all community buildings and facilities it does constitute the basic element of urban life pattern'.⁹⁴ In fact, it maintained the scale of a small town with a clearly demarcated centre, which in addition to residential areas also included central recreation and shopping facilities, a civic centre, a secondary school, a public park, and sport facilities. It is the first urban cluster of Islamabad that can accommodate heavy traffic on its perimeter, but above all, it is the first urban fragment in which a synthesis in social terms takes place. Since the class IV community presented a higher degree of complexity in both size and function, it definitely had to transcend the absolute limits of social homogeneity. In this respect:

Limited social interaction and rigid segregation of human beings in terms of financial groupings, is usually disastrous to the meaningful development of community life and individual maturity. This is true of social organisation anywhere contemporary urban life is to be found.⁹⁵

But social integration was by no means a spontaneous process. On the contrary, it was destined to follow a highly systematic pattern, dictated by the systematically structured spatial arrangements.

The general idea for the class IV community was to avoid both total homogeneity and a high degree of social pluralism. The former would be a utopian approach, as in essence urbanity presumes diversity, and the latter would jeopardise the unity of the overall

94 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 29/May-December 1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 23.

95 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 1799/22-04-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol. 65/23609/p. 1.

urban planning. For these reasons, it was decided that all communities of this order should not consist of less than two or more than four different social groups. It was felt that the ideal social interaction would result from the coexistence of three different social entities within the boundaries of the community and especially if they were to be organised according to a philosophy that maximises cohesion between neighbouring groups. This means that proximity between low and high-income communities was to be avoided and therefore gradual integration from low to high-income groups was to be achieved through middle-income groups. This approach was applicable to the whole spectrum of high-complexity communities and ultimately defined the overall plan of Islamabad. According to Doxiadis Associates: 'After a sociological study, the principle adopted was that gradual integration should be sought in order to help lower income people to mature and assure comfort to the higher income groups'.⁹⁶

According to exactly the same guidelines the development of class V communities took place. The module of Islamabad was to be a synthesis of 3-4 class IV communities, numbering approximately 25,000-40,000 inhabitants. A variety of central functions necessary for the autonomy of the community were to be found in the real centre of the urban cluster. In this respect:

The principles on the location and the formation of the centre are such that man can recognise his centre from a distance and feel its presence and importance. Through it, he is attracted to community life and gradually guided towards the heart of his city.⁹⁷

96 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Islamabad; The New Capital of Pakistan – Monthly Bulletin 64, March 1964, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, Greece.

97 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PA 115/22-4-1961/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 170.

The rhythmic reproduction of these fragmentary but in every respect hierarchically ordered and interconnected systems of life, which can only be partially comprehended, unless examined from both their spatial and social perspectives, led to the materialisation of the unified system of life of Islamabad.

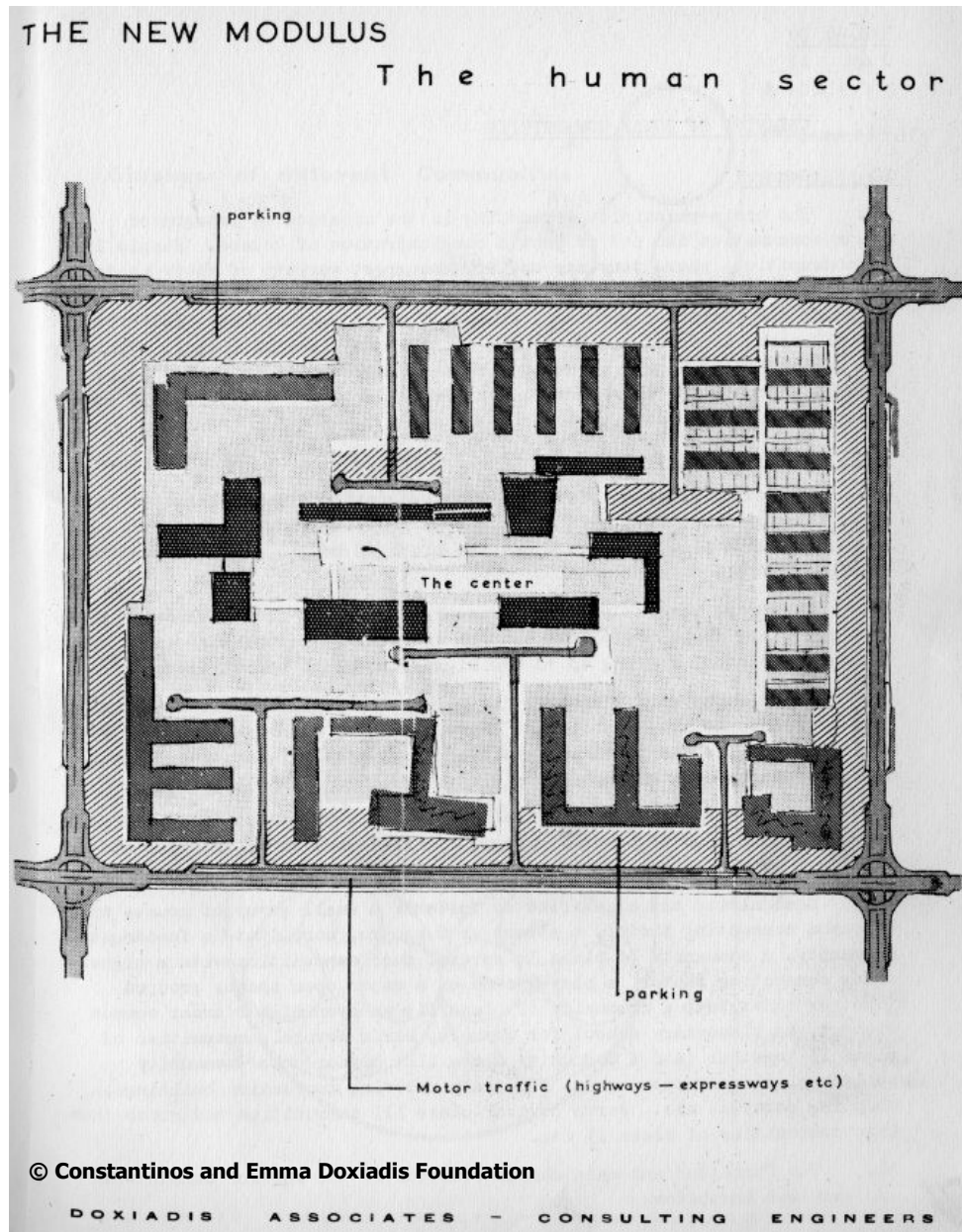


Figure 19: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, *On the structure of class V community in Islamabad* (DOX-PA 29, 1959, *Pakistan* vol.16, 23567)

It becomes clear that for Doxiadis the urban planning of Islamabad was inseparable from that of social planning. The following notes from his visit to India offer an insight into his vision for urban planning. He wrote:

For hours we wander into these housing schemes. They have been built during the last twelve years. They are all characteristic of the same spirit. I could say that their defects are the following: a) there is no creation of community spirit at all. There is no interconnection of the different buildings. On the contrary they look as being thrown on a vast land with no order. There is no formation of a social pyramid. No neighbourhoods, no communities.⁹⁸

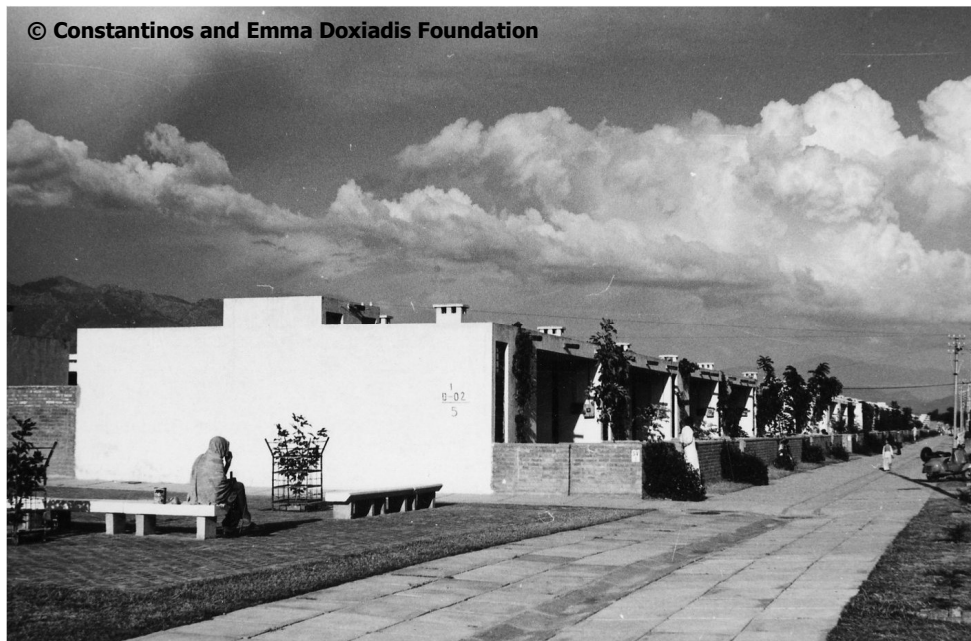


Figure 20: C. A. Doxiadis Archives, View of a neighbourhood centre in Islamabad, 1963 (Diary-PA 109, p. 66, Pakistan Reports vol.172, 23711)

The ideas of social hierarchy and community planning prevail in Doxiadis' rhetoric. Similar to the view of Raymond Williams: 'We have to live by our own attachments, but we can only live fully, in common, if we grant the attachments of others, and make it our own business to keep the channels of growth clear'.⁹⁹

The structure and classification of the human communities of Islamabad was based on objective and therefore incontestable criteria; suggesting that the number of inhabitants and the

98 C. A. Doxiadis Archives/India Notes/1955/24966/p. 35.

99 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 2013), p. 337.

corresponding number of houses, as well as the complexity of both functions and traffic networks, constitute measurable parameters. For example, it could not be argued that a class III community was hierarchically superior to a class II community, as it accommodated more people and included functions that did not exist in class II communities; and also the former was a synthesis of multiple clusters of the latter. This indisputable clarity informed the entire Islamabad master plan. Since urban and social planning were intertwined, the same clarity had to be found in the social synthesis of Islamabad. This means that similar quantitative criteria had to be introduced in order to achieve societal classification. Doxiadis identified in the incontestable criterion of income the absolute means in order to implement the desired social pyramid in the new federal capital of Pakistan. In this respect:

Here we must understand from the beginning that we are referring to nations basically democratic and cities in which everybody is provided for, where privileged groups do not exist and where the inhabitants are considered to be entitled to equal opportunities. This consideration, of course, will not prevent a planner to design several types of facilities, depending on the profession and income of their users, since profession and incomes have been accepted as a basis of differentiation even by the most progressive of modern societies.¹⁰⁰

Doxiadis, while acknowledging the inevitable phenomenon of social inequality, did not see it as an obstacle to the creation of unified urban realities. In fact, it was the time to 'gain [through] planning the welfare of the individual within a community and governmental support'.¹⁰¹ In modern societies, the privileges of aristocratic descent

100 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 134.

101 Thomas H. Jenkins, 'A Marx for metropolitan planners: A sociology of planning opportunity and social change', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the*

were eliminated but the distance separating the different socio-economic groups was still significant; especially for the countries of the developing world, which were in the early stages of industrialisation. According to Gustav Papanek: 'Great inequalities were necessary in order to create industry and industrialists'.¹⁰² Similarly, it was necessary to address these inequalities in order to ensure modern development both socially and economically. In this respect: 'growth in government has been in response to manifest public needs that under changing social, economic and technological conditions private effort no longer could meet'.¹⁰³ This shift of interest from the privileged few to all members of the social strata allowed for a change in the vocabulary used. This means the shift from social inequality to social diversity—the former is interpreted as a social malaise, while the latter as a social reality. According to Doxiadis, contradictory ideas of social diversity and unity could be addressed through planning based on gradual social integration. We read:

We agree that a certain interaction among people with diversified characteristics brings about more satisfying life and stimulates maturity [...]. But in countries where the diversified economic and customs' characteristics are taking the extreme limits, an interaction among people should lead to the creation of complexes instead of maturity to the low income people and discomfort instead of satisfying life to the opposite groups. This is the reason that the gradual intermixing of the various income groups succeeds more than the absolute one. The more

Problems of Science of Human Settlements, 50, no. 301 (1983), pp. 270-276, p. 272.

102 Gustav F. Papanek, *Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Incentives* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 243.

103 Thomas H. Jenkins, 'A Marx for metropolitan planners: A sociology of planning opportunity and social change', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 50, no. 301 (1983), pp. 270-276, p. 272.

economically advanced countries do not present the extreme cases that one may witness in the less economically developed countries.¹⁰⁴

Doxiadis was firmly committed to the idea of income-based social synthesis. This approach went beyond the boundaries of Islamabad, as his consulting firm participated in various urban planning projects across Pakistan. For example, on the occasion of a meeting for the new refugee township of Korangi on the outskirts of Karachi, Doxiadis said:¹⁰⁵

Our next subject is the houses and offices of the personnel that is responsible for the refugees. We agree that in order to accommodate workplaces, an office building belonging to community class V will be selected [...], however, in regards to the houses, when we will be provided with a detailed list including number of people and their respective incomes, we will come up with a proposal, which will not aim to keep them all one next to the other, as their incomes might not allow for this; our proposal will aim to keep them as much interrelated as possible and simultaneously at a minimum distance from their workplace.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, in a letter from a Doxiadis Associates representative to the director of National Housing and Settlements Agency regarding the Southwest Lahore township and in particular the percentages of

104 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 489/12-04-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol. 74/23618/p. 2.

105 Furthermore, on the issue of social integration and according to Doxiadis opinion, the sale of plots at the Korangi area should not be restricted only to refugees, but instead, people belonging to other social groups and are deprived of any property in the Greater Karachi area to be also encouraged of joining the broader Korangi community. This discussion is also relevant to Islamabad with the difference that it faced the risk of becoming a civil servants' colony, instead a refugees' one.
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PKH 2778/08-04-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol. 108/23642/p. 2.

106 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 4572/01-12-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol. 106/23640/p. 6.

income groups that were to be accommodated in this new urban scheme, we read: 'All incomes should be catered for to achieve an integrated major community, as otherwise, if only low incomes are to be housed there, the decline of the new community is certain'.¹⁰⁷

It becomes apparent that the societal aspect of urban planning was highly prioritised. The Islamabad master plan was conceived as an ideal entity, which in order to be materialised had to be fragmented into spaces of different hierarchical status before amalgamating into a unified whole, and this was exactly the same pattern that was adopted in terms of social planning. Relevant is Lefebvre's view:

Knowledge and action can function effectively only on distinct and separate elements. Analysis must be taken to its logical conclusion—which entails the death and dismemberment of what is being analysed—before thinking and living can be reunited. For praxis to become whole again, it has to have been fragmented and disjoined. [...] The truth is to be found in the movement of totalisation and fragmentation taken as a whole. This is the truth we read in that obscure and legible text: the new town.¹⁰⁸

More exactly, the social fabric of Islamabad was intended to be a coherent whole. The required social unity could not be found, however, in a pre-existing homogeneity, but rather had to be created on the basis of a conditioned diversity. The fragmentation of the urban tissue allowed the corresponding fragmentation of the social tissue and this notion of fragmentation in turn allowed the implementation of the desired synthesis. For example, in sector I9 it was decided that four categories of income groups would coexist.¹⁰⁹

107 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PKH 1213/27-04-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol. 69/23613/p. 2.

108 Henri Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes September 1959-May 1961* (New York: Verso, 1995), p. 121.

109 Doxiadis Associates, 'Industrial Development in Islamabad', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 13, no. 79 (1962), pp. 349-360, p. 354.

The lower income group—classified as type A—corresponded to 30% of the community's total population, while 40% was intended for inhabitants belonging to the type B income group. Respectively, 20% of the population would belong to the type C income group and the remaining 10% would correspond to the financially strongest members of the community. The implementation of a highly ordered and consistent system of interrelations between the different fragments at both levels—spatial and social—can be seen as the main synthetic instrument and key factor for the creation of a unified and in every respect predetermined socio-urban entity. Each fragment had to be in the appropriate position and in a sense, the recognition of this appropriateness was the unifying factor.

The importance of social planning in the Islamabad project is further emphasised in the following quotation:

In a meeting with Doxiadis, the area which will include the development of Islamabad during the first five years has been decided. This area is larger than the one which actually corresponds to the requirements of the first 5-year program, namely the 36,000 inhabitants. The reason is that the final income distribution for these 36,000 people leads to an area organised in two class V units. The initial attached drawing for the same area specified one fully developed class V unit and two class IV units.¹¹⁰

Here, the layout of income distribution clearly outweighs the actual layout of the master plan. The prioritisation of social planning over urban planning is revealed, as the synthesis of the urban fabric was to be adapted to the exact requirements of the desired social synthesis. And this can also be seen as a solid proof of the advantages offered by the implementation of a *tabula rasa* approach to city planning.

110 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 2405/07-09-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.66/23610/p. 1.

The methodology for implementing social planning in Islamabad has already been analysed, but it remains to be seen what the qualitative characteristics of the desired social fabric were. Taking as a starting point the fact that Islamabad was designed to be the seat of government, a significant part of the city's inhabitants would undoubtedly be civil servants. Especially, in the early stages of Islamabad's development, civil servants formed the primary social group of the new urban scheme. In terms of income classification and according to Doxiadis Associates reports:

The average wage of these civil servants, according to our estimates, is much higher than the average wage of any other social class [...] we are very confident that most probably the groups of people to come into the federal capital are going to have perhaps two or three times higher average income than the Rawalpindi people [...].¹¹¹

Given the spending power of the people of Islamabad, this can be seen as an early established and promising reference point that could be a solid basis for further development. This developmental sequence was aspired as follows:

The decision that will facilitate the growth of the capital is to create all the good shopping centres so that the merchants instead of getting interested to settle into Pindi [Rawalpindi], will settle closer to their new higher income clients and sell their goods there. This means that the higher income merchants will be attracted to the federal capital.¹¹²

And also: 'Next to them, facilities will have to be provided for tradesmen, for what we call free professions, doctors, lawyers, etc., who are going to serve the new class of people coming in'.¹¹³

111 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, Diary-PA 100/February 1960/Pakistan Reports vol.41/23592/p. 106.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Undoubtedly, Islamabad was intended to be a prototype in terms of Pakistan's desired social structure. In this respect:

There is no danger of entering the city through areas of low-income groups in the usual sense, since even the low-income group areas will be developed in accordance with a plan and they will in any case be isolated from the highways by green strips.¹¹⁴

The fact that it was a *tabula rasa* urban project, linked in every way to the country's political leadership, provided both the means and the rationale to become a point of reference for social planning. Pakistan needed an empowered urban middle class at the time to support the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The special conditions of Islamabad confirm Lefebvre's view: "urban society is gestating in and through the 'bureaucratic society of controlled consumption'."¹¹⁵ Obviously, the created social fabric of Islamabad did not reflect the existing social conditions of Pakistan. The question is whether Islamabad could become the driving force for the modern development of the country as a whole.

