

**CHANGING TRENDS IN THE EXERCISE OF POWER IN THE
POST-COLONIAL PERIOD AS DEPICTED BY THE BUILT
ENVIRONMENT OF FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE LAHORE
GRAMMAR AND DANISH SCHOOL CHISTIAN**

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Abstract

The article aims at bringing to fore the change in the methods used for exercising power in the contemporary postcolonial period as represented by the built environment of the educational institutions of Punjab, namely; Forman Christian College, Lahore Grammar School, and Danish School Chistian. The research article employs content analysis of the images of the aforementioned buildings to expand the scope of the functional relationship between power and architecture to include soft and disciplinary power. That help today's powerful states and school authorities to exercise power through indirect and subtler means. Unlike the old colonial approach, the soft power architecture of the dominant country emphasizes highlighting the vernacular architecture of the subservient country rather than suppressing it. Whereas, disciplinary power through architectural determinism creates opportunities for behavioral reforms of its occupants through the design of buildings covertly. Both soft power architecture and disciplinary power highlight a change in the exercise of postmodern power that unlike the modern or the colonial approach to power has a preference for covert rather than overt power displays.

Keywords: Post-Colonialism, Exercise of Power, Built Environment, FC College, & Danish School

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Introduction:

The hidden symbolism in architecture is a hard to ignore aspect in any building that comes into existence in its basic or more sophisticated form. Whether it is a simple tent erected by nomadic tribes, or a work of art such as the Taj Mahal, the construction of the built environment by humans and the selection of the interiors speak a non-verbal language that conveys hidden messages regarding the various social, political, and economic relations its creators want to pursue or convey to the inhabitants of that region. My interest in this topic emerged recently while visiting Brussels on a study tour to the EU. The built environment of the city, including the EU official buildings, the permanent mission of the Russian Federation in Brussels, and the location of Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) at Mons on the border of Belgium and France told the stories about the significance of their locations, their architectural designs and interiors, the kind of power the structures symbolized, and the political agenda they aimed at pursuing. Taking my interest further I saw certain connections between power and architecture in the built environment of Punjab while studying the architecture of Forman College, Lahore Grammar School, DHA, Phase I, and Danish Schools in Chistian.

However, this is not a new idea but there exists plenty of literature on the relationship between power and architecture. The functional logic between the relationship of power and architecture in countries that are home to ancient civilizations is a frequently discussed idea in the works of Flavio, C. (1978), Tinniswood, A. (1989), Glenn, M. (2003).

For Jahangir, A (2012) the ‘politicization of space’ in Lahore, Punjab, through the colonial lens means the suppression of local architecture by the dominant architecture of the powerful country, in this case, the U.K., as a colonial expression of power. The traditional colonial method of suppressing the subservient country’s architecture by means of either directly constructing buildings on the patterns of British public architecture or by means of sponsoring local architectural projects to show how the locals are ill equipped and inferior to undertake the construction or restoration of monumental buildings. This interference in the architectural spaces of the colonized is also visible in the Russian imperial and Soviet preservationist projects, in their former colonies, as explained:

The Russian discourse of preservation as it was formed, partly in response to local practices, in the late imperial period and continued into the Soviet era fitted with the pan-European

tendency of representing the current cultures and societies of Europe's colonial domains as inferior.¹