The contribution of the middle class to development is vital and this is mainly due to its dynamics. This is to say that the existence of a middle class is synonymous with the existence of a broad and well-established socio-economic group, which is productive, already enjoys satisfactory living conditions and, most importantly, has both the financial resources and the willingness to pursue further progress. The level of activity of this social group can actually produce a significant impact on all social strata. The material ambitions of the middle-class people lead to a generalised economic boost, which in turn contributes to the development of lower income social groups

114 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 352.

115 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 4.

and therefore to the increase of minimum socio-economic standards. In addition, the very existence of the middle class plays the role of a social catalyst by bridging the sharp diversities between the upper and lower strata of the social pyramid and providing the necessary social space for integration to take place.

In the second chapter there is a reference to the income distribution map of Islamabad (Figure 6, p. 107), which accompanies the actual master plan—the very existence of this type of map is telling.¹¹⁶ The principles of social classification and gradual integration, as implemented to all hierarchically ordered human communities in Islamabad, now appear synthesised into a coherent whole, without, however, losing their original integrity. This is to say that the social tissue of Islamabad was intended to be an amalgamation of three main income groups, accommodated in three clearly distinct spatial entities and interrelated in a predetermined way.

For the higher income people, the most privileged areas were, without exception, located adjacent to the administrative sector. This can be seen as an intention to create new connections between the political leadership and the people at the top of the social pyramid—the relocation of the capital from Karachi signified the disruption of existing ties. The area neighbouring Rawalpindi and the light industry zone was reserved for the lower income people. This social group finds its place on the edge of the federal capital, in relation with its main workplaces and the Rawalpindi society, which was considered less privileged than that of Islamabad. In reference to the middle class, its central role in the development of the new federal capital is emphasised through the characteristics of the space intended for it. This social group was to dominate the core area of Islamabad, as it was meant to frame the Blue Area that brought together all the

116 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 96/January-February 1961/Pakistan Reports/p. 22.

business and important commercial activities of the new urban scheme. In other words, the system of life of Islamabad appears to be highly interdependent with the middle-income class, under the perspective of establishing a functioning system of mutual reinforcement. In this respect:

The origin of community development is not to be found in low-income, subsistence farming areas, but rather on the fringes of a highly organised market economy with great economic and social mobility. [...]. Community development is a spontaneous reaction to disintegrating forces, and not originally a tool or policy. But it can be easily become a method, applied with the desirable end in mind. The reasoning behind this method is simple, but effective—community development is flexible, adaptable to circumstances and people's mood. It promises a great result with small outside resources (by the release of internal resources).¹¹⁷

Community planning was an integral part of modern urban planning.¹¹⁸ This was expressed in different ways, but the need for a common social culture and orientation, prerequisites for achieving modernisation, was the underlying truth. Sert recognised a *Zeitgeist* expression in the community, which in turn expressed the emerging interest in the masses, rather than in the privileged few.¹¹⁹ Le Corbusier identified in the city the potentials for controlling the masses. He wrote:

117 E. de Vries, 'Community Development and Development', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 10, no. 62 (1960), pp. 390-393, p. 390.

118 'Imagination and vision are required—not only for the drafting of a master plan, but also for the creation of a community which keeps the plan alive'. Otto H. Koenigsberger, 'New Towns in India', in *The Town Planning Review*, 23, no. 2 (1952), pp. 94-132, p. 131.

119 Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism: 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002), p. 139.

[...] the tremendous mechanism of the great city, which keeps four million people, each of whom is actuated by his own individual and ungoverned passions, in a state of discipline—four million people who want to live in accordance with their own free will, each claiming to live his own life, although such a claim creates a state of dramatic and exasperated tension.¹²⁰

Here the process is reversed; the creation of a common platform of life could lead to a common free will—translated into social stability—and not vice versa. Community spirit was seen as the means to that end. In this respect:

For a community of people is an organism, and a self-conscious organism. Not only are the members dependent on one another, but each of them knows he is so dependent. This awareness, or sense of community, is expressed with varying degrees of intensity at different levels. It is very strong, for example, at the lowest social level—that of the family. It emerges again strongly at five different levels above this: in the village or primary housing group, in the small market centre or residential neighbourhood, in the town or city sector, in the city itself, and in the metropolis, the multiple city. At each level the creation of a physical environment is called for, both as a setting for the expression of this sense of community and as an actual expression of it. This is the physical heart of the community, the nucleus, THE CORE.¹²¹

Considering the idea of socio-urban fragmentation and unification, the element of community fits in perfectly. This is because the community constitutes unification and segregation at the same time; includes its

120 Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow and its Planning* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 109.

121 Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Post-War World; Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 138.

CIAM 8, 1951, focused on the CORE, or otherwise on the Heart of the City (from the Latin *Cor*).

members and excludes those who do not belong. But this is not a static condition and it is multifaceted as well. It all depends on the scale set and what is defined as a community. For example, one may not belong to a small community but belong to a larger one that includes the former—similar to the relationship between the city and the nation-state. In essence, the community is defined by what is shared or what is decided to be shared and therefore becomes a non-material and non-finite element.

A final glimpse at the social synthesis of Islamabad through the income distribution map shows the following: there is no intersection between the low and high income social groups and the transition between these two extremes is achieved through the middle-income class. Of particular interest are the boundaries between high and middle, as well as middle and low income groups. These areas are the main active zones in terms of social intermixing as they determine the meeting point between adjacent and therefore relatively cohesive social entities. Taking into consideration that development signifies an increase in per capita income, it is expected that people from the middle-income zone will tend to move to the high-income zone and accordingly, people from the low-income area will gradually move to the middle. Therefore, these boundary lines tend to change their position in the socio-urban tissue, following the development process. While these seem fully adaptable to socio-economic change, they keep intact the basic predefined social structure. This means that changes in income distribution do not affect the established relationships between the different income groups. This is interpreted as another aspect of Doxiadis' approach to planning, which defines the parameter of time as vital. In other words, as the Dynapolis model was conceived to ensure the longevity of the city over time, the social planning model implemented in Islamabad aimed at the same long-term perspective.

e. 'Islamabad is five minutes from Pakistan'

This is a sarcastic joke of the middle class, which becomes 'Islamabad is ten minutes from Pakistan' when expressed by low-income people.¹²² It confirms the view that Islamabad is 'a very expensive orchard'.¹²³ But from the outset, Islamabad was intended to be different from other cities in Pakistan—to be a benchmark for the country's development. At that time, the socio-economic environment of Pakistan was in transition and this was also reflected in the planning of the capital city. It is indicative that Doxiadis was trying at the same time to accommodate in Islamabad the *Coca-Cola* factory and the parking facilities for the tongas.¹²⁴ In this respect:

Tongas, which means carts carried [*sic*] by one horse and used in great extent by the middle and low income group people are to have access as close as possible to the houses. On the other hand, they are to station outside entertainment places, tea houses, shopping centres and communication termini.¹²⁵

Contradictions like this, occurring across the whole country, attest to Islamabad's divergence from the average conditions in Pakistan. Relevant to this is the fact that: '[...] though there are perennial complaints about the city's lifelessness, many Pakistanis consider it to be the most beautiful and liveable city in Pakistan'.¹²⁶

122 Matthew S. Hull, *Government of Paper; The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 34.

123 Vic Tapner, 'Islamabad: City without a Heart' in *Building Design*, no. 376 (1977), p. 12.

124 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 708/18-06-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.74/23618/pp. 1, 2.

125 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PI 1448/14-01-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.111/23645/p. 1.

126 Matthew S. Hull, *Government of Paper; The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 4.

But to some extent, the uniqueness of Islamabad translated into elitism. According to the press, even diplomats were reluctant to move to Islamabad, in part because it was too expensive. We read:

But the diplomats are well aware that not only is Islamabad a dull town, but its available accommodation is owned mainly by government, political and military favourites who charge exorbitant rents. [...]. Landlords in Rawalpindi and Karachi have been instructed not to renew any diplomatic leases after Dec. 31.¹²⁷

This article was written in 1967 and was still topical almost thirty years later. In 1995, Dusan Botka acknowledged the same problem in Islamabad, but not its connection to the master plan. He argued that:

The fact that Islamabad is turning more and more into an exclusive urban area, with the average income of its inhabitants far above the national average, is also frequently blamed on the original Master Plan. Again, it should be understood that the Master Plan represents only a general framework for development, to be filled in through the application of specific and continually evolving policies, such as also those concerning the social composition of its inhabitants. The CDA is well aware of this problem and policies are being framed to reverse this recent trend.¹²⁸

But this is only partly accurate. Undoubtedly, the layout of the Islamabad master plan could support any kind of social synthesis. The question, however, is what kind of social synthesis could support the required modern development. The idea of Islamabad as a springboard for Pakistan's development was inextricably linked to a financially robust society.

127 Warren Unna, 'Pakistan Move to New Capital Puts Squeeze on Diplomats', *Washington Post, Times Herald*, 13 August 1967, p. A23.

128 Dusan Botka, 'Islamabad after 33 years', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 62, no. 373/374/375 (1995), pp. 209-235, p. 231.

In this context, the existence of Rawalpindi was a key factor. Its proximity to Islamabad allowed for anything that did not fit in the context of the federal capital to be accommodated in Rawalpindi.¹²⁹ Both Brasilia and Chandigarh lacked this asset, as Richard Meier emphasised:

The bane of Chandigarh, Brasilia, and most less renowned new towns had been the squatter settlements of the construction workers clustering at the boundary. After the city construction went into low gear, most of these settlers refused to return to their home villages. They were smart enough to recognise business activities.¹³⁰

Rawalpindi proved to be a long-term support for Islamabad and vice versa, confirming one of Kostof's definitions of the city: 'A town never exists unaccompanied by other towns. It is therefore inevitably locked in an urban system, an urban hierarchy'.¹³¹

129 'There are few squatters in Islamabad; they were estimated in 1991 to have been around 12,000-13,000 inh, or some 5 percent of the total population. These figures do not mean that the squatter problem has been resolved in Islamabad. The squatters who are not allowed to establish themselves in Islamabad, because of more strict policing and development control, only reappear in larger numbers in Rawalpindi and in the wider area around Islamabad.'
Ibid., p. 234.

130 Richard L. Meier, 'Islamabad is already twenty-five', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 52, no. 312 (1985), pp. 212-216, p. 213.

131 Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p. 38.

4. ECUMENOPOLIS; CONCEPTUALISING GLOBALISATION AND URBANISATION INTO ONE SCHEME

a. From the city to the global city

On the occasion of arranging the transportation of a family member from the airport, I once used the web application that gives real time information about the flight status. The plethora of aircraft depicted on the global map attracted my attention, and I eventually identified a familiar pattern. The pattern of the varying densities of aircraft concentrated around the hubs closely resembled the image of Doxiadis' Ecumenopolis. The structure of the global transportation network, captured in quantitative and qualitative terms, actually visualises the interrelation and dynamics of human activities on a global scale. Taking as a starting point the idea of the city defined as a collection of 'purposive associations',¹ and considering the opportunities that technological advancement offers in terms of creating even more purposive interconnections, the question is raised. How far can the boundaries of a city reach?

In a paper written by Manuel Castells in 2008 there is clear indication of an urban development and restructuring that takes place nowadays on a global scale. It can be clearly seen:

The global process of urbanisation that we are experiencing in the early 21st century is characterised by the formation of a new spatial architecture in our planet, made up of global networks connecting major metropolitan regions and their areas of influence.²

1 Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company Inc., 1938), p. 480.

2 Manuel Castells, 'Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation: Reflections on the Spatial Dynamics of the Information Age', in *Urban Studies*, Special Issue: Urban Networks and Network Theory, 47, no. 13 (2010), pp. 2737-2745, p. 2737.

The same idea is to be found in Doxiadis' writings at the dawn of the Seventies, as can be seen in the following quotation:

The megalopolis of today, then, is at a comparable stage of its development to the London of 1800 seen as metropolis. At that time London was thought of as an agglomeration of villages; it did not turn into a unified daily urban system until the underground was built. Megalopolises can be expected to become integrated daily urban systems in the same way by the first half of the 21st century.³

Considering that megalopolises are urban entities of a higher hierarchical order, resulting from the synthesis of small megalopolises and consequently of metropolises—systems of lower order—the seemingly utopian nature of Doxiadis' unified global human settlement appears to have a real aspect. Otherwise, was Ecumenopolis simply a utopian idea, or are we still witnessing its formation as per Doxiadis' predictions? The attempt to answer this will be grounded on the examination of the very essence of Ecumenopolis and on the basis of its first materialised fragment: Islamabad.

As expected, Doxiadis was not the only one preoccupied with the problematic and discourse both about urbanisation and also with the planetary dimensions that this phenomenon was taking. Indeed, his vision shared common ground with representatives from other disciplines, which are considered to contribute directly, or not, to the formation of urbanity. This common ground was to be found principally in a visionary perspective of humanity's future. The historian Arnold Toynbee endorsed the advent of Ecumenopolis as an indisputable fact; more exactly: 'The coming of the World-City is a certainty [...]. We have therefore to act before we find ourselves confronted with the terrifying prospect of the World-City's coming to

3 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 285.

birth in an administrative chaos'.⁴ Doxiadis also found a fruitful source for interaction and mutual support in the work of the futurologist Herman Khan, who specialised in the systems theories, as well as that of Marshall McLuhan, who introduced the term 'Global Village' to express the impact of modern communication technologies on the present and future of humanity.⁵ Similarly, Buckminster Fuller 'aimed to highlight the possibility for a global reorganisation and coordination of the major issues humanity was facing'⁶ through the idea of a continuous continent, which was depicted on his Dymaxion map. Even if Doxiadis and Fuller were not fully aligned in their perceptions—the notion of perpetuity can be seen as exaggerated in Fuller's narrative—the existence of a common denominator is revealed.⁷ Doxiadis' continuous global city had its counterpart in Fuller's 'one-world island in a one-world ocean'.⁸

The present discourse can be addressed from two different but closely interrelated perspectives. Globalisation and 'complete urbanisation',⁹ if it is to follow Lefebvre's interpretation on the evolutionary tendencies of mankind, constitute distinct yet interwoven

4 Arnold Toynbee, 'Cities of the Past: Their Relevance Today', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 31, no. 182 (1971), pp. 109-114, p. 111.

5 Ray Bromley, 'Towards Global Human Settlements: Constantinos Doxiadis as Entrepreneur, Coalition-BUILDER and Visionary', in *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, ed. by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), pp. 316-340, p. 331.

6 Nikos Katsikis, 'Two Approaches to World Management: R. B. Fuller and C. A. Doxiadis', in *Implosions / Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanisation*, ed. by Neil Brenner, (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), pp. 480-504, p. 495.

7 Characteristically, Fuller suggested that progress could be defined by the principle of 'more and more with less and less until eventually you can do everything with nothing'.
Ibid., p. 494.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 494.

9 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 4.

realities. More specifically, if globalisation is to be understood as an

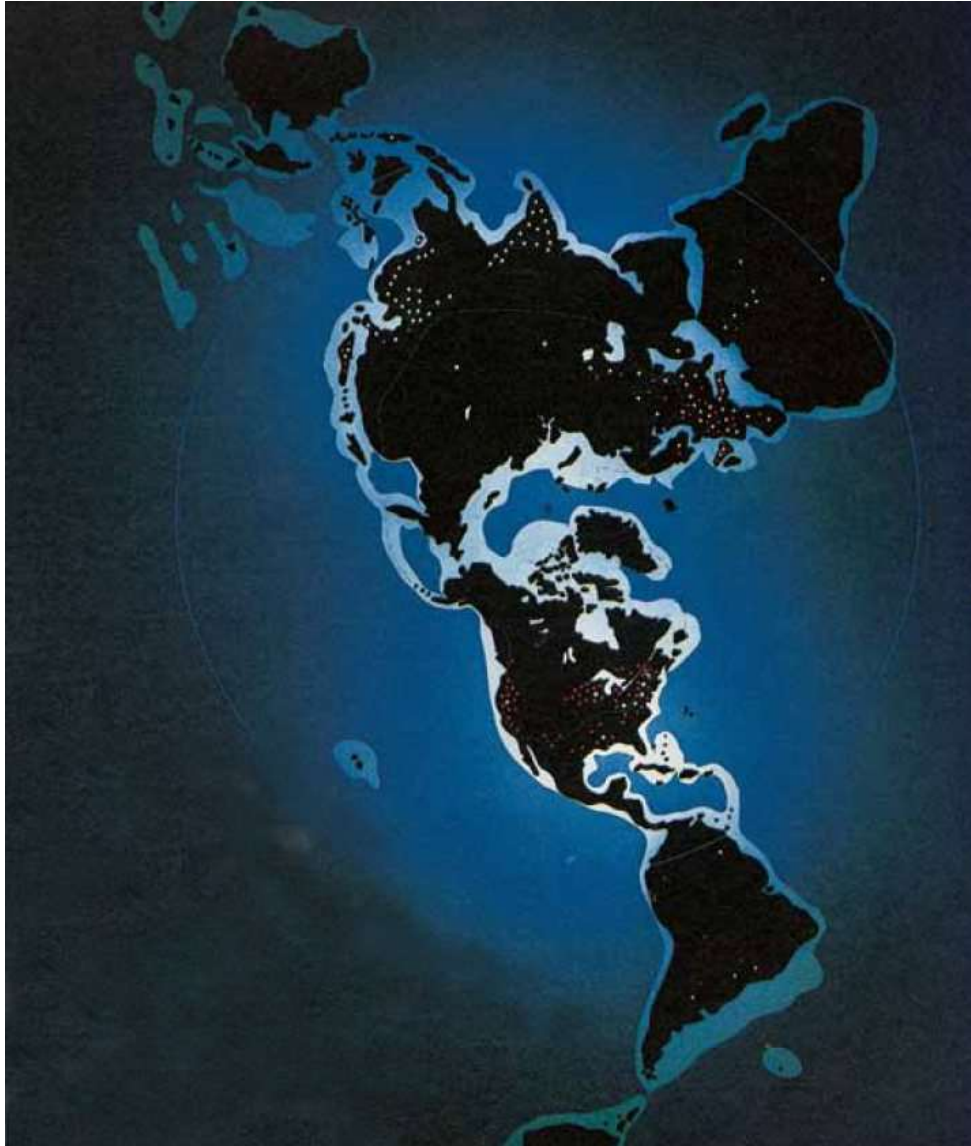


Figure 1: Fuller's Dymaxion Map, Nikos Katsikis, 'Two Approaches to World Management: R. B. Fuller and C. A. Doxiadis', in Implosions / Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanisation, ed. by Neil Brenner, (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), p. 495

inevitable phenomenon resulting from technological advancement—standardised modes of production, effective means of communication, etc.—urbanisation appears both as a derivative from the above and as an instrument for the establishment of the global as a commonly accepted value. The polemics for internationalism in the rhetoric of modern architecture can be interpreted as a precursor to a globalised urban reality. Le Corbusier, as a leading figure of the CIAM generation, praised the benefits derived from adopting worldwide planning methods. He saw internationalism as both desired and required: '[...] universal standard and complete uniformity in

detail. Under such conditions the mind is calm. Ideas of planning on a noble scale can then make themselves heard'.¹⁰ Calmness of mind corresponds to the desired ends, while the correlation of the scale at which an idea is applied to the impact produced implies the recognition that universality can perform as an instrument towards the desired ends; and therefore that the global becomes a prerequisite.

Lefebvre's notion of 'urban society' is highly relevant to this discourse. This term was coined with a view to defining the social restructuring that was initiated and further evolved as a consequence of the industrialisation process. According to Lefebvre, however, 'urban society cannot take shape conceptually until the end of a process during which the old urban forms, the end result of discontinuous transformations, burst apart'.¹¹ Considering this statement along with his own expectation of a generalised urbanisation, which might have been virtual at that time but it would assuredly be a reality in the future, a parallel with the spectrum of Doxiadis' thinking can be identified.¹²

Therefore, in the midst of a rapidly changing world—politically, economically, socially, technically and culturally—an urge for reconceptualising and capitalising urbanity becomes apparent. In this respect, the contribution of Doxiadis is both coherent and remarkable. The requirement for new urban forms presupposed a thorough analysis of the interdependent factors shaping urbanity and a deep understanding of their cause-effect cycle. In other words, if the urban had to be redefined, this would not be an incidental event, but instead a process encompassing purposes and strategies. To achieve this,

10 Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow and its Planning* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 74.

11 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 2.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Doxiadis configured a unified theory-practice approach to planning with a view to amalgamating all the critical parameters of urban development and ultimately to better control the required end result. Driven by the belief that humanity should aim for the ideal and that the ideal cannot actually be separated from the appropriate and the reasoned, Doxiadis imagined the future of mankind as inevitably intertwined with a universally structured urban fabric. Taking this as a starting point, he conceptualised the interdependence of globalisation and urbanisation in one scheme—Ecumenopolis—while insisting that the new urban reality was an incontestable fact. 'Ecumenopolis is coming; whether we do nothing or whether we take action, it is certain to happen'.¹³

b. Global city; an ideal, or a mechanism?

The basis of Doxiadis' approach lies in the following statement: 'If we have the courage and ability to imagine what the fourth future will be, we will help ourselves to see not only where we are going, but also what we must create in order to get there in the best possible way'.¹⁴ Thus, Ecumenopolis can be understood as an event that lies between the realm of the real and the imaginary. Its real aspect can be found in the severe socio-economic changes that industrialisation brought at a global scale, as well as in the way it has been communicated; Ecumenopolis was heralded as the inevitable city of the future. Since, however, the notion of the future was incorporated in the core of the Ecumenopolis concept, some aspect of the imaginary needed to be included. Should the imaginary, however, be perceived as synonymous with the utopian?

¹³ Constantinos Doxiadis, 'Culture and Ekistics', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 39, no. 234 (1975), pp. 285-288, p. 287.

¹⁴ C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 19.

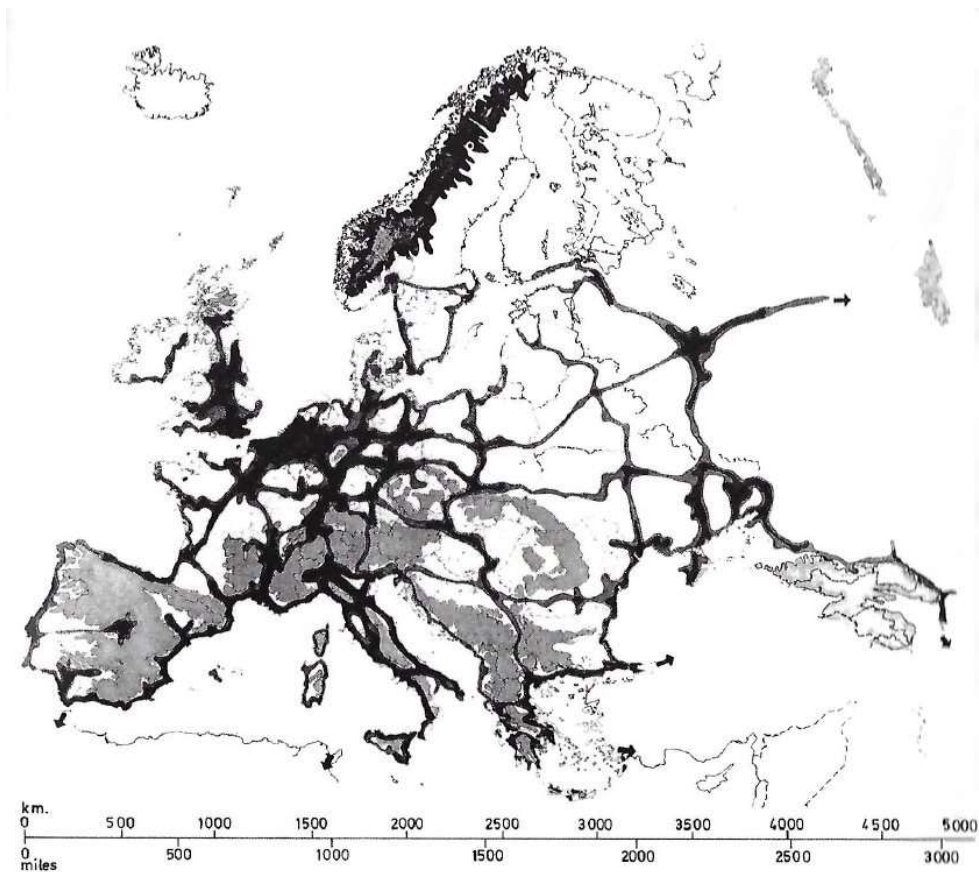


Figure 2: Europe as part of Ecumenopolis in 2060, Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: *Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements*], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtsis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 109

Doxiadis identified in the formation of a dystopian urban environment the challenges that people faced in terms of adapting to the requirements of the modern world. This idea of adaptation was not supposed to be limited to a passive conformity, but instead it was expected to become a process of actual development, which would ultimately lead to a new stasis of living. In his own words: 'Our generation suffers from the lack of an ideal city. As long as we do not set an example, as long as we do not tend towards this ideal, it is impossible to create the proper cities which are going to serve people.'¹⁵ This approach of Doxiadis finds a clear precedent in Patrick Geddes' analysis of eutopia. 'Eutopia, then, lies in the city around us; and it must be planned and realised, here or nowhere, by us as its citizens—each a citizen of both the actual and the ideal city seen

15 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 373.

increasingly as one.¹⁶ As per the author of the *Cities in Evolution*, the urban environment may be the ultimate expression of eutopia. Its achievement, however, is primarily a non-place matter, as it depends on the people's determination to transcend their personal limitations and gradually pursue the ideal until they reach it. Under this perspective, eutopia may be materialised here or everywhere.

Relevant to this discourse about the real and the imaginary, where the imaginary is not interpreted as a utopia, but instead as a path to perspective, appears to be Lefebvre's definition of the urban. 'The urban (an abbreviated form of urban society) can therefore be defined not as an accomplished reality, situated behind the actual in time, but, on the contrary, as a horizon, an illuminating virtuality. It is the possible, defined by a direction [...]'.¹⁷ In other words, the urban is a dynamic entity, which can be shaped either on the basis of its inner forces, or under the influence of external parameters. In this respect, Doxiadis—by means of his urban planning theories and a highly systematised approach—aimed to calibrate this nexus of forces and make them develop according to a predetermined direction. For Doxiadis, the idea of a globalised new urban reality was not synonymous with the possible, but rather with the inevitable. This, however, was not enough; eutopia could not be ensured on the basis of universality alone. The qualitative features of this possible or inevitable, reality were also highly prioritised on his agenda and depended on the direction to be followed, as well as on the policies to be adopted—an ideal had to be defined as an end result and a mechanism dedicated to the pursuit of this ideal had to be created.

As already mentioned, the conception of a world-city was not particularly innovative. Among others, Patrick Geddes identified in the

16 Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution; An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1915), p. vii.

17 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 16, 17.

formation of metropolises a precursor of the world-city, considering that the metropolis was the indisputable *locus* for the culmination of civilisation. It is interesting to note that Geddes, while locating in the city the prospects of progress, makes a conceptual shift in his discourse. In his words: 'The location of such a city [world-city] is wisely left undetermined; but of the magnitude and stimulating value of the conception, there can be no denial'.¹⁸ Under this perspective, the point of focus is clearly shifted from the spatial characteristics to the content of the urban entity. The idea of a globally shared culture, which would be expressed through urbanity, prevails over spatial features such as location, exact structure or extent of the urbanised area.

At this point a question is raised; if the idea of a world-city had emerged long before Doxiadis' Ecumenopolis, where does its importance lie? As a starting point, Ecumenopolis, or otherwise the unified global human settlement, was introduced not as fragmentary idea, but instead as a comprehensive approach. It was grounded on Ekistics theory, supported by specific urban planning models—the Dynapolis model—and communicated as an initiated reality through the materialised paradigm of Islamabad. Furthermore, it was introduced at a certain moment during which the effects of a rapidly changing world constituted an experienced reality and not a kind of futurology. In this respect and on the basis that human settlements, as preeminent expressions of living conditions, are undoubtedly influenced by the spirit of the times:

Settlements [historic] formed hierarchies of interlocking units at different scales, interrelated as to structure and function, in integrated systems. Modest rates of growth or decline permitted adaptation to changing conditions without any loss

¹⁸ Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution; An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1915), p. 278.

of identity or continuity [...]. The achievements and values, gained in historic settlements as a result of long and sustained effort, have been rapidly eroded. It is true that many factors contribute to this process of disruption, but behind most of them lies the acceleration of change.¹⁹

Ecumenopolis, therefore, emerged as an urban reality, which was meant to correspond to the trends of the era, meaning that it could address existing problems and simultaneously boost any available opportunities for prosperity. In other words, it was supposed to be rooted in the present and by means of a reasoned idealism to direct humanity towards a balanced and subsequently viable future. It was meant to be an urban reality that would allow adaptation to the changing needs without compromising its qualitative features at all stages of its development. Ultimately, another question is raised; was Ecumenopolis actually the targeted ideal, or an effective mechanism, which would support the achievement of the desired ends?

Doxiadis named Ecumenopolis as the 'Inevitable City of the Future', arguing that the destiny of human settlements was to be found in a unified urban scheme of planetary dimensions. If this concept was to be visualised, should it be imagined as a continuously structured area covering the whole globe? Undoubtedly, this would not be accurate. In Doxiadis' own words:

The *Inevitable City of the Future* is only indicative, as we have already emphasised. We use 'city' to stand as the symbol of Anthropos' organised system of life, and do not limit our project to the idea of the city as it is usually understood today.²⁰

19 Myrto Antonopoulou-Bogdanou and Christopher Ripman, 'The City of the Future—Ecumenopolis: Assumptions, Scopes, Alternatives', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 35, no. 207 (1973), pp. 63-77, p. 64.

20 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 23.

In this respect, the Ekistics theory was grounded on the principle of establishing a balanced interdependence among the five elements, which ultimately shape settlements: Anthropos, Nature, Society, Shells and Networks. This approach was to be applied to every human settlement, irrespective of its scale. The materialisation of this theory presupposed the hierarchical ordering of all fifteen ekistic units, starting from the individual human being and escalating to the room, the house, the group of houses and so forth, until reaching the unified and most complex structure of Ecumenopolis.²¹ The principle of hierarchical ordering was of paramount importance in Doxiadis' theoretical framework and in fact, his urban planning methodology can be described as an uncompromising synthesis of hierarchically ordered urban clusters—or more accurately, of hierarchically ordered systems of life. In design terminology, hierarchical ordering is analogous to scale. In reference to this, 'Ekistics, as a discipline concerned with metamorphic processes, required an analytical set of scales based on dynamic morphology—a classification scheme [...]'.²² And it is exactly this classification scheme that allowed Doxiadis to shift smoothly from scale to scale and ultimately to coordinate the modest low-income house with Ecumenopolis.

As already highlighted in a previous chapter, the city was to define the form and structure of the house and not vice versa. In other words, the requisitions of the most complex systems had to

21 1-Individual, 2-Room, 3-House, 4-Housegroup, 5-Small Neighbourhood, 6-Neighbourhood, 7-Small Polis, 8-Polis, 9-Metropolis, 10-Small Metropolis, 11-Small Megalopolis, 12-Megalopolis, 13-Small Eperopolis, 14-Eperopolis, 15-Ecumenopolis
Ibid., p. 10.

"Anthropos is not a settlement by himself, since he is only one of its elements, but he does have personal Shells (such as his clothing, his furniture, or his private vehicle) and he carries around him a minimum bubble of 'personal space' which is quite clearly defined for any given individual in any specific situation."
Ibid., p. 10.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

direct the formation of the simpler ones—the whole was supposed to guide the development of its fragments. The same correlation can be identified between Ecumenopolis and the subsystems shaping it and therefore, the globalised character tended to prevail over the local features in regards to the distinct and lower-order systems of life. This did not signify, however, the complete elimination of the notion of locality. On the contrary, considering the divergence in the level of development that the different regions over the globe usually present, a balanced fusion of local and global characteristics was necessary. Relevant to this is the remark of Professor Helen Fessas-Emmanouil, which highlights Doxiadis' 'ability to think globally and act locally'.²³ According to Doxiadis:

Within every city we shall inevitably have projects which are to some degree universal and to some degree local. We have projects within every city which, depending upon when they are to be built, will have varying proportions of international and local characteristics in their design.²⁴

A key word can be noted in the previous quotation; and this is 'when'. Once again, the time parameter is revealed as one of paramount importance. Progress can only be attained gradually in the course of time. It would be unrealistic to assume that modernisation could be achieved immediately and merely on the basis of decision making. Modernisation is synonymous with generalised progress, suggesting a progress that is not enjoyed by a minority elite, but on the contrary, is widespread on the lower layers of the social pyramid and ultimately constitutes part of the everyday life for the great majority of the population. Therefore, a coordinated strategy was needed to escape the risk of global modernisation becoming a utopian scenario. This

23 Helen Fessas-Emmanouil, 'The Architect and the Planner: Modernity and Tradition in the Work of Aris Konstantinidis and Constantinos Doxiadis', (Paper Presentation, Milano Technical University, School of Architecture, 2012), p. 43.

24 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 115/22-04-1962/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 43.

had to be found in a time-sensitive and above all self-sustaining mechanism.

Both the notion of time and that of a self-sustaining mechanism have a common denominator, suggesting the idea of continuity. The same idea constituted the core of Ecumenopolis, as the foreseen global human settlement was described as a continuous entity. The specified continuity, although, was not applicable in spatial terms, it could be achieved at a far more substantial level. The following paradigm can provide an insight on this matter:

London, for example, was once the capital of an empire, but it now lives by economic relations with the whole world. New York, Rio de Janeiro, Accra, Shanghai and Melbourne are similar cases. We can measure their built-up areas, and we can measure their daily urban systems, but we can only mentally conceive the global relationships which keep them alive because of their many interwoven Networks.²⁵

When continuity becomes deprived of its material hypostasis—interrelations can only be mentally conceived—and consequently the restrictions derived from materiality are eliminated, the idea of creating a continuous network of relationships acquires an unprecedented dynamic both in qualitative and quantitative terms. In other words, 'Ecumenopolis will come into being, binding together all the habitable areas of the globe as one interconnected network of settlements operating as one functional unit'.²⁶

In this respect, during a visit in Cairo a few years ago, I had the opportunity to experience the unparalleled traffic jams of the city. I wondered about the number of people inhabiting the place and to my surprise, I received the following answer; during the day, or at night? The fact was that to the eighteen million people who were

25 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 106.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 339.

residents of Cairo five million more had to be added each day, as this part of the population used to join the city area exclusively during daytime for employment purposes. Through this example, the multifaceted nature of the urban is highlighted, and Doxiadis' definition of the city as a system of life appears to be reasonable. This is to say that the city of Cairo, perceived in its material hypostasis, constitutes a static entity. If, however, the city is considered as a system of life, it presents remarkable variations. Five million people inhabit the greater metropolitan area of Athens, and it goes without saying that the difference between the two aspects of this system of life, mirroring Cairo during the day and Cairo at night, is astonishing. Furthermore, it needs to be taken into account that the condition of a great number of people traveling between workplace and home signifies the creation of additional systems of life. This is to say that a special network is developed, on the basis of the created human settlements—mainly residential clusters—at the periphery of the financial centre and on the basis of their interdependence. Otherwise, urban clusters are created, which are 'physically separated, but functionally networked, [...] [they are] connected by networks of transport and communication processing flows of people, goods, services and information'.²⁷

Considering the idea of functionally networked human settlements, the approach of Lewis Mumford, as expressed in *The Culture of Cities*, is highly relevant. In his discourse, the required unity of the urban was not to be found in the principle of centralisation, but instead in a process of classified distribution. This was supposed to be achieved, by means of a hierarchical ordering, which would prioritise qualitative over quantitative features, and most importantly,

27 Manuel Castells, 'Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation: Reflections on the Spatial Dynamics of the Information Age', in *Urban Studies*, Special Issue: Urban Networks and Network Theory, 47, no. 13 (2010), pp. 2737-2745, p. 2738.

would be based on an 'acuter sociological understanding'²⁸ with functional competence prevailing over numerical power. In his own words: '[...] every service grades upwards in functional and topographic specialisation, from the smallest residential quarter to the planet considered as man's home'.²⁹ Mumford made this argument in 1938, emphasising the undergoing changes of humanity and the expected impact on future generations: 'To embody them [new possibilities of urban life] in plans and programs and to dramatize the activities themselves in appropriate individual and urban structures, form the task of the coming generation'.³⁰ In 2008 Manuel Castells highlighted the interconnection of globalisation, urbanisation and networking, prioritising—in alignment with Mumford—the qualitative over quantitative features. In reference to this: 'And from these nodal landing places [specific clusters of a city], through the operation of advanced services, expands the economic and infrastructural foundation of the metropolitan region'.³¹ At the middle of the seventy-year period separating Mumford and Castells, Doxiadis conceptualised Ecumenopolis, on the basis of which, any human settlement, irrespective of its scale, could participate in the global development process. It was a matter of networking: 'We would like to emphasise that no matter how isolated and small any individual human settlement may look, because of communication and transportation

28 Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company Inc., 1938), pp. 491, 492.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 491.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 492.