On the other hand, in the evolving post-colonial period the traditional relationships between the powerful and the weaker countries are challenged in an influential way---restricting the opportunities for direct influence of the powerful countries in the geographical spaces other than their own. The functional logic in the public architecture of the powerful countries in financing soft power architecture continues to be an important aspect of the diplomatic relations between the powerful and the weaker countries. However, the method of casting this influence is characterized by a resistance among the dominant states to subduing the architecture of the subservient states. A powerful country today, in pursuing its relations with a weaker country pays particular attention to acknowledge the local architecture, as a gesture to accept the recipient country's sovereign existence. As can be seen in the example of the US Aid Sponsored project of the Armacost Science building at Forman Christian College, Lahore. Taking the discussion further there is also a change in the way submission is achieved by the educational institutions. In the post-modern sense through the exercise of behavioral power where the subjects are put to covert rather than overt observations and surveillance made possible by the architectural design of a building. The extant literature in the context of Punjab in Pakistan has not taken into focus the aforementioned post-colonial trends in the exercise of influence by the powerful agents i.e. (states and educational administrators) in their relations with weaker agents (states and pupils in the schools respectively), through the architectural designs of the buildings. The present article aims to explore this gap by expanding the colonial lens to include the post-colonial changes in the exercise of the influence by the powerful states and educational administrators in the contemporary era respectively; in the architectural spaces of the weaker countries and behavioral reforms among the pupils in the schools through architectural determinism. The main emphasis of the article follows the larger debate about the change in the attitude of the powerful countries and educational authorities to their weaker subjects.

Significance of the study:

The study signifies the importance of architecture used by the modern day hegemonic powers and their exercise of power. Where the hegemonic powers not only exert their cultural superiority over the weaker states without them actually realizing it but also influence their behavior. While in the past architecture has always been the display and expression of overt power, in the modern globalized world it is actually simultaneously also the mean of exerting covert power over the developing states by the developed states without the former realizing what is happening

¹ Vera Tolz & S. Gorshenina, "Constructing Heritage in Early Soviet Central Asia: The Politics of Memory in a Revolutionary Context." *Ab Imperio*, (April 2016), 77-115. <https://doi.org/10.1353/imp.2016.0087>

as the hegemony no longer suppresses the indigenous architecture like done in the colonial times but on the contrary use the local architecture to disguise their own power exertion.

The research employs qualitative methodology. It uses content analysis of the discourse using images, to reveal the changing trends in the methods of exercising power by the dominant country in the subservient country's architectural space and the powerful school authorities over their pupil through the architectural design of the school buildings. The sites selected in the images are: Armacost Science building at Forman Christian College, Lahore, Lahore Grammar School, DHA Phase 1 and Danish school System, Christian, in the region of Punjab, Pakistan. The data is generated by codifying the images of the interiors and exteriors of the aforementioned architectural characteristics of the buildings. The characteristics revealing the principles of US public architecture in the interior of the Armacost Science building, Lahore Grammar School and Danish School System Christian are codified using vocabulary given below:

Tabular representation of the Codes used for the characteristic features of architectural designs in the photographed images Table 1

| 1. Characteristics of US public Architecture | 2. Characteristic features of panopticon | 3.Features of vernacular Punjab architecture |
|--|--|--|
| Axial and non-axial architecture | Semi-circular shaped buildings | Use of red brick |
| Rectangular floor plans | Classification of the building into separate cells or rooms. | Arches and verandas. |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| Simplicity, no use of decorations on the interior and exterior of the buildings | | |
| Flat and horizontal roofs | | |
| Central dom with and oculus on the top | | |

Axial architecture directs the people to the seat or the symbol of that power. Non-axial architecture and city plans, on the other hand, consistently give people choices and assert the equality of constituent parts rather than the supremacy of a single goal. Axial architecture is related to authoritarian regimes and non-axial architecture to egalitarian regimes.²

The data collected for the research comes from secondary sources such as journal articles, books and photographs of the buildings of Armacost Science Building FCC, LGS, and Danish School Chistian from the archives of Raza Kazim, Principal architect of RK Studios, Islamabad.

The research has preferred content analysis because it has used images to identify and explain the change in the methods of exercising influence by the powerful countries and educational authorities. Content analysis falls in the appropriate category as explained by (Holsti, 1968) definition of content analysis as “ any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages.” Since the images are used in the

² M. Glenn, “Architecture Demonstrates Power” (Senior Thesis, Haverford College, 2003), p 27.

analysis to reveal change in the form of power discourse, content analysis becomes the most relevant option. Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse analysis and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, does not fall in the scope of the study although the main focus of the research is related to the broader relationship between power and architecture. The focus of the present study is to reveal the change in the method of exercising power as revealed in the architecture of the built environment of a polis rather than critically evaluating how power is embedded in the architectural designs and other significant relationships, that tends to be the emphasis of both CDA and FDA. Having explained the methodological preferences, we come to the questions that are addressed by the study. The research is developed by discussing in detail the following questions:

- How does the Armacost Science building at Forman Christian College qualify as soft power architecture?
- How does the soft power architecture of the Armacost Science Building in FCC acknowledge the vernacular Punjab architecture?
- How does the principle of architectural determinism work in the built environment of LGS and Danish School Christian?

The above questions will be explored by using the concepts of Soft Power Architecture by I. Filipovic, and T.D. Vasiljevic, T. D. and Michel Foucault's concept of disciplinary power using Jeremy Bentham's idea of architectural determinism as applied by the design of the panopticon.

The first part of the article will present an analysis of the extant literature and its approaches to the relationship between power and architecture. The second section discusses the concept of soft power architecture, proceeded by an explanation of the Roman Neo-classical Palladian architectural style followed by the US public architecture, disciplinary power and idea of architectural determinism in the structure of a panopticon. An ensuing discussion section will interpret the data according to the characteristic features identified in the method to explain the functional logic in the US soft power architecture as well the preference for acknowledging the local architecture of Pakistan rather than subduing the subservient country's architecture as evidenced in the Armacost Science building, FCC and changed approach of the powerful school authorities in the exercise of disciplinary power through architectural determinism.

The Relationship between Power and Architecture

The presence of architectural monuments whether in Cordoba Spain, the Hagia Sophia Cathedral in Turkey, the Ruins of Petra in Jordan, the Taj Mahal in Agra, or considering more contemporary sites such as the Sean Tower in Canada, the Empire State building in the USA, etc. are stark reminders of how architecture became a symbol of influence and power in the different historical periods signifying the age-old existence of the relationship between power and architecture. The extant literature examines the traditional functional logic in architecture demonstrating public architecture as a portrayal of a country's or a political regime's ideology or in other words the building designs serves the ideas of the political regime. One work demonstrating this would be Flavio Conti's *Shrines of Power*.³ That work uses the pictorial depiction of the ancient religious sites of Alhambra, Spain, St. Peter's Church in the Vatican, etc., to show the buildings portrayed the sovereign power of the monarchs. The rulers took the great care to make the grandeur of these buildings visible in a power ritual used to show their absolute power over their subjects. Using similar reasoning, Adrian Tinniswood's *Visions of Power, Ambition, and Architecture from Ancient Rome to Modern Paris* highlights the use of architecture as a representation of the political ideologies of the monarchs, authoritarian dictators, and democratic countries starting from ancient Rome to modern day Paris and the U.S.⁴ As has emphasized that the 'politicization of space' whether it is the urban architecture or rural landscaping by a political authority or regime, can reveal 'the material expression of political power, its exercise, and its form'⁵.

The two approaches to the relationship between power and architecture are, one: a 'traditional approach based on the 'functional logic' in designing the built environment of a polis where the architecture of the public buildings mirrors the aims and the 'ideology of a political

³ Flavio Conti, *The Grand Tour: Shrines of Power*, Trans. Patrick Creagh, (London: HGB Press 1978).

⁴ A. Tinniswood, "*Visions of Power, Ambition and Architecture from Ancient Rome to Modern Paris*", (Great Britain Mitchell Beazley Publication, 1989), 122 & 125.

⁵ M. Minkenberg, ed, "*Power and Architecture: The Construction of Capitals, the Politics of Space and the Space of Politics*" (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014).

regime'. Examples would be the monumental architecture of authoritarian regimes such as Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and the Soviet Union.⁶ The second approach would be: the idea of environmental determinism in which "architecture like art contributes to the shaping of the images that constitute the political world in which we live". Looking at architecture in this way, makes it an activity undertaken for creating and constituting political reality rather than only 'legitimizing a political regime or a certain political class'.⁷ Both approaches to the relationship between architecture and power follow the constructivist logic of creating political reality as the work of various social, cultural, political, economic, and other influences rather than focusing on its objective existence. The traditional aspect of this relationship can be seen in the soft power architecture projects, financed by countries as part of their cultural diplomacy. Whereas the aspect of architectural determinism is seen represented in Jeremy Bentham's idea of panopticon and Foucault's disciplinary power.