31 Manuel Castells, 'Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation: Reflections on the Spatial Dynamics of the Information Age', in *Urban Studies*, Special Issue: Urban Networks and Network Theory, 47, no. 13 (2010), pp. 2737-2745, p. 2741.

systems it will still be a cell of the whole global settlement of Ecumenopolis'.³²

Taking into account Lefebvre's view of the urban, which 'can be considered to be a whole and an order',³³ along with his definition of the urban fabric, which concentrates 'all manifestations of the dominance of the city over the country'³⁴ without being limited to the conventional image of the city, Ecumenopolis can find further theoretical support. Doxiadis depicts thoroughly the image of a changing world resulting from the unprecedented population increase, the dissemination of mass production techniques, the generalised income increase, as well as the mobility of people that tended to spiral: ³⁵ 'The urban population increases far more than we realise, because not only do more people flow into the city, but the city flows out to embrace them'.³⁶ Speaking of the city, which grows, expands into the countryside and eventually merges with it, the visualisation of a continuity that transcends the materiality of the city becomes apparent. The urban environment, on the basis of its complex character and the dynamics it presents, turns out to be the initiating point for progress to spread. Therefore, it can be considered

32 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 253.

33 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 52.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

35 'We mentioned the example of the inequalities in incomes, and although average income levels are expected to rise on the global scale, this by no means indicates that people in every area of the world are going to become richer. This in itself is not something new; never in history has there been equality between people all over the globe, whether in the days of hunters, farmers, city-states, or empires.'

C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 234.

'[...] many ordinary people, not just feudal lords as was the case from ancient Rome until quite recently, are going to have a second home.'
Ibid., p. 290.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 281.

to be an effective instrument in terms of development policies and modernisation efforts. But progress is not to be limited to the generalised use of sophisticated technological means, as primarily, it comes along with social changes, which, undoubtedly, presuppose changes at the level of the individual. According to Doxiadis:

The 8,000-year-old distinction between urban and rural dwellers is going to vanish. Our society no longer needs hunters or peasants; for the first time in history agriculture is starting to depend on farmer-citizens, who are urban dwellers taking care of the farming interests of the community, not as social outcasts, but as equal citizens, and in future this will be more and more the case.³⁷

Industrialisation is synonymous with growth. One of the great challenges that the global society faced during the preceding century had been the distribution of the produced wealth. With a view to minimising the phenomena of social unrest and maximising the potentials for development, economic prosperity should include all social strata. Additionally, industrialisation connotes globalisation and therefore, any attempt at the amelioration of living conditions and the enhancement of development had to be addressed worldwide. In this respect, the assertion that 'the CIAM ideal for creating a better social world through physical interventions was now a world-wide issue'³⁸ appears to be justified. Social equality, as well as social maturity, was to be achieved not on the basis of an abstract ideology but through tangible actions and concrete materials. What is interesting, however, is that the power of materiality was to be used for the creation of an ideology. Undoubtedly, the provision of housing on a very large scale constituted an answer to specific and acute needs. Both Doxiadis and Le Corbusier urged the importance of addressing those needs, as

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

³⁸ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2002), p. 179.

failing to do so would lead to catastrophic results. More accurately, Doxiadis claimed that: 'Unless drastic measures are taken to reduce income gaps, the planet could well face local disturbances, revolutions, even world war. Yet even such drastic measures could only slow down, not reverse the trend'.³⁹ This statement confirms the problematic of Le Corbusier, as expressed through his famous question 'architecture or revolution'.⁴⁰ Industrialisation signified the mass production of goods, which, in fact, constituted testimonies of advancement; but advancement for whom? The idea of mass production by definition cannot correspond to a minority elite; its viability depends on mass accessibility, suggesting that mass production makes sense only if it is accompanied by mass consumption. Similarly, it depends on a massive labour force, which cannot be excluded from the progress course, as Le Corbusier explicitly described.

In the end their observation must lead them to some conclusion. These people have their eyes fixed on the display of goods in the great shops that man has made for himself.

39 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 326.

40 On the occasion of Doxiadis' visit at Adamjee jute mills and through his diary notes, the issues of coherence, equality and minimal provisions within the community are stressed. 'It is disheartening to visit these different types of houses which are either very defective or both defective and expensive and to think that the greatest factory of Pakistan is going to rely on labour which is going to live under such bad conditions. How is this human community supposed to take a stable form and function for the common good? Would that ever be possible as long as these big differences—from Rs 100 to Rs 100,000 per family house—of living conditions will exist? Community here should mean more than in any other industrial towns. Let us not forget that this whole development, although only in a few miles' distance from Narayanganj, is practically completely isolated from it and from any other place. Swamps, forests and lakes do not allow for any regular connection but through the river. It is really an isolated community, which will need some internal connecting links in order to survive and prosper, but these connecting links are not anywhere to be seen. There is no physical connection between the different elements of this community. Is it not characteristic that the greatest of this year's riots have taken place right in these mills?'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives/DOX-PP 20/OCT-NOV 1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 75.

The modern age is spread before them, sparkling and radiant
[...] on the far side of the barrier!⁴¹

Somehow, this barrier had to be shifted; it was a matter of justice and necessity.

An analogous metaphor was used by Doxiadis, who located this barrier at the walls of the historical city, separating the people into citizens and outcasts. Considering the historical city as the signifier of civilisation, Doxiadis saw in the demise of the city walls the advent of ecumenisation. According to his own words: 'everybody will be inside the City of Anthropos'.⁴² Doxiadis might have been a 'global optimist',⁴³ but still he acknowledged that absolute social equality could not be achieved. So, what exactly does Ecumenopolis represent? The unified global human settlement was defined as the totally balanced system of life. The idea of totality acquired both quantitative and qualitative features, suggesting that in terms of scale the whole planet was involved—planet Earth at that time represented the only known habitable space. The following quotation provides an insight of the sought values in relation to the human system of life:

Stretch your mind for a moment, and conjure up a future for mankind. Imagine a flourishing world set solidly on a foundation of balance. A richer world, in whose wealth all men can share. A world which provides its inhabitants with the energy which they need to achieve a satisfactory standard of living, in communities where human life can reach the fullness of its many dimensions. A world swept clean of the blights of famine, undernourishment and illiteracy, in which health and

41 Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986), p. 279.

42 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 40.

43 Ray Bromley, 'Towards Global Human Settlements: Constantinos Doxiadis as Entrepreneur, Coalition-BUILDER and Visionary', in *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, ed. by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), pp. 316-340, p. 328.

education have become the birthright of all. A world approaching full employment, wherein the distinction between work and leisure is breaking down. A world which offers access to both green space and urban amenities to all its citizens. A world whose settlements serve their inhabitants well, in new and different ways, offering each individual an identity and a place in which to work out a personal destiny, neither exploiting nor being exploited, but working in partnership with other men and the world around.⁴⁴

This narrative may sound quite idealistic, but it clearly defines the scale of the action plan to be implemented—the author refers to the word ‘world’ eight times—while simultaneously, it reveals a sequence of concrete steps to be taken—namely the redistribution of wealth, the mobilisation of individuals, the generalised improvement of living conditions, the enhancement of the community spirit, the prevalence of urbanisation and ultimately, the establishment of global coordination. Therefore, the question remains still valid; should Ecumenopolis be perceived as an ideal, or rather as a methodology?

Ecumenopolis was meant to be the unified global human settlement, or in other words, ‘the unique city of man, will form a continuous, differentiated, but also unified texture consisting of many cells, the human communities’.⁴⁵ Since the basis of the Ecumenopolis concept was that of the human settlement, it can be reasonably assumed that its material hypostasis would be highly prioritised. This,

44 Myrto Antonopoulou-Bogdanou and Christopher Ripman, ‘The City of the Future—Ecumenopolis: Assumptions, Scopes, Alternatives’, in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 35, no. 207 (1973), pp. 63-77, p. 76.

45 Constantinos Doxiadis, ‘Ecumenopolis: Tomorrow’s City’, in *Britannica Book of the Year 1968: Events of 1967*, ed. by Encyclopedia Britannica, (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1968), p. 21.

however, is only partly accurate. This is to say that while materiality

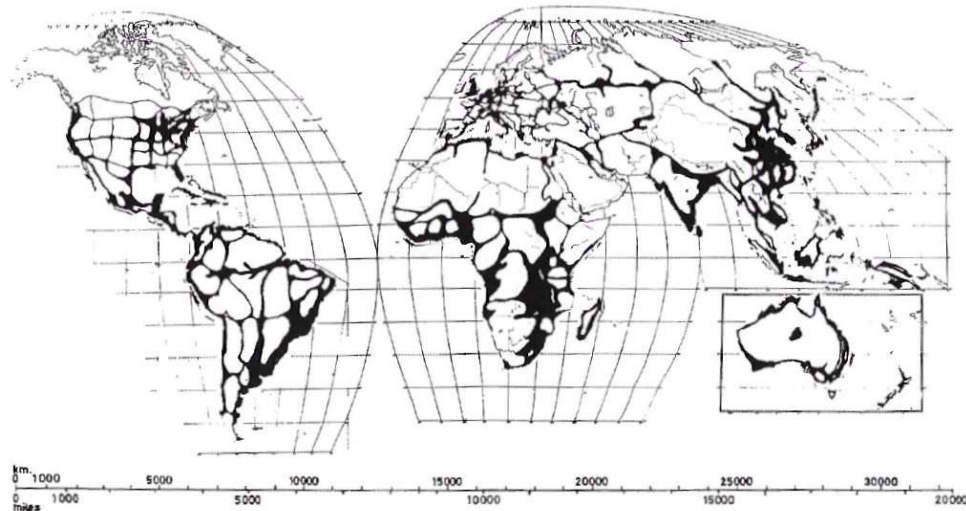


Figure 3: *Ecumenopolis in 2060*, Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: *Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements*], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtsis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 111

proved to be important in reference to the fragments of Ecumenopolis or of the systems of lower order that synthesise the global city, Ecumenopolis itself transcends materiality. In this respect, the confidence Doxiadis showed in terms of communicating the advent of the global city has been completely analogous with his certainty that the physical appearance of Ecumenopolis could not be conceived. Apparently, the theoretical framework of the city of the future was accompanied by various maps depicting urban densities, habitable areas, axis of transportation and communication and ultimately, predicting the image of Ecumenopolis at the different stages of its evolution. But, according to Doxiadis: 'Our conclusion is that it is too early to discuss possible new proposals for the configuration of Ecumenopolis'.⁴⁶ And in fact, besides being impossible it was also of a lesser importance; the global city was far from being a city in the conventional sense of the word. Instead, it was meant to be a top to bottom structured system, rationally synthesising at a global scale the basic factors that define urban life—economic, social, political and cultural. In alignment with the interpretation of Le Corbusier, which

46 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 376.

identifies 'reason [as] an open account stretching to infinity',⁴⁷ Ecumenopolis, as a reasoned system of life, could claim to be viable as a natural phenomenon evolving over time.

This is a critical aspect of Ecumenopolis, for while it was defined as a hierarchically structured system that precluded spontaneous gestures in its development, the idea of natural evolution was not completely eliminated.⁴⁸ On the contrary, natural growth along a predetermined path constituted a basic feature of Ecumenopolis and would be structured on the basis of objective—and thus incontestable—criteria:

There is one important conclusion to be drawn from all such studies: the structure of the settlements of the future on the large scale is going to have nothing whatever to do with anyone's personal and aesthetic theories of design; it is going to depend on the laws imposed by Nature, on Anthropos' real needs, and on his ability to organize the use of his technology to serve those needs.⁴⁹

47 Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow and its Planning* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987), p. 45.

48 'Such a hierarchical structure will be imperative for the correct functioning of the parts and the whole.'
Constantinos Doxiadis, 'Ecumenopolis: Tomorrow's City', in *Britannica Book of the Year 1968: Events of 1967*, ed. by Encyclopedia Britannica, (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1968), p. 22.

"[...] the city will not 'happen' because of coincidental inventions and random action."
Ibid., p. 21.

'Ecumenopolis is the identification of a highly probable, indeed inescapable, automatic development of human settlements, world-wide: a development that is not the desire of any one person or group of persons, but the natural, unavoidable outcome of forces inherent in man and nature.'
John G. Papaioannou, 'The City of the Future (COF)', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, Issue: Report on Ecumenopolis, City of Tomorrow (part 1): (Dedicated to the memory of C. A. Doxiadis, 1913-1975), 47, no. 282 (1980), pp. 175-228, p. 176.

49 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 308.

The principle of objectivity has been efficiently supported by means of introducing planning policies at a large scale, which simultaneously were characterised by a high degree of scientism. This is to say that the implementation of strategies addressing to a global audience presupposed the existence of a commonly shared platform, which, at least initially, could only be shaped by fundamental values. No one, for instance, could challenge the proposition that the improvement of living conditions constitutes a universal desire. Therefore, almost naturally, these fundamentals acquired the aura of objectivity, which in its turn was credited to the action plan itself. Could it ever be realistic for a global action plan not to present a certain degree of objective features? Assuredly, the answer is negative and in a sense, the idea of planning and acting at a global scale connotes an inherent objectivity.

This fact was to be further intensified, by means of adopting a highly scientific approach; on the assumption that scientific proof can only be objective. In this respect, Ecumenopolis, or the city of the future, was not merely a concept—either of an ideal, or of a mechanism. The ‘City of the Future’ constituted a research project, initially conceived in 1958 and ultimately launched in 1960. Its first phase was completed in 1971. From its inception, however, it was never meant to be conclusive—the research was supposed to accord with the perpetually developing nature of Ecumenopolis. It received funding from the Ford Foundation, while more than a hundred scientists from diverse disciplines contributed to this research. In the preface of the book on Ecumenopolis that constitutes the most complete presentation of the research results, the authors state:

We think we are now ready to present our findings in a way that can convey our whole experience of this subject and answer some basic questions about what the City of the Future will be like, not just in the form of a series of hypotheses—which they were at first—but as conclusions about which we can be certain. In doing this, we also hope to challenge those

who have different ideas to present them in a similar way, and so help humanity to escape the confusion it is in about living in cities today.⁵⁰

The highpoint of this effort to prove the validity of the global city concept can be considered to be the materialisation of Islamabad as its first fragment.

Summarising, two elements prevail; those of globalisation and urbanisation, which Doxiadis attempted to merge into one single scheme. Both globalisation and urbanisation can be understood as the inevitable results of the dominance of industrial production, signifying the advent of major socio-economic changes. The worldwide spread of standardised production methods and the augmentation of networking abilities, in reference to communication and transportation means, created the proper conditions for the orientation of humanity towards the global and the urban. In an attempt to visualise these conditions, the global map could be imagined to include a considerable number of nodes, created on the basis of intense industrial activity, economic growth and urban development. The dynamics of each separate node signify the existence of different levels of activity, whether it is of local, regional, or global character. Therefore, each node can be considered to interact with numerous others, creating a nexus of interconnections on the global map mentioned above that changes in the course of time. Following Taylor's interpretation of globalisation, which suggests that it is 'explicitly about a space of flows',⁵¹ Ecumenopolis represents the whole spectrum of flows worldwide. Undoubtedly, not all flows are of global importance. What is, however, of global importance is the conceptualisation of all possible nodes and flows

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

⁵¹ Peter J. Taylor, 'World Cities and Territorial States under Conditions of Contemporary Globalisation II: Looking Forward, Looking Ahead', in *GeoJournal*, Issue: The New Europe, 52, no. 2 (2000), pp. 157-162, p. 159.

into a continuous entity, which ultimately turns the idea of globalisation into a reality. Without nodes there can, of course, be no flows.

If globalisation is to be seen as the unified system of flows between nodes, then urbanisation becomes the instrument for the formation, or the reformation, of these nodes.⁵² The urban, as a way of living—and it is not irrelevant that Doxiadis defined the human settlements as systems of life—constitutes the means to achieve the required coherent continuity for globalisation to emerge. In other words, a consistent value system had to be structured; a system that would be applicable worldwide and define all aspects of human life—social, economic, administrative, etc. The urban, as a complete fragment of human life in terms of complexity, becomes the theatre of action for the development of a shared platform of existence—where existence also stands as a manifestation of established relationships and growth. The core of this commonly accepted way of being can be identified in the notion of culture, as ‘socio-political forms and processes [...] built upon cultural materials’.⁵³

Ecumenopolis is defined as a self-sustaining global system of life, or otherwise as a naturally evolving system, but one with a predetermined direction. In this context and considering culture as ‘the tending of natural growth’,⁵⁴ Ecumenopolis can find in the

52 ‘Megalopolis will therefore play an increasingly important role in forming the framework of regional unification. It can provide the means for breaking through the national boundaries, and can help us towards internationalism, which is essential if we are to cope with the problems of the new regional scales.’

C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 329.

53 Manuel Castells, ‘The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance’, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Issue: Public Diplomacy in a Changing World, 616 (2008), pp. 78-93, p. 80.

54 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 2013), p. 335. [This book first appeared in 1958, when the post-war political consensus was still a powerful force in the UK. It only began to be intentionally dismantled after Thatcher gained power in 1975.]

concept of culture the appropriate basis for its formation. Both Ecumenopolis and culture share the same principles in relation to the mechanism of their evolution and furthermore, they present the same pattern in terms of interrelating the individual with the collective. This is to say that while their power and ability to produce impact—in fact their very existence—originates from the spread to the social strata, at the same time the active participation of the individual is considered to be a prerequisite. According to Raymond Williams:

The idea of a common culture brings together, in a particular form of social relationship, at once the idea of natural growth and that of its tending. The former alone is a type of romantic individualism; the latter alone a type of authoritarian training.

Yet each, within a whole view, marks a necessary emphasis.⁵⁵

Accordingly, development can be seen as a directed, yet self-sustaining process that determined the globalisation-urbanisation duality in the midst of the preceding century, through the cultivation of a culture of consumption.

Ecumenopolis can be interpreted as the conceptualisation of globalisation and urbanisation into one scheme. The demand for a globalised approach of life, or otherwise for the formation of a global community—which was already initiated due to industrialisation and worldwide networking—presupposed the reformation of traditional scale communities and subsequently the reformation of individuals. In a sense, the globalisation process entailed a return to the basics in order to acquire the energy needed for its full development. The urban became the workshop for a new culture to be cultivated; a culture of development, which would start from the individual and the house and evolve further following more complex social structures until it reaches the scale of the planet. In this respect: 'Any culture, in its whole process, is a selection, an emphasis, a particular tending. The distinction of a culture in common is that the selection is freely

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

and commonly made and remade'.⁵⁶ The words 'selection', 'emphasis' and 'tending' connote consciousness and direction and therefore a particular structure. Once these characteristics acquire a collective aura, the process of social structuring is signified. It is exactly at this point that the idea of a self-sustaining system finds its verification, as the reproduction of patterns—social, economic, or administrative—based on free will and following the acceptance at the level of the individual. In a sense, the reproduction of patterns, as described above, finds its counterpart in the process of industrial production, which follows a path of optimisation and standardisation before it spreads to the world; the concept of reproduction constitutes a key factor—whether it is about goods, beliefs, or social motifs.

Summarising, globalisation can neither be conceived nor materialised unless it merges with urbanisation. This merging, however, presupposed the reconceptualization and capitalisation of the urban, with urban entity should no longer be seen as an autonomous unit, but as a fragment of the global whole. The same pattern of hierarchical ordering was to be established within the boundaries of the urban entity—the individual was to be recognised as a member of the community. Therefore, this sequence of interrelations, ultimately, links the individual with the aspired global reality. Taking into consideration this continuity of interconnections, the idea of planning globally and implementing policies at the level of the individual with a view to produce impact back on the global scale becomes feasible. A typical paradigm in relation to this approach constitutes the capitalisation of the house; a determinant of personal well-being, which has proven to be a regulator of the world economy. Twentieth-century mass housing policies emerged as a response to acute needs and as a means of development—personal development became the basis for generalised growth. In this respect:

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Households in the richer parts of the world have taken on a new crucial role in the twentieth century as massive consumers. More and more the world-economy relies upon the expenditure patterns of households in the core at the final consumption node of commodity chains.⁵⁷

Peter Taylor interestingly highlights the magnitude of the impact that housing can create, through his view of households 'both as the purveyors of culture to produce peoples and as the creators of labour to produce classes'.⁵⁸ But in order to be viable this idea presupposes large-scale actions and therefore, centralism in decision-making. At this point another question arises; considering Ecumenopolis as the unified global human settlement, how will it be governed?

Ecumenopolis was meant to be the unified global community and this fact signified the establishment of a coordinated leadership at all stages of its development. Even if it is accepted that humanity inevitably tended to globalisation under the influence of industrialisation, the purposive materialisation of a unified global entity specified a differentiated framework. This is to say that the formation of Ecumenopolis—at least in the initial stages—depended on the formulation of strategies and the implementation of policies, which might have presented variations following the different levels of development around the world, while generally pursuing a common objective. Under this perspective, the existence of a powerful and centralised political leadership along with a competent administrative mechanism became a prerequisite. Predictably, Doxiadis considered the emergence of modern urban structures and the creation of new administrative models as inseparable events. In this respect:

Many problems arise in the administration of human settlements today all around the world, though to a reduced

57 Peter J. Taylor, 'Understanding Global Inequalities: A World-Systems Approach', in *Geography*, 77, no. 1 (1992), pp. 10-21, p. 17.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

extent under communist regimes which have a central authority of greater power [...]. Local administration belongs to the type of settlements that existed in the past.⁵⁹

It is noteworthy that although Doxiadis did not share common ground with the Soviet bloc, he did not hesitate to praise the benefits sourcing from an absolutely strong political leadership of this kind.

The idea of a central political authority can be seen as intertwined with Ecumenopolis both as a prerequisite and as a result. This is to say that while Ecumenopolis' formation depends on the coherence of governance, the unified global community cannot be considered as fully developed, unless it is accompanied by a unified leading elite. It is self-evident that 'the process of globalisation has shifted the debate from the national domain to the global debate, prompting the emergence of a global civil society and of ad hoc forms of global governance'.⁶⁰ But it is also self-evident that the creation of a global governing body constituted a complex task. A centralised and therefore strengthened political leadership can easily be diverted to totalitarianism. This prospect conflicted with the generalised demand for democracy in the aftermath of World War II, as well as with the consideration that democracy was still at stake.⁶¹ Doxiadis acknowledged the peril, however, and prioritised the formation of Ecumenopolis according to the following statement:

59 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 130.

60 Manuel Castells, 'The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance', in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Issue: Public Diplomacy in a Changing World, 616 (2008), pp. 78-93, p. 78.

61 'In the political realm there was, first and foremost, the ongoing threat that democracies would be consumed by totalitarian adversaries, a threat which continued long after the danger of a Nazi dominion over the Western world had been erased.'
Sarah Williams Goldhagen & Rejean Legault, 'Introduction: Critical Themes of Postwar Modernism', in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. by Sarah Williams Goldhagen & Rejean Legault, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 11-22, p. 12.

We can say that a real Ecumenopolis will need a unified global government of some sort, but we cannot say how democratic such a government will be in any phase of its development. We can only say that because of the common dreams of modern Anthropos there is good hope that that it will be sufficiently democratic in form.⁶²

The complexity of establishing a global governing body was not limited to the threat that democratic values were thought to be facing. The existence of conflicting contexts, interests and agendas throughout the world hinders the creation of a unified leadership.⁶³ In this respect:

Although we cannot say that a unified world government will definitely be established during the period covered by this study, it is fully justifiable to assume at least a movement in that direction. It is reasonable to believe that in the long run humanity will become aware of the sinister consequences of any movement away from increasing internationalisation.⁶⁴

Especially at this particular historical moment—the middle of the twentieth century—two main conflicting trends can be observed. The emergence of new nation states in the aftermath of World War II and the decolonisation process coincided with the urge for globalisation. In other words, the emerging sovereign states had to form a strong national identity and simultaneously to integrate with the global community. This combination cannot be considered to be promising

62 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 388.

63 “[...] it will thus be seen that a world balance replacing the present ‘bipolar’ system will have to be achieved through some World Authority [...]. It would be of course a world authority and not a world government, since clearly the idea of direct elections to a world parliament would be inconceivable at any rate before the end of this century.”
Lord Gladwyn, ‘World Order and the Nation-State: A Regional Approach’, in *Daedalus*, Issue: Conditions of World Order, 95, no. 2 (1966), pp. 694-703, p. 702.

64 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 239.

for the establishment of a global governance. Interestingly, however, these seemingly contradicting values—national versus global—have been used on a mutually supportive basis. This is to say that the effort for global integration became the instrument for the enhancement of national pride and political leadership as well; the great achievement of a new nation was meant to be its equal participation in the new world structure and the praise was to be given to the leading figures who orchestrated the endeavour.

At that time, it may have been premature, if not utopian, to start a debate on the establishment of a world government, however, the tendency towards globalisation constituted a fact. Similarly, it was a fact that the materialisation of the global ideal depended on the existence of a shared platform of thinking and acting, as well as of a coordinated leadership.⁶⁵ The formation of global institutions and organisations flourished in response to this need. Fifty years separate us from Ecumenopolis' inception and we have witnessed some steps towards its materialisation; however, there are even more steps to be taken if Ecumenopolis is to be a reality. This remains to be seen; but from Doxiadis' point of view the question was limited to when and not if this would happen:

65 Doxiadis in one of his letters emphasises the importance of establishing internationally accepted regulations:

'Basically, the rules of work and the rules of the game are still missing. I will refer to football. If football is played properly today in all parts of the world and without the need of foreign coaches, it is due to the existence of very strict rules; a foul cannot be questionable. I expect that you will challenge this on the basis of the continuing violence at football matches; football fans are still fighting all over the world and in many cases the police have to intervene. Indeed, all the above happen, but on a small scale. Just imagine if football did not follow global rules, but instead, it was to be played according to local rules sourcing from local leagues and local authorities. Conclusion: The rule is of great importance; I would say the law—the law in the broadest sense—an all-inclusive law.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives/C-DA 3657/08-05-1963/Correspondence between Doxiadis and Kostas Kakissopoulos/p. 1.

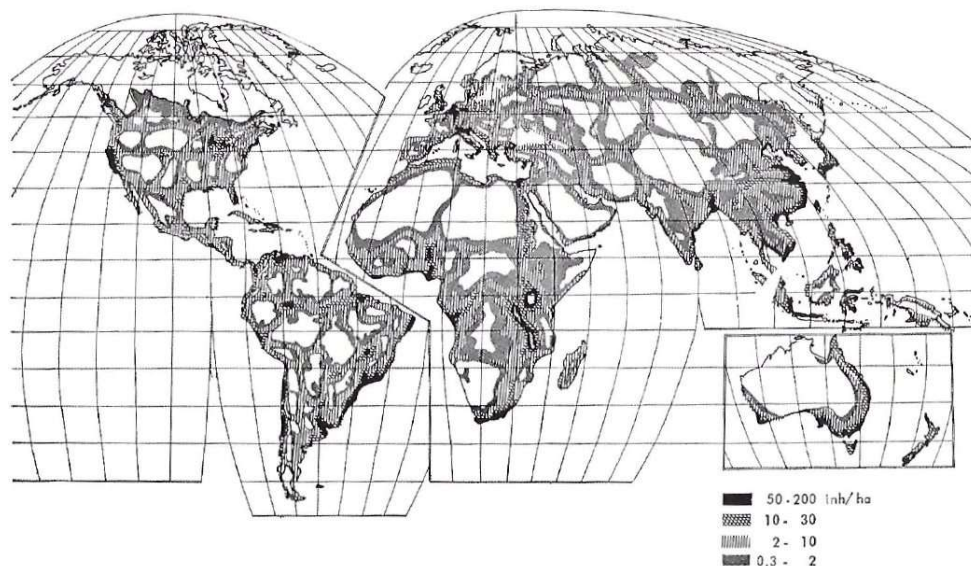


Figure 4: *Ecumenopolis in 2100*, Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης: *Κείμενα, Σχέδια, Οικισμοί* [Constantinos A. Doxiadis: *Texts, Design Drawings, Settlements*], ed. by Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtis (Athens: Ikaros, 2006), p. 137

According to our most optimistic prognostication, the day celebrating the creation of Ecumenopolis and the establishment of this new state of balance will take place in the year 2075. According to our most pessimistic one, in that year, whoever is the global leader will deliver a speech declaring that it is the goal of all men to reach such a state of balance and will name the date by which it should be achieved.⁶⁶

c. Islamabad as the first materialised fragment of Ecumenopolis

The exact date of fulfilment of the concept of Ecumenopolis may still be unknown, but the day when the first conscious step in this direction was taken is known. It was the day that the Islamabad master plan was approved. In this respect:

An overall importance is attached to the creation of Islamabad, both where Pakistan itself is concerned in the field of creating happy settlements and ensuring the welfare of its people and

⁶⁶ C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 383.

also beyond its borders, where Islamabad will be seen as the first rational example of the city of the future. These facts make it imperative that this project should become a pilot project for Pakistan, a pilot project for the city of the future, and at the same time an extensive training project.⁶⁷

As already noted, the 'City of the Future' was a research project that commenced in parallel with the planning of Islamabad. But if the concept of Ecumenopolis had not at that point been fully grasped, what was the meaning of Islamabad as its first materialised fragment?

According to Doxiadis, to fully understand Ecumenopolis: 'we have to work in a scientific way; observe, develop, theorise and experiment'.⁶⁸ In a sense, Islamabad was meant to be a comprehensive experiment in support of the formulation of the concept of Ecumenopolis. Furthermore, globalisation emerged at that time as the inevitable future of humanity and it was important to realise how Islamabad as a modernist city could serve this purpose. Given that Ekistics and Dynapolis formed the basis for both Ecumenopolis and Islamabad, it was entirely justified for them to develop in the same direction and according to the conviction that: 'Human settlements are a great deal more than static, built up areas. Settlements are processes, systems in a continuous state of flux [...]'.⁶⁹ In fact, Ecumenopolis and Islamabad were depictions of the concept of human settlement at different stages of development; one predicted and one implemented. But if the reality of Islamabad could be integrated into the envisioned city of the future, this could be seen as a tangible aspect of Ecumenopolis, challenging from the outset any hint of utopia.

67 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 376.

68 David Briggs, 'Review: TPI – Doxiadis on the synthesis of human settlements' in *The Architect's Journal*, 27, no. 149 (1969), p. 1802.

69 C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 7.

According to Doxiadis: 'the analysis of settlements cannot be separated from the fourth dimension, that of time',⁷⁰ which translates into the need for dynamic urban planning. More exactly:

There is no reasonable way to limit the growth of cities, as this is due to forces of our era which are beyond the city's reach and cannot be reversed [...]. We are only justified and we have the possibility to control the growth of the city of the future in order to make it comply with its role, a role which is pre-described by many other forces—economic, social, political and cultural—of a national or international importance. And this is what Dynapolis can do.⁷¹

The perpetual reproducibility of urban units—spatial and social—according to a predetermined hierarchy aims to address—at least in principle—Kostof's problematic, which recognises in social homogeneity the disintegration of the city and in social fragmentation the disintegration of the community.⁷² The logic of the system in Doxiadis' approach to urban planning was intended to ensure the longevity of the socio-urban balance—in his own words: 'these growing and changing systems of settlements are natural and inevitable'.⁷³ Starting from the premise that fundamental human needs are not susceptible to changes, he identified in the implementation of a time-sensitive formula of predetermined interrelations the prospect of creating viable cities. But this can be challenged, given the example of Islamabad. The juxtaposition of the master plan with a satellite image of today reveals that the expansion of the city goes beyond the rigidity of the original design. The

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷¹ C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 142.

⁷² Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), p. 207.

⁷³ C. A. Doxiadis & J. G. Papaioannou, *Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future* (Athens: Athens Publishing Centre, 1974), p. 274.

expansion of Islamabad was accompanied by the demise of the grid. Furthermore, some of the sectors developed according to the initial plan have now be infiltrated by urban developments that go beyond the orderly nature of the grid. But the importance of such divergences diminishes when everything is seen from the perspective of Ecumenopolis. Characteristically, Doxiadis noted: 'Conditions in large-scale settlements are not damaged by non-realistic new ideas [...].',⁷⁴ and 'non-realistic schemes can be put into practice only on a small scale, [...].',⁷⁵ revealing the strengths of large-scale planning.

Botka interpreted the Islamabad master plan as a simple 'planning recipe' that could form the basis of urban development in the developing world—the reproducibility of its pattern fits well with the needs of rapid growth. But he also identified the need to reconsider this approach for better adaptation in the context of the expansion of existing cities.⁷⁶ This does not contradict Doxiadis' framework, as the uniformity of the solutions to be implemented depended on the existing conditions. But it goes without saying that uniformity was highly prioritised. In this respect:

In such cases we ask ourselves whether we should try to be different, and reach the unavoidable conclusion that we have no right to be different where the conditions themselves impel us to remain unchanged. We should not be afraid to express ourselves in the same way and repeat something that is good. After all, no doctor is afraid to use a medicine because it has been used before.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁷⁶ Dusan Botka, 'Islamabad after 33 years', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 62, no. 373/374/375 (1995), pp. 209-235, p. 229.

⁷⁷ C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 115/22-04-1962/On Architecture in Islamabad/36569/p. 43.

But, the evaluation of the existing conditions is related to the parameters of scale and prioritisation—the scale from which the conditions and priorities are examined in relation to the objectives set. Therefore, the connoted objectivity—as an expression of the existing—depends on subjective interpretations and requirements. This means that the Islamabad master plan was determined by the global context with which it was intended to comply—the existing conditions in Pakistan were interpreted from a global rather than a local perspective, resulting in a specific action plan.

According to Botka, Islamabad was 'the most simple framework for an open-ended development, fully meeting all spatial and functional needs under conditions of fast growth'.⁷⁸ The modernist city of Islamabad was not merely intended to represent, but also to translate into the process of modern development. This explains why it was important for it to be intertwined with the concept of Ecumenopolis. The 'open-ended development' of Islamabad could only make sense and be understood in a broader context. The same is true of Doxiadis' theory of the hierarchically ordered systems of life; it remains incomplete unless extended to all possible scales, endangering the entire structure. Ecumenopolis provides the widest possible area of thought and action, while defining a clear direction—at the same time, however, it is open and specific. The same qualitative features can be identified in the Dynapolis model, which can be seen as a tool for planning the unplanned.

⁷⁸ Dusan Botka, 'Islamabad after 33 years', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 62, no. 373/374/375 (1995), pp. 209-235, p. 228.

5. COMMUNICATING THE ISLAMABAD MESSAGE

a. From meaning to message

During the presentation of the preliminary Master Plan and Master Programme, the Chairman had been pleased to express that the presentation of the final Master Plan would be done on the Revolution Day when a suitable ceremony for laying some foundation stone should also be performed. The case was discussed with the Chairman the other day by me and I suggested that in my opinion, it would be proper to lay the foundation stone of the Capital not on any one particular building, which can be done separately in due course when the plans etc., are ready. For the foundation stone of the Capital the following three places were considered: i) the Shakarparian Hill on the spot where the first Cabinet Meeting in Islamabad was held, ii) the monumental hill, iii) any place in front or near the Presidential Palace. In my opinion, No. (i) is the most suitable. The Chairman agreed and desired that our views may be conveyed to the Consultants for giving the design and comments for the foundation stone ceremony.¹

This letter, written by the Director General of the Federal Capital Commission and addressed to Doxiadis Associates, reveals another aspect of the story of making Islamabad, which is of no lesser importance. Particularly, if Lefebvre's view is to be considered in reference to the notion of 'deceptive'² space, or otherwise, the space which 'is produced especially in order to be read'.³

1 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 870/15-08-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.75/23619/p. 1.

2 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 143.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

The creation of the new Federal Capital of Pakistan was meant to be a highly influential project, the impact of which was aimed at changing the socio-economic structure of the country. Under this perspective, Islamabad could only be determined by politics; and politics cannot be separated from communication policies. This brief letter confirms the urge for communicating the message of Islamabad and capitalising the new Federal Capital before it is even materialised. In other words, the presentation of the final master plan had to be accompanied by a ceremony, the event had to take place on the Revolution Day—commemorating the fact that the Khan Regime came to power—a foundation stone had to be laid at a time Islamabad existed only on paper, while its placement had to be directly linked to the role of Islamabad as the seat of government. For all the above, consultation with Doxiadis Associates was deemed necessary.

This quotation may provide a hint concerning the zeal of Pakistan's political authorities to communicate Islamabad for their own benefit. The same was true, however, for Doxiadis Associates.⁴ This is to say that the multi-faceted nature of the Islamabad project corresponded to a similarly elaborated nexus of communication tactics. In brief, Islamabad had to be communicated at a national level since it was destined to be the cornerstone of Pakistani identity and pride, as well as internationally, inasmuch as it constituted the vehicle for Pakistan to join the global community and share its aspirations and efforts for economic development and modernisation. For Doxiadis, the practice of communicating the success story of Islamabad—albeit presumed at that moment—was intended to

⁴ This comes from the internal correspondence of Doxiadis Associates and refers to the first Cabinet Meeting held in Islamabad. 'Mr. Maris dropped the idea, which you have probably already thought about, of placing a memorial plaque or column at the site where the first Cabinet Meeting in Islamabad took place and the preliminary master plan was approved. As this is not a bad idea at all and we may take advantage of it, please consider it and if you agree, we can prepare the design of a plaque or column along with the relevant text for submission to the Capital Development Authority.'
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PK 85/26-05-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.80/23624/p. 1.

increase his reputation as an urban planner committed to development and therefore to expand his international clientele, to enhance the already established relationship with the Khan Regime—on the basis of a proven mutually beneficial partnership—and to support the sponsorship received from international institutions, on the basis again of providing evidence of exemplary achievements.⁵ Nevertheless, and despite the particular context of Islamabad's creation, the role of any capital city is not limited to that of the seat of government; by definition, the capital city constitutes the country's focal point in terms of communication and representation both domestically and abroad. In other words, political spaces such as capital cities 'are embedded with key clues about a nation's power structure and nonverbal commentary about its people and civilization'.⁶

5 'On a hill opposite the Acropolis in this ancient Greek city is the office of an architect who is probably the No.1 city planner of the world. He is Constantine Doxiadis, who has been helping revamp out-of-date cities or build new cities in 16 countries of the world [...]. One of his most spectacular plans is for Islamabad, the new capital of Pakistan, which in 15 years will have a population of 2 million.'

Drew Pearson, 'The World's No.1 City Planner', *Washington Post*, 9 September 1963, p. B23.

'Constantinos Doxiadis is a planner who is influencing a good part of the environmental destiny of the world. As the head of a double operation—Doxiadis Associates, a 700-man profit-making concern of consultants, and the Athens Centre of Ekistics, a non-profit research and education organisation—he directs one of the world's largest and most far-flung planning offices. Probably the best-known member of a profession growing increasingly busy as the urban crisis worsens, he has become planning's supersalesman, beating an international path to countries in trouble [...]. With a grasp of the future that makes the Delphic oracle look like an amateur, the Doxiadis concern is revamping whole continents and shaping cities everywhere except in the Communist countries.'

Ada Louise Huxtable, 'Urban Planning Boasts a World Supersalesman', *New York Times*, 8 July 1969, p. 45.

'Such work [planning] is under one of Dr Doxiadis' hats—professional practice. He wears another as director of the Centre of Ekistics. Housed at the opposite end of his Athens headquarters, the centre is supported by foundation grants, in part from Ford and Rockefeller funds, and some Doxiadis Associates profits.'

Ibid., p. 45.

6 Michael Z. Wise, *Capital Dilemma: Germany's Search for a New Architecture of Democracy* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), p. 14.

Taking this into consideration, any capital city is the bearer of a message, but to the extent that 'space is at once result and cause, product and producer'⁷ a more sophisticated process is revealed. This is to say that the message conveyed cannot be perceived as a static event; on the contrary, through the inevitable process of interpretation and learning it becomes an evolutionary force. But if the focus of attention is to be shifted from the act of changing to the direction of change, then the implementation of communication policies acquires a significant role. In this respect:

A work also creates its public. In this way it enlarges the circle of communication and properly initiates new modes of communication. To that extent, the recognition of the work by the audience created by the work is an unpredictable event.⁸

Similarly, if urban society originates in urban space, the recognition—as equal to acceptance—of the values that urban space represent might be challenged; and this is as though urban society challenges the values of its own existence. The unpredictable nature of this event, however, can be counteracted—at least to some extent—by means of comprehensive communication tactics, which are to be implemented in a timely manner—for instance, along with the genesis of the work. Islamabad can be perceived as a paradigm of this kind.

The present chapter will be dedicated in analysing the various aspects of the communication policies that accompanied the creation of the federal capital of Pakistan. Through the available archive material, the commitment of all parties involved to maintain the message of Islamabad intact and to communicate it promptly and clearly becomes apparent. This communication frenzy, which included but was not limited to ceremonies, exhibitions, or publications,

⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 142.

⁸ Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976), p. 31.

constitutes the counterpart of the decision to develop Islamabad on a *tabula rasa* basis. The empty grounds of Potwar Plateau offered the best potential for structuring a meaningful place that would be exempted from ambiguities; the meaning and purpose to be served could be found in perfect harmony. In this context, it goes without saying that a communication strategy would be both necessary and effective, as 'the message has the ground of its communicability in the structure of its meaning'.⁹ Summarising, the key questions to be addressed in this chapter are why it was critical to communicate the Islamabad message and how this process unfolded, or otherwise, how the idea of knowing Islamabad—already from the moment of its inception—was expected to affect its performance as a social engineering and modernisation tool?

b. A name, a symbol

The Federal Capital was named Islamabad on 24th February, 1960, and thus the abstract concept of the symbol 'Capital' became a concrete reality, and a city was born. For the moment this city has a location and a name, its inhabitants so far are those few people who are endeavouring through hard work in the field to make a dream come true and respond to the hope of the people. Through the name 'Islamabad', the symbol takes on a catholic meaning, because it represents a symbolic idea corresponding to the universal feeling of all the inhabitants of both West and East Pakistan, and, furthermore, because the meaning of the name goes beyond the boundaries of the country and represents people who have certain common interests and goals.¹⁰

9 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

10 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 187.

From the first moment of its creation, Pakistan had to face challenges that transcended the ordinary. It goes without saying that every new-born nation state—at the initial stages of its existence—needs to direct much of its resources to the formation of a solid hypostasis. This effort depends on the existence of a sense of belonging and particularly to the extent that this sentiment constitutes a shared feature of the public realm. It may well be assumed that the consciousness of national identity is a precondition for the establishment of a nation state. For Pakistan, however, this could not be taken for granted; on the contrary, the strengthening of nationhood had to follow the creation of the country. This is related to the fact that the actual connecting element of the Pakistani people was religion—a link that was presumed to be dubious. As stated: 'Much depends on development of a sense of nationhood broader than its current religious base'.¹¹

The segregation of the Indian subcontinent took place on the basis of religious criteria and Pakistan became the land of Muslim people. And it was not that this religious bond was not strong enough; on the contrary, it could be considered to be so inclusive that instead of defining nationhood, it transcended its boundaries, jeopardising the moulding of national consciousness. According to Manuel Castells:

For a Muslim, the fundamental attachment is not to the *watan* (home-land), but to the *umma*, or community of believers, all made equal in their submission to Allah. This universal confraternity supersedes the institutions of the nation-state, which is seen as a source of division among believers.¹²

Therefore, for Pakistan, the use of religion as a means of unification could only be a valuable starting point but not an end. Taking this

11 Chalmers Roberts, 'Pakistan Doing Well Despite Big problems: Seek to Correct Imbalance', *Washington Post*, 17 March 1963, p. A18.

12 Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Volume II: The Power of Identity* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell Publications, 2010), p. 15.

into consideration, the Khan regime had to make rational use of religion's powerful nature in order to have the opportunity to create a modern nation state, otherwise, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan—according to the country's constitution—needed to maintain the profile of a secular state with a view to counteracting a probable fundamentalist context of existence.

It becomes apparent that for Pakistan the issue of religion—acknowledged as the basis of its being—constituted a decisive factor, which, however, required a delicate approach. For a series of reasons, the common religious background of the Pakistani people, without being endangered, had to be transformed into a national identity. As a starting point, Pakistan was a country under development and consequently, it displayed a significant attachment to traditions. Similarly, religion, if perceived as a cultural element, represents a more conservative and often more traditional way of living. In this context, the commitment to modernisation, as stated by the government of Pakistan, signified, in a sense, an upcoming rupture with the country's traditional heritage.¹³ Therefore, the idea of grounding the required national unity solely on common religious beliefs could not be promising and this approach—due to inherited conflicts—would hinder development and progress.

In reference to the sphere of politics, similar ambiguities existed both at national and international level. As already highlighted, the Khan regime, which initially could only depend on the unity resulting from the shared religion, had to rapidly create a symbol of national consolidation; in other words, the people of Pakistan had to change their profile, and from believers become citizens. It was a

13 'Muslim women generally are still in Purdah, their faces covered, but urbanisation is removing the ancient Burqa from many [...]. Only three days ago two young women appeared in a Karachi court to complain that they were being married by their families against their will to elderly men. The court in each case granted their requests to be allowed to marry men of their own choice.'

Chalmers Roberts, 'Pakistan Doing Well Despite Big problems: Seek to Correct Imbalance', *Washington Post*, 17 March 1963, p. A18.

matter of political legitimisation, but mostly of actual governing ability—the efficacy of a governing body depends on the people who are to be governed. Therefore, while the religious sentiments of the Pakistani people had not to be dismissed or underplayed, religion could not be the driving force for the development of the country. Similarly, for the international political scene and in particular for the Western alliance, the religious context of the Pakistani society constituted both a risk and an asset;¹⁴ meaning that the fear for phenomena of Islamic fundamentalism coexisted with the anticipation that religion could counteract the spread of communism. Ultimately, it becomes apparent that for Pakistan a delicate balance was demanded, which was to be found in the name of Islamabad; a name intended to bridge the origins of the Pakistani people with a new modus of existence.

In relation to the requirement for national unity, Pakistan had to face another challenge, arising from its unique spatial structure. The complete separation of the country's two wings—West and East—became a source of political fragility, which was reflected at the level of society. More accurately, although the East Pakistan constituted the more populous province, it was lagging behind in terms of resources. West Pakistan was considered to be the real core of the country and therefore attracted the majority of development efforts, leading to significant disparities between the two provinces.¹⁵ This

14 '[...] U.S. diplomats and policymakers had long stressed that an adherence to Islam was a powerful weapon in the fight against communism. It was an often repeated refrain in geopolitical assessments—directly encouraged and abetted by the Pakistani side—that communism would stand less of a chance of success in an Islamic nation, and that Pakistan deserved special assistance as the most important Muslim country to joint pro-Western military pacts.' Markus Daechsel, 'Seeing like an Expert, Failing like a State? Interpreting the Fate of a Satellite Town in Post-Colonial Pakistan', in *Colonial and Post-Colonial Governance of Islam: Continuities and Ruptures*, ed. by Marcel Maussen, Veit Bader & Annelies Moors, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 155-174, p. 157.

15 'Per-capita income was lower in East than in West Pakistan at Independence. The development of industry, infrastructure, and commerce was concentrated in West Pakistan, especially in Karachi, in the 1950's. Therefore, per-capita

unbalanced distribution of growth, as expected, resulted in a lack of social cohesion between the peoples of East and West Pakistan. In this context, the inhabitants of the East wing received with hesitation the announcement concerning the creation of a new federal capital; it was seen as another opportunity to favour the people of West Pakistan. In this respect: 'While Karachi was obviously much harder to reach from East Pakistan, it was at least geographically peripheral to West Pakistan and could therefore represent a meeting of the east and west wings of the country on something approaching equal terms.'¹⁶ Under this perspective, it was critical for the political leadership to communicate the Islamabad project as a gesture of progress that would be addressed, without exemption, to all citizens of Pakistan. The name of the new federal capital was meant to symbolise the commitment of the Khan regime towards this end—the city of Islam could only be a symbol of unity. According to Doxiadis Associates: 'The meaning of the symbol must be conveyed to the people in plain and vivid language, and enshrined in as short a word as possible symbolising the hopes and aspirations of the people as a whole'.¹⁷

Undoubtedly, every capital city has a symbolic aspect, the significance of which, as well as the extent of its capitalisation, are determined by the specific historical circumstances. As Lawrence Vale has noted: 'It is striking how much investment has occurred in each capital city to manipulate and sustain its image and symbolic

income rose significantly in West Pakistan but stagnated in the East, and the resulting tensions between the two Provinces were serious.'

Gustav F. Papanek, *Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Incentives* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 241, 242.

16 Matthew S. Hull, *Government of Paper; The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 41.

17 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 77/11-05-1960/Islamabad, Preliminary Programme & Plan/36567/p. 186.

centrality'.¹⁸ It was a matter of directing and maximising the produced impact through a series of representations, which, if considered 'as a means to interpret experience and make sense of reality',¹⁹ ultimately contribute to the creation of a new reality. In other words, the symbolic aspect of things can be perceived as a driving force behind the transformation of an idea to reality. Symbols are powerful; being carriers of an encrypted exegesis, they tend to reverse the sequence of experience and interpretation. Meaning that if the interpreted precedes the lived, then the interpreted tends to materialisation.

Taking this into consideration, it becomes apparent that the effectiveness of Islamabad as a driver for development, modernisation and ultimately, social restructuring depended on the extent to which it was to be interpreted as such. The same was valid, in reference to the positive impact that this project could have on the country's political authorities—Islamabad had to be interpreted as the finest accomplishment of the Pakistani government. The results of this effort for development could neither be immediate nor be witnessed simultaneously by all members of the social strata. It was vital, however, that this aura of change—even if still in the decision-making stage—be felt by everyone. Therefore, Islamabad was not merely an instrument of progress, but also its symbol and communicated as such.

In this context, the naming of the new federal capital of Pakistan became an act of communication strategy and consequently, a valuable policy-making tool.²⁰ Doxiadis Associates advised on this

18 Lawrence J. Vale, 'The Urban Design of Twentieth Century Capitals', in *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, ed. by David L. A. Gordon, (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 15-37, p. 36.

19 Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 192.

20 "The following news was released in the 'Pakistan Times' 22-08-1960. 'OTHER TOWNS NOT TO BE NAMED ISLAMABAD'. The Government of Pakistan is reported to have directed the district authorities not to name any town or locality 'Islamabad' in future as the said name has already been selected for the new Capital of Pakistan, it is learnt. The district authorities have further

matter, emphasising the necessity for a name that would be embraced by all people of Pakistan from the beginning and in the long term.

The name of the capital should also be easy to pronounce and use, simple and easily memorisable, qualities that are a 'must' regarding the name of the capital which will be widely used in the interior of the country and abroad. Should these qualities be lacking, the people will alter it [...] Finally, the name should be pleasant – sounding and beautiful.²¹

In a sense, it was assumed that any abandonment of the name Islamabad would signify the abandonment of what this project represented; and the latter definitely had to be prevented. The decision to name the new federal capital of Pakistan Islamabad is considered to be politically sensible. On the one hand, it could trigger spontaneous and generalised sentiments of acceptance, eliminating any potential conflicts. The reference to Islam created conditions of equal distances between the people of Pakistan and the field of action; suggesting that a first level of participation could be achieved on the basis of a broadly triggered interest. On the other hand, religion was vested with an aura of progress, as its name became intertwined with the country's ultimate modernisation project. This two-pronged message—as expressed through the name Islamabad—could effectively support the objectives of the Pakistani government both at national and international level. Religion as a symbol of openness and inclusiveness could offer a wide and coordinated audience the opportunity to participate in this collective effort. Having said that, referring to religious sentiments creates conditions of commitment, if not latent obligation. In other words, the city of Islam

been directed to choose other suitable names for towns and localities already named 'Islamabad'."

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 905/24-08-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.75/23619.

21 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 22/07-07-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/p. 13.

was credited with an indisputable value sourcing from its name, which was intended to validate everything that this project represented.

The dependence of Islamabad communication on a series of symbolisms affirms the following statement: 'Symbols have roots. Symbols plunge us into the shadowy experience of power'.²² Islamabad as a symbol of national pride, unity, modernisation, internationalism, or political vigour, in fact confirms its role as a means to an end—a symbol stands for or signifies something else.²³ Any symbol can be perceived as a purposive and transcendental statement, on the grounds that it creates conceptual liaisons afresh, shifting the interpretation of things to a different level. Furthermore, the power of symbols can be identified in their ability to exclude whatever might challenge the validity of the formulated liaisons, similarly to a self-sustaining mechanism and with the dynamics of an axiom. At that time, the new federal capital of Pakistan was just an idea; determined, but still in the realm of a concept. The fact that this idea acquired a name loaded with meanings at such an early stage provided significant prospects with regard to the impact that Islamabad could produce. The process of shifting a meaning to the level of a symbol allowed Islamabad to exist in the consciousness of people too early. According to the press of that time: 'It will be several years before Islamabad is ready to house all the government but today it is at least a symbol for the future'.²⁴

22 Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976), p. 69.

23 Karsten Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997), p. 98.

24 Chalmers Roberts, 'Pakistan Doing Well Despite Big problems: Seek to Correct Imbalance', *Washington Post*, 17 March 1963, p. A18.

c. Islamabad publicised

Islamabad may have been an outstanding project of public interest, however, its effectiveness depended highly on publicity—its public character alone could not ensure the achievement of the desired ends. The process of making Islamabad widely known had as its cornerstone a meaningful name, which turned what the capital city of Pakistan represented into a symbol. Now that the symbol had attracted a generalised interest, the real meaning of Islamabad had to be reinstated. This is to say that while the symbolic aspect of the city of Islam signified the opening of a new page for the Pakistani people, the history to be written depended on the social spread and acceptance of these new prospects—symbols had to find their expression in everyday life. This may clearly have been a top to bottom process. It was accompanied, however, by a plethora of communication tactics at all levels of the hierarchy. Undoubtedly, the objectives differed, but nevertheless constituted fragments of the same whole.

Shortly after the announcement of the name Islamabad, Orestes Yakas, one of the principal representatives of Doxiadis Associates in Pakistan, wrote:

It is therefore now suggested that our DOX monthly reports and other documents may be issued referred to Islamabad. Our proposal is that the cover of these publications should read 'ISLAMABAD, the Federal Capital of Pakistan'. This title will refer to the new name, but at the same time will give the real meaning to Islamabad, until the time that will be well known by all Pakistanis and all over the world. Inshallah.²⁵

This is a brief but very illuminating statement. The reference to Allah is surprising—considering the religious background of the consulting

25 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 388/08-03-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.73/23617/p. 1.

team—and at first it can be perceived as an indication of enthusiasm;²⁶ it was reasonable for these engineers to feel nothing less than thrilled and keen to make a kind of 'I was here too'²⁷ statement. In a second layer of analysis, the reference to Allah appears related to the influential character of the name Islamabad, which, however, had to maintain a supportive role, rather than becoming the determining factor for the capital city. This interrelation seems analogous to that of Islamabad and Rawalpindi; meaning that while they were supposed to form a unified metropolitan area, the latter was destined to contribute significantly to the development of the former without overshadowing its supreme national role. Finally, it is interesting to note that the DOX reports did not constitute documents for generalised public use—they were prepared by Doxiadis Associates and submitted to the Pakistani government. Undoubtedly, the political leadership did not need any training on the concept of Islamabad; this gesture, however, emphasised the commitment to consistency and to communication strategies.

Just three months after the previous correspondence, an updated directive was released: 'In our monthly reports under the word "ISLAMABAD" will be written THE CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN. The word "FEDERAL" will be deleted from all covers of the reports to be issued from now on'.²⁸ This can be considered to be a refinement, in

26 I had the privilege of meeting and discussing twice with Mr. Athanasios Hadjopoulos, a former engineer of Doxiadis Associates, who has worked extensively on international projects, including Islamabad. He emphasised that joining Doxiadis Associates was a life experience. The participation in this team offered him the opportunity to know the world in a way he could not have imagined. For Mr. Hadjopoulos his professional life was an adventure, which started in September 1955 with the preparation of the first drawings at the Sindbad Hotel in Baghdad—on the floor of a room overlooking the kitchen skylight; a kitchen full of screaming chickens ready to be cooked.

27 This statement comes again from Mr. Hadjopoulos, in reference to a list that was prepared in 2010 documenting all the contributors in the activities of Doxiadis Associates—including Ekistics. At the time the list was released and not in its final version it numbered 900 people.

28 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 279/25-06-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.74/23618/p. 1.

terms of communicating the Islamabad ideal. Apparently, the definition of Pakistan as a federal state highlighted its fragmentary nature with all the ensuing problems, hindering the process of nation building. The decision to communicate Pakistan as an inseparable entity was intended to facilitate the cultivation of a common belief that would recognise Islamabad as a point of reference for all. This fact in turn would tend to decrease the existing lack of social cohesion, enhancing the sentiment of national unity; a cycle of cause and effect, which was supposed to be based on an omitted word—or more accurately, on an updated statement. The anticipated impact, resulting from such minor gestures, becomes an indication of the power of communication, as well as the determination of the project's leading figures to exploit this power to the fullest.²⁹

According to Lefebvre, information and knowledge are sourced from above and this view can have a twofold analysis.³⁰ On one side, it can be interpreted as a reference to the intellectual elite, which forms an entity in the upper strata of the social pyramid. Undoubtedly, progress in all its manifestations takes the first steps in this societal spectrum before it spreads and acquires its proper meaning—progress cannot be considered to be achieved unless it reaches the general public and becomes part of everyday living to the extent of its determination. This corresponds to a process of natural development. From a different perspective, the circulation of

29 The following comes from a letter by Doxiadis to the US Ambassador in Pakistan: 'I thank you for your letter, dated July 6th, and for all your kind remarks concerning the documents issued by our office. It is true that the press in Pakistan does not give a very clear idea of many vital problems concerning the designing of the projects we prepare for the country. We would, therefore, be really pleased, if your Information Office could prepare, assisted by our architects in Karachi when necessary, some articles of public interest on these matters. The American Mission does show a positive interest for these projects, as you know, and I think that the publication of this type of articles by the press may help our common efforts in Pakistan.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 557/16-07-1959/Pakistan Correspondence vol.32/23583/p. 1.

30 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 45.

information from top to bottom can be related to strategy—in this case, intentions and power become the driving forces. This is not to say that such an approach, by definition, has a dark side; it needs, however, to be viewed with scepticism. Otherwise, inspiration, education, or manipulation can be different aspects of the same endeavour to reach an end, meaning that the positive sign of actions cannot ensure the positivity of purposes.

The creation of Islamabad constituted a par excellence paradigm of a top to bottom logic, which in fact touches on both interpretations of Lefebvre's view. In this respect:

Defining of the functions of the new capital is of such great significance that we believe that as wide a circle as possible of intellectuals, high officials etc., must contribute towards this end. As has been repeatedly stressed, the new capital of Pakistan must become a subject of interest and care of all the people of Pakistan, much more so of course of the educated classes. This is why I propose that a questionnaire should be distributed amongst as large as possible a number of civil servants, scientists, representatives of art and literature etc., requesting their opinion on the function and the character in general of the capital. It is evident that not only administrative functions will be concentrated in the new city. As a symbol of the nation it will also include many other functions, such as high scientific institutions, museums, theatres, etc. On all these matters the opinion of the people must be expressed and their blessing given.³¹

The official urge for the endorsement of the Islamabad project by the Pakistani people did not contradict the established top to bottom strategy; on the contrary, it was meant to be a valuable addition to this approach. Considering that Islamabad originated in political

31 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PA 22/07-07-1959/Pakistan vol.16/23567/ pp. 16, 17.

incentives, the idea of moulding a supportive audience at an early stage in fact insinuated the formation of a governable social body. The existence of Islamabad was inseparable from this top to bottom logic. Therefore, if people were willing to embrace it, they would probably be willing to accept the reproduction of the same governing pattern in the long term. The truth is that Islamabad provided an excellent opportunity to establish a necessary relationship between the government of Pakistan and its people. The formation of a nation state cannot be considered to be fully achieved unless people become citizens; and this level of conscious existence within a strictly defined entity—such as a nation state—presupposes the recognition of hierarchy and consequent relationships. The following statement from a planning officer of the Capital Development Authority is relevant: 'The Master Plan is our constitution, the constitution for the city, for the country'.³²

From conception to implementation and furthermore to communication, Islamabad depended on the energy sourcing from the political leadership. As this project, however, aimed for the country's socio-economic reformation, it was vital that a generalised impact would be produced; and also, this had to take place in a timely manner. Islamabad had been offered to the people of Pakistan as a representation of a new way of life, verifying Lefebvre's view of represented space as 'in thrall to both knowledge and power'.³³ This new urban scheme might have been the means to achieve the desired socio-economic changes, but simultaneously it was used as a projection and a narrative of the final goals as if they had already been achieved—it became a means to support its role as a means, affirming its sophisticated nature. Summarising, people needed to

32 Matthew S. Hull, *Government of Paper; The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 57.

33 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 50.

gain an understanding of the potentials that Islamabad could provide at the level of the individual, the community, as well as the country and therefore, a coordinated effort was directed to this end. This learning process evolved in parallel with the creation of the capital city, ensuring that people would be captured by the Islamabad spectacle.

Learning for Islamabad, in a sense, was synonymous with learning from Islamabad. Changing the socio-economic conditions of the general population constituted a challenging and long term process. Its success depended on the willingness of the people to join in this endeavour, meaning that the reformation ideal had to be transformed from an abstract governmental objective into a personal goal. This could occur gradually and presupposed the establishment of a bond of trust between the people and the orchestrators. Since Islamabad was considered to be the cornerstone of the country's modernisation, it was destined to become a tangible representation of the goals of the new state and furthermore to demonstrate the competence of the people in charge. Having said that, Islamabad became the focus of public communication, reaching the boundaries of propaganda. In this respect:

Not only the provisions of the Master Plan but also the process of its production and authorization were covered extensively in the English and Urdu press, fed liberally by government press releases. Newspapers carried articles about the preparation of various reports, Doxiadis' comings and goings, and his meeting with senior government officials, including Ayub Khan. The Master Plan itself was the object of well-publicized state rituals in the 1960s and 1970s.³⁴

Following the example of other similar projects, the publicising of Islamabad was supported by all available means and publications,

³⁴ Matthew S. Hull, *Government of Paper; The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), pp. 44, 45.

exhibitions, ceremonies, etc., became the instruments to make Islamabad known and therefore highly effective.³⁵ The decision of Pakistan to join the modern world and especially the concrete steps taken in this direction had to be stated in some way. In this context and on the occasion of Pakistan's participation in New York World Fair, Doxiadis wrote:

Considering that the World Fair will take place in 1964-65 and by then Islamabad will be fully under construction and many of its parts, albeit limited, will already be materialised, I think that a large model and many photographs of the completed works, plans, analyses and maps could be presented, offering something spectacular that perhaps just another country can do, namely Brazil, which will most likely present Brasilia.³⁶

35 'The Planning Company of Brasilia is issuing a monthly magazine called *Brasilia*, of which we enclose copy for you. The magazine is printed in their language, Portuguese. The idea of issuing an Islamabad periodical publication, when later the plans for the capital will progress and some buildings will be designed or constructed, was discussed.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 2246/29-07-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.66/23610/p. 1.

In reference to the participation of Pakistan in the New York World Fair 1964-1965: 'A few weeks ago a team of members of the Organising Committee of the New York World Fair visited the C.D.A.'s office and briefed by the Secretary on Islamabad Master plan. They visited also the site. The officer in charge of the Murree Office of the American Embassy sent a letter to General Yahya expressing his appreciation. In his letter he was also including: 'Thank you so much for arranging for the briefing and the Islamabad tour for this group. Incidentally, the group suggested that a relief map of Islamabad coupled with photographs and architectural drawings might prove a most interesting exhibit at the New York World Fair.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PI 1538/06-02-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.111/23645/p. 1.

'We have pleasure in informing you that Dr C. A. Doxiadis agrees that this an excellent idea. He further suggests that Pakistan may exhibit Islamabad, as a symbol of National Reformation, by presenting Islamabad's exhibits as the main subject of its Pavilion.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PI 1633/02-03-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.111/23645/p. 1.

36 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 3203/16-02-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.103/23637/p. 1.

This kind of striking statements—being one of the two countries that can provide visual testimonies of exemplary achievements—in fact, contribute to the materialisation of the objectives pursued, similarly to the idea, which acknowledges that ‘Graphic artefacts themselves help constitute the scales at which they operate’.³⁷

Furthermore, Beatriz Colomina’s view of exhibitions as “more ‘public’ than buildings”³⁸ recognising their supreme role in conveying a message, supports theoretically the emphasis given to the publicity of Islamabad. This idea constitutes an interpretation of the introductory statement of the founding director of MoMA, referring to the exhibition catalogue for *Modern Architecture*, held in 1932. Alfred Barr wrote: ‘Expositions and exhibitions have perhaps changed the character of American architecture of the last forty years more than any other factor’.³⁹ Exhibits are accompanied by a narrative; meaning that they trigger a public discourse, yet within predetermined guidelines. The failure or success in producing the desired impact cannot diminish the momentum they present and this is due to an inner strength that can be identified in the very act of exhibiting. In particular, merit can be assumed to exist in the objects on display—reasoning the act itself—and therefore these—architectural products in this case—are transformed into icons.

An analogous impact was expected to be created through the extensive use of other means of mass communication. Doxiadis Associates had been deeply preoccupied with the process of communicating Islamabad either as a single event, or in comparison to similar ongoing projects—Chandigarh, Brasilia. The consulting firm’s suggestions included the organisation of lectures, the

37 Matthew S. Hull, *Government of Paper; The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 22.

38 Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), p. 204.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

production of films depicting the progress of works and the visits of high-ranking officials, the publication of leaflets, bulletins, books and magazines, the distribution of articles to both Pakistani and foreign press, the organisation of exhibitions—permanent or periodic—as well as the creation of a series of stamps, following the example of Brazil, which had already issued a series portraying the master plan of Brasilia and perspective images of its landmark buildings.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly, this communication frenzy was intended to serve diverse agendas and the truth is that Islamabad offered great potentials in this respect. Relevant to this is the decision and process followed in reference to the publication of a special issue of the Pakistani Magazine *Engineering Forum*, which was to be dedicated exclusively to Islamabad—fifty pages in total. According to the internal correspondence of Doxiadis Associates:

It is kindly to be considered that any issue on Islamabad published in Pakistan, should be brought to the knowledge of C.D.A. It is suggested that either the 'Engineering Forum' people, or ourselves, should approach and inform the C.D.A. secretariat on the issue of 'Engineering Forum' dealing with Islamabad. Please, give us instructions on this matter, as soon as possible, and in any case before the Islamabadization of the 'Engineering Forum'.⁴¹

and

Please, bear in mind that its monthly issue is appearing about the 15th of the relative month. So, the issue of February [Islamabad Panorama] will be in circulation a few days before

40 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 3855/12-07-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.105/23639/p. 1.

41 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 1352/21-12-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.76/23620/p.1

D's [Doxiadis] trip to Pakistan and therefore it will be well-timed.⁴²

It becomes clear that the top to bottom logic of Islamabad's creation remained intact throughout the whole process, while the communication strategy for Islamabad was also to be fully regulated by the political authorities. Equally consistent appears to be Doxiadis' urge to promote his oeuvre, as his team in support of the pending decision mentioned above was prompt in preparing a layout for the suggested publication.⁴³ The communication of Doxiadis' achievements, however, was not to take place to the detriment of the glory of the Pakistani government. Reasonably, the project's political

42 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PK 148/15-12-1960/Pakistan Correspondence
vol.80/23624/p.1

43 '1. ISLAMABAD AS A SYMBOL

Symbol of a Pan-Islamic cultural centre

Symbol of the unity of the country

Symbol of the effort for peaceful construction

Symbol of the creative impulse of the present regime

(Written by the Chairman of C.D.A. or other authoritative person – 6 pages)

2. ADDRESSES OR REMARKS CONCERNING ISLAMABAD BY VARIOUS HIGH
PAKISTANI OFFICIALS WITH THEIR PICTURES AND QUOTED COMMENTS
(3 pages)

3. THE NEW CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN

An article written by e.g. a Chief Engineer of C.D.A. presenting, both a historical development and some planning details of the new Capital (4 pages)

4. A COUNTRY'S CAPITAL

The role and function of the CAPITAL-CITY of a Nation expressed in physical planning (12 pages)

a. General principles

b. The dynamical, expanding Metropolis

c. Examples of already designed Master Plans

d. Conclusion. Above have been taken into consideration in designing ISLAMABAD, as shown below

5. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CAPITAL

Dates and events in a brief, telegraphic manner (2 pages)

6. THE SELECTION OF THE SITE FOR THE CAPITAL

Committees, subcommittees, our work (4 pages)

7. THE REGION AND THE MASTER PLAN OF ISLAMABAD

An analysis of our design (16 pages)

8. THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECTOR OF ISLAMABAD

Presentation of our design with pictures of models, etc. (8 pages)

9. COMMUNITIES AND HOUSE TYPES

Communities studied for ISLAMABAD and the newly designed house types (5 pages)

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 2981/07-01-1960/Pakistan Correspondence
vol.103/23637/p. 2.

origin had to be emphasised, which is therefore reflected in the layout of the document. Given the document's structure, it can be observed that 26% of its extent constitutes a direct governmental input. This percentage, in fact, increases to 50% if indirect links are to be taken into consideration; suggesting the extensive reference to the planning of the administrative sector, as well as the presentation of the works completed by the various committees and subcommittees. Nevertheless, such gestures offered Doxiadis a remarkable advantage in communicating his urban planning theories, which has been highly required.⁴⁴ In this respect: 'The need for the publication of a series of bulletins or other documents for the propagation of the studies in Ekistics, the utilization of the ekisticians, the need for such ekisticians in Pakistan, etc., as you know is very big'.⁴⁵

Apparently, Islamabad was expected to serve a complex nexus of interests, mutual or conflicting, but equally dependent on the communication of its development. Both the extent and the meticulousness of the implemented communication tactics verify their vital role.⁴⁶ The following quote comes from Doxiadis Associates' internal correspondence, commenting on the first monthly report to be issued in reference to the progress of the Korangi project. It is

44 'It is suggested that this year one of the subjects which are to be illustrated in our Christmas cards should be the master plan of Islamabad. Such a subject should be of great interest not only to the people connected with O-PR, but all over the world, as Islamabad as the new capital of Pakistan is the major town planning subject in the world today.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 1180/08-11-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.76/23620/p. 1.

45 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 3495/25-04-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.104/23638/p. 1.

46 'In the drawings that we have started receiving from the Athens' office, it can be observed that human silhouettes are usually included. It is advisable that these silhouettes, prior being used, to be studied either on the basis of the already provided pictures, or of encyclopaedias and any other library material available. We have already received comments on this matter, suggesting that these human figures mostly correspond to Arab people, instead of the India peninsula people [...]. In lack of valid information, it is advisable to exclude human figures from the drawings.'

C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PKH 107/16-04-1954/Pakistan Correspondence vol.31/23585/p. 1.

considered to be particularly informative—although not directly related to Islamabad—highlighting the efforts of Doxiadis Associates to be recognised as a valuable asset for the development of Pakistan.

Starting with the cover page, we see that the monthly report is titled THE KORANGI AREA. We do not think that this is a successful choice. It is considered to be extremely narrow and absolutely restrictive. Additionally, it does not represent the scope of our activity in Pakistan sourcing from the Korangi project. Our contract is not intended to address the Korangi development problem alone [...] we anticipate that our work in Korangi will affect the development of the county's housing sector as a whole [...]. This title allows the reader to believe that the report is limited to technical issues [...]. One of the main reasons, which led the government to sign this contract with us and convinced Ford Foundation and I.C.A. to finance our services, is the establishment of a centralised Housing Agency, as well as the need for a long-term training programme. None of them is expressed through the title of this report [...]. I am thinking of diverse titles. Ekistics is one of them. This would allow us to propagate the meaning of the term in Pakistan and make it internationally accepted in due course. There is the risk, however, to create confusion with our magazine *Ekistics* [...]. It might be an alternative to give our report the title EKISTIC ACTIVITIES. This way, the term Ekistics will be included in the title, the title will be quite broad and the risk for any confusion will be eliminated [...]. Please, discuss the subject in the Athens office, discuss it with Doxiadis and make the final decision [...]. In chapter C of the report, it is advisable to elaborate further on how we have been invited in Pakistan [...]. There is no reference at all that our services will be funded by foreign Institutions [...]. This is critical in order to address any concerns, which see the cost of our services as a burden on the government of Pakistan [...].

Furthermore, a subtle reference to our numerous meetings with the Chief of the American Mission in Pakistan would be valuable [...]. This will highlight the fact that to some extent we were responsible for mobilising American interest in Pakistan's Housing Programme.⁴⁷

As analysed so far, Islamabad's publicity was deemed to be inseparable from its role as the cornerstone of Pakistan's reform. Three main axes of action can be identified, amalgamated into a single effort under the auspices of the government to maximise the impact that Islamabad could create—in brief, Islamabad was publicised for the people, the regime and the consultant.⁴⁸ Undoubtedly, neither the Pakistani political leadership nor Doxiadis could openly admit that Islamabad's publicity would partly be for their benefit. The complex nexus of interests, however, was accompanied by a similar nexus of interdependencies, which allowed the pursuit of seemingly conflicting ends. For example, while communicating Doxiadis' achievements could overshadow the government's eminence, this same fact could add value to the rhetoric of a government dedicated to providing the best for its people and country. In this respect:

The London newspapers and especially the *Sunday Times* praised Doxiadis' lecture [in London]. Please send us the relevant material as well as copies of the previously sent

47 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PKH 87/05-04-1959/Pakistan Correspondence vol.34/23585/pp. 1-4.

48 'Further to your request [D.A.'s Office] we investigated the possibility of engaging a privately practicing photographer for the compilation of an album including all events of Islamabad. We reached the conclusion that such a procedure should be more successful if we accept the kind of offer of the P.R.O. of C.D.A. to help us in that respect. We are going to send you from now on copies of all photographs taken by the official photographers of C.D.A. and you kindly compile the album as desired.' The same pattern appears here; Islamabad becoming a spectacle for the people under Doxiadis' urge and the political authorities' control.
C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PI 1511/31-01-1961/Pakistan Correspondence vol.111/23645/p. 1.

publications, as the people in Capital Development Authority were impressed and asked for more copies to share with government officials. It should be emphasised that we need to be aware of all the publications in the British or American press, because they help to establish our ideas and the progress of our work—there is already a positive impact.⁴⁹

Doxiadis' benefit, therefore, could also turn into an asset for the political authorities, especially, if his international networking is taken into consideration. It goes without saying that the success of Islamabad's communication depended on delicate balances. In this respect:

One of our thoughts, which needs not to be broadly communicated and involves an issue requiring special treatment, is that in 27/10 day of the Master Plan's Presentation it might be wise for Doxiadis not to be in PINDI [Rawalpindi], so as that all the glory of the ceremony to be credited to the Pakistani people.⁵⁰

The communication policies that implemented in parallel with the development of Islamabad may have been multi-faceted, nevertheless, they remained focused on people; verifying Raymond Williams' view: 'Communication becomes a science of penetrating the mass mind and of registering an impact there.'⁵¹ As noted in previous chapters, Islamabad was meant to be a shared experience and the catalyst for the emergence of common aspirations. Accordingly, the cultivation of this collective spirit was to be enhanced by the act of communicating—including the content and the act itself, since the notion of sharing is inherent in communication. According to the *Daily*

49 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PR 456/03-04-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.74/23618.

50 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, C-PA 2274/05-08-1960/Pakistan Correspondence vol.66/23610.

51 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 2013), p. 313.

Mail: 'Right now you won't find the name Islamabad on any map, but to the Pakistan nation this is the city of cities...their shining new capital of the future'.⁵² This is the perfect expression of the intended impact, at least at the first level.

The idea of Islamabad as 'a capital of capitals that stands for everything the new regime in Pakistan is trying to build up'⁵³ presupposed the participation of the people. In parallel, the initial enthusiasm had to be translated into concrete steps to achieve the goals set. Kakissopoulos emphasised the complexity of the effort to engage people—including government officials—in the process of nation-state building:

My English are getting improved day by day. However, here someone needs rhetoric skills, so as to mobilise an extremely slow moving mechanism, as well as people that do not care much for their country and they are only focused on their own benefit or convenience, to convince, to create excitement. This is not a simple technical project.⁵⁴

Islamabad was not a simple technical project, because it was not simply a technical project. In a sense, the political, economic and social importance of Islamabad outweighed its technical nature. This explains why communication tactics played a key role in the story of making Islamabad. In fact, communication strategies became a tool of social management, as seen through the triptych: providing direction, accelerating processes and minimising time to achieve results. The need to mobilise the people is also emphasised in Doxiadis' notes from his visit to India:

52 Charles Darby, 'Islamabad: The city that will rise from the ideal of Muslim unity', *Daily Mail*, 12 January 1962, p. 8.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

54 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, H-PLI/17-04-1963/Correspondence between Doxiadis & Kostas Kakissopoulos.

We leave the house of the doctor and we walk in the streets where we see the first well-dressed people sitting in a small courtyard in armchairs. They immediately stand up and introduce themselves. The one is the village worker of the community of the project's administration and the others are his friends. It is 9:30 in the morning. I wonder if these people can impress on the village the need for development and that the government has sent to them someone to work for their welfare.⁵⁵

And

Actually, here we are in a demonstration area. The fact that it is on the country's main highway and that here are big signs on the road 'here the development area ends', proves very clearly that this is an area in which special attention has been paid for experimentation and demonstration purposes. Progress is not easy in these areas. It is very difficult to alter the evolution of a village without the inspired workers.⁵⁶

Here, the inspired worker emerges as a key figure, confirming that the developmental energy sourced from the top to spread to the bottom of the social pyramid. The inspired worker was to act as a local source of energy at the level of the community, confirming the structure of hierarchical ordering. As a member of the community he could convey the message of development in a more direct way and be heard. He was intended to be a tangible proof that something has already changed at the community level.

The whole process of Islamabad planning was aimed at short-term and long-term perspectives. Similarly, the impact of communication policies was seen as an immediate but also a future event. Given that Islamabad was considered a model for modern

55 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-IA 11/January 1956/India Regional Housing Centre (vol.3)/vol.6/24969/p. 22.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

development on a global scale, the long-term perspective of its impact was of particular interest. Relevant to this is Meier's observation during his visit to Islamabad twenty-five years after its materialisation. We read:

The other surprising fact is that although neither of the two graduates of the Graduate School of Ekistics has been on the staff [C.D.A.] for ten years—one died, one went to America—the ekistics language still lives in Islamabad. Their conversation with each other sound like the in-house talk of Doxiadis' Athens office in the 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Richard L. Meier, 'Islamabad is already twenty-five', in *Ekistics: Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 52, no. 312 (1985), pp. 212-216, p. 216.

CONCLUSION: FROM THE FUNCTIONAL CITY TO THE FUNCTIONING SYSTEM

I am now thinking again about the people: these unknown masses of people who surround me [...]. Who are these people: How far are they really interested in my work? What is the real justification of my presence here? Is it due to the need for a technical advice which is felt by the people? Is it due to the need for development which is necessary or is it only due to an alien scheme conceived somewhere abroad or by some western trained leading Pakistanis? Is there any justification for this attempt for development and for our presence in this unknown land amongst unknown people?¹

Doxiadis did not find it difficult to answer his own concerns. He respected every reaction to modernisation to the extent that it was genuine and reflected a firm adherence to traditional ways of living. But he could not reconcile himself with the idea of a modernity that pervades society in a fragmentary and superficial way. Then, he said: 'even the least doubt about the moral justification of our mission and our role is eliminated'.² But this approach is also fragmentary, as the transfer of Western expertise to the Global South is not to be seen as a form of missionary aid; instead, it was part of a complex nexus of intentions and strategies aimed at achieving globalisation.

Doxiadis' ideological framework fits well with the transnational policies of modernism and the context of nation-state building, explaining his position as a leading figure in post-colonial development. The master plan of Islamabad was the cornerstone of Doxiadis' mission in post-colonial Pakistan as a comprehensive paradigm of his theories of urban planning. The political decision to

1 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/October-November 1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 203.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

create a *tabula rasa* federal capital provided Doxiadis the opportunity to fully unfold his ideas, namely the holistic but strictly hierarchical logic of Ekistics, the dynamic nature of Dynapolis and the all-encompassing Ecumenopolis. For the Pakistani government, Islamabad was intended to bring together the nation—as sovereign state and people—the regime, and the idea of modern development. For Doxiadis, this could be possible through the creation of a coordinated and self-sustaining system of life that could perpetually evolve without losing its integrity.

The thesis' main argument has been that the master plan of Islamabad was informed by predetermined requirements of a socio-economic reform; a modernist reform that equally underpinned nation-state building, development and globalisation. The generalised economic stimulus and controlled growth resulting from mass housing policies were to translate into a social impact. A financially robust and primarily integrated social entity that shared the same interests and the same direction of efforts was deemed necessary. Housing was to become the springboard for conscious development, as it could unmistakably ensure the participation of the individual and, consequently, the dissemination of a particular culture in the social strata—the house, a factor of personal development becomes a factor of social management.

Social transformation is inherent in economic development. Economic growth introduces new patterns of life and behaviour and therefore reshapes social interrelations. But modern urban planning was aimed at specific development models that had to be interdependent on industrial production. In this light, planning becomes the common denominator of both urbanity and development. Consequently, the concept of *laissez-faire* social transformation turns into a process of social engineering. The unity of the Islamabad master plan derived from a synthesis that depended on absolute fragmentation and hierarchical ordering both spatially and socially. Its longevity was to be ensured through the

implementation of a rigid pattern of reproduction, which included everything that constitutes urbanity. Based on Ekistics, the hierarchical structure of Islamabad communities according to the incontestable income criterion was the primary synthesis tool—community planning emerged as the underlying truth of modernisation. In other words, the Islamabad master plan illustrates the amalgamation of urban planning, development and social engineering into a single entity. According to Manfredo Tafuri: “It is the whole modern city itself which has structurally become an enormous ‘social machine’.”³

Given that Islamabad was to shape a social reality that did not correspond to the conditions of Pakistan at the time, but represented the country’s expected future, it offers a better understanding of how urban planning, social engineering and development are intertwined. At the time of the inception of Islamabad, Pakistan was in the early stages of development. The emerging industrialisation translated into an urbanisation that was only partially fulfilled, as the social developments were still lagging behind. According to Doxiadis’ notes:

Looking at Chittagong from the river, from a certain distance, I can see more clearly the general picture of my problem than half an hour earlier when I was crossing the crowded streets of the city or visiting with the town planners. I close my eyes and see even more clearly the human element of this city. Are these people urban dwellers? [...] They certainly do not look so; but if they are not urban dwellers why should we build urban centres for them? The reply begins to take shape in my mind. There are certainly no urban dwellers yet in these areas but urban centres are under formation. [...] How can we answer this controversy in a satisfactory way? [...] The

3 Manfredo Tafuri, ‘Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology’, in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. by Michael Hays, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000), pp. 5-35, p. 21.

conclusion appears now clear in my mind. Let us make a basic distinction between the city and buildings, create the city of the future and the buildings of the present.⁴

The concept of urban centres without urban dwellers is interpreted as an urbanity that lacks urban culture and is therefore incomplete. According to Doxiadis, this obstacle had to be addressed through planning and development. Considering culture as the measure of social behaviour, urban planning and economic development become tools of social engineering.

The main findings of the research that formulate Doxiadis' particular ideas of urban planning and in addition their impact on global development can be summarised as follows: First, the hierarchical ordering as defined by Ekistics made it possible to connect and coordinate all aspects of human existence. This is identified as a significant tool of analysis and synthesis in spatial terms and beyond. Additionally, the conceptualisation of urbanity as a system of life introduces a methodological approach to urban planning that focuses on the relationships and management of everything that constitutes the system. This is interpreted as a shift from the functional modernist city to a functioning system that by definition transcends the boundaries and the material hypostasis of the city. This approach made possible the emergence of Ecumenopolis, which is interpreted as the conceptualisation of urbanisation and globalisation into one scheme. But, above all, the concept of Ecumenopolis completed Doxiadis' theory of hierarchically ordered systems of life and justified the logic of acting locally while thinking globally.

Ekistics as a classification scheme allowed Doxiadis to shift smoothly from scale to scale and also to create a continuum resulting from urban fragmentations and unifications—including tangible and intangible realities. The whole is dissolved in comprehensible and

4 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/October-November 1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/pp. 87, 88.

manageable fragments before being reunited.⁵ Each fragment includes and is included at the same time. This means that interrelations are created anew, aiming for absolute unity. The fragment cannot be ignored as it is always connected to the whole, and its autonomy is subject to the whole.

In this context, Doxiadis conceptualised human settlements as systems of life, offering a fresh insight into modern urban planning. Through his theories—Ekistics, Dynapolis—he introduced a highly systematic and scientific approach to urban planning, which included multidisciplinary research, analysis and synthesis at various levels and therefore enabled the efficient management of complex and variable conditions. A small neighbourhood is a system of life and so is the whole planet. The interdependence of all the different systems of life through a strict hierarchical ordering allows the integration of every scale of the urban into an entity. As argued in this thesis, Doxiadis' approach to urban planning and development—in the case of Doxiadis, these can only be considered inseparable—was to address the individual, the urban community and the global community in a coordinated way. The house, the city and Ecumenopolis become aspects of a single urban reality. They are aspects of a unified system in Doxiadis' vocabulary. The introduction of the notion of system in urban planning indicates a shift of interest in the process itself; in fact, the city becomes a process. Under this perspective, the modernist ideal of the functional city shifts to that of the functioning system. The formation of a self-sustaining system is interpreted as

⁵ Antony King emphasised one aspect of the problem that Ekistics attempted to address. He identified the inability of modern theories to capture the social, political and spatial changes of the time in their engagement only with large-scale socio-urban units. He wrote: 'spaces far smaller than the state, region or city are mobilised in identity construction. [...] not just villages but markets and festivals; not just streets but plots, enclaves and vehicles; not just dwellings but rooms and clothes'.

Anthony D. King, 'Writing Transnational Planning Histories', in *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, ed. by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), pp. 1-14, p. 10.

the main goal of Doxiadis. And this is exactly what the Dynapolis model represents; once the ideal is formulated, a reproduction process follows aiming for internationalism.

The discussion on the successes and failures of Islamabad is not part of the thesis, since the research focused on the theoretical underpinnings and not on the implementation of Islamabad. Taking into account the existing literature, however, failures coexisted with successes and vice versa. The harshest criticism Islamabad has received was related to its divergence from the average conditions in Pakistan—its uniqueness was translated into elitism. In order for modernisation to take place at the national level, the exemplary characteristics of Islamabad had to be disseminated—in a sense, they had to cease to be exemplary. Inevitably, a place of tension is formed, where tradition and the modern, as well as the particular and the universal meet.⁶

The simplest forms of local architecture are practically always and everywhere the same that is if the climate and physical conditions are the same. But the more developed an architecture is the more differs from country to country, from civilisation to civilisation. Would it be too much to conclude that it is civilisation that separates the people and makes them different as it is developed and elaborated following different roads in different areas and countries?⁷

Doxiadis identified in civilisation the element that differentiates people. It is true that the formation of a shared culture was the main objective of modern development—as a means of self-preservation and further growth. The more we tend towards a common culture, the closer we get to the formation of Ecumenopolis. But there is

6 Ravi Kalia, 'Modernism, Modernisation and Post-Colonial India: A Reflective Essay', in *Planning Perspectives*, 2, no. 21 (2006), pp. 133-156, p. 153.

7 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, DOX-PP 20/October-November 1954/Pakistan Diary vol.2/23554/p. 202.

another aspect to cultural homogeneity, which may open a new discourse. A hint is given through an interview with Doxiadis in the press. We read: 'I have completed a plan to do away with the shanty slums of Rio', he explains. 'But then who will compose the sambas? I do not know'.⁸

⁸ Ada Louise Huxtable, 'Urban Planning Boasts a World Supersalesman', *New York Times*, 8 July 1969, p. 45.

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APPENDIX

June 1959: Public announcement of the selected site for the establishment of the new capital city.

November 1959: The preparation of the master plan started.

February 1960: The new federal capital was named Islamabad.

May 1960: Presentation of the preliminary master plan.

October 1960: Presentation and approval of the final master plan.

October 1961: Commencement of construction works for the first residential sector (G-6).

October 1963: The first inhabitants of Islamabad settled. The contract of Doxiadis Associates was terminated.

Until the end of 1963: A total of 2,134 houses were built to meet the needs of the low (categorised as A and B) and middle income (C) groups.¹

Until the end of 1971: The sector G-6 was fully developed, while the sectors G-7, G-8, F-6 and F-7 were partially developed. It was estimated that seventy thousand people inhabited Islamabad at the time. The administrative enclave was also partially developed. Only the Secretariat was completed and fully operational. The Presidential Palace was under construction. In the diplomatic enclave, construction work was also in progress. This included the construction of both embassies and residencies for their staff—American, Russian, British, Canadian, and a few others.

The G-6 sector was formed by three class IV communities, namely G-6-1, G-6-2 and G-6-(3+4). The main problem of the implemented sector was that its core functions did not correspond to a class V community—as it should be—but instead, a centre of higher hierarchy was established (class VI, or VII) which, however, was almost devoid of commercial activities. This resulted in the formation of a separate and vibrant commercial centre on the periphery of the community, which practically overlapped with the central area of the whole of Islamabad. Since, however, the creation of this commercial centre was not planned, several failures were identified. For example, the implemented network of *cul-de-sacs* and pedestrian areas did not function as such, under the pressure of heavy traffic in the

¹ Orestes Yakas, *Islamabad; the Birth of a Capital* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 136.

neighbourhood. Additionally, the size of the stores did not correspond to the requirements of a class V centre, resulting in the goods being displayed outdoors. It has been observed that people tended to ignore the importance of class IV community centres, resulting in their unsatisfactory development. On the contrary, class III and V centres were interpreted as the real point of reference for community life. Only one of the class III communities was built exactly as designed by Doxiadis Associates. The other houses in the G-6 sector followed different typologies, or were built according to the plans provided by the owners. As an overview, the G-6-1 community has been better implemented than other communities in the sector and seems to serve its purpose well.²

1978: The first revision of the master plan took place. The revised plan provided for the following: modification of the Blue Area, discontinuation of the industry and trade zone, creation of a large restricted area for the Armed Forces, the sector F-9 to turn into a large city park, relocation of the National University, creation of a heavy industry hub to the southeast of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, transfer of the sector I-13 to the administrative jurisdiction of Rawalpindi and the exemption of the sector E-11 from its provisions.³

1986: A second revision of the master plan was decided. The main objectives were described as follows: maintain the concept of the original master plan, incorporate the changes that have taken place since the creation of Islamabad, identify the failures of the original master plan and revise accordingly, identify the main challenges of future development, as well as the methodology for addressing them and raise the level of awareness about the master plan.⁴

A two-day (15-16 January 1989) symposium on the revision of the master plan was held at the headquarters of the Capital Development Authority in Islamabad. This symposium was to be attended by renowned experts in planning. Mr. Hadjopoulos was included in the list of participants as a representative of Doxiadis Associates.

2 C. A. Doxiadis Archives, R-PAK-A 207/29-12-1971/Pakistan Reports vol.278/23857

3 Dusan Botka, 'Islamabad after 33 years', in *Ekistics; Abstracts on the Problems of Science of Human Settlements*, 62, no. 373/374/375 (1995), pp. 209-235, p. 218.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 226.