Amina Jahangir (2012), *Diplomacies in Architecture during the British Raj: Response of "Lahoris" to colonial culture*,⁸ touches on the question of architecture and power in the colonial context in Pakistan. In her article, she sees an interesting relationship between architecture and power and explores the various aspects in which the architecture of a dominant country "subdues" or dominates the local architecture. In short, she takes notice of how power is expressed by the powerful or dominating culture through the suppression of the architecture of a subservient culture and how "the ruled tries to survive diplomatically under the shadow of the dominant culture".⁹ She has tried to understand how the interaction of a powerful and a subservient culture influences the architectural space of the recipient society-- buttressing her argument by referring to the various buildings constructed during the colonial British era (late 1849) in Lahore, Pakistan. The literature on the politicization of space in Punjab especially Lahore discusses it in many different aspects of how the powerful has influenced public spaces such as public parks in the city. (Ahmed, H., et.al., 2023, 54, 56-61)¹⁰ analyses the politicization of lahori public space Greater Iqbal Park in four distinct periods the pre-colonial Mughal era 17th century where the park was used as a Royal fruit

⁶ Minkenberg, Space of Politics

⁷ Minkenberg, Space of Politics

⁸ Amna Jahangir, "Diplomacies in Architecture during the British Raj: Response of "Lahoris" to colonial culture. In *Portrait of Lahore: Capital City of the Punjab*, Alhambra Hall, (Lahore, THAAP, 7-10 November 2012.)

⁹ Amna Jahangir, response of Lahoris, 187

¹⁰ Ahmed H., et. Al., "Power, Politics and Space: Mapping the Transformation of Greater Iqbal Park, Lahore, Pakistan", *Journal of Research in Architecture & Planning*, 33(1), 2023 pp. 53-67.

Garden restricted for the use of the Mughal family, 18th century pre-colonial Sikh era used it as a parade ground for the Khalsa army parade to the audience of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his son, 19th century Colonial British period, Minto Park assumed the function of a colonial garden with “ polo ground, library, race course , tennis courts , cricket ground” to suit the architectural preferences of the English life. The park was strictly reserved for the British colonials living in India. Post-colonial period 1974-2014 the monument of Minar -e- Pakistan was erected to commemorate Pakistan day by the government of Pakistan, and opened the public parks in Lahore to people of all sorts. However, the period of 2014 onwards witnessed an increasing trend of Pakistani political power structures (political parties) to control the structure, design and the access of these public spaces. From 2014- till present times the Greater Iqbal Park is fenced with surveillance checkpoints after the 2000 terrorist attacks etc. and is restricted to people of all cadres, denying the essence a public park holds for the society—a place for social interaction.

(Ahmed, Z et al 2021,1285)¹¹ traces the influence of the colonial culture in the post-colonial lahori society to show how the core periphery relations have continued in the preferences of the lahori social space as presented by the various Pakistani post-colonial fiction literature. Here the author has taken the context of politicization of lahori social space by the powerful rulers-- the British, whose shadow looms large in the preferences of the Pakistani society that is now impacted by “globalization and neo-colonialism”.

Soft Power Architecture

Nye’s Soft Power approach uses the method of achieving foreign policy goals through the use of civilian mechanisms and peaceful methods of diplomacy, cultural attraction, and persuasion. Soft power unlike the ‘coercive power’ does not rely on economic inducements and hard military tactics to make people pursue the goals defined by a powerful country. It is rather an ‘attractive power’ which through attraction makes others voluntarily aspire for the policies of a powerful country. “This soft power—getting others to want the outcomes that you want--co-opts people rather than coerces them”.¹² One way of exercising soft power is financing architectural projects in recipient countries by other states on the principles of the exporting country’s public architecture as part of cultural diplomacy. In this new sense, architecture becomes a ‘weapon in a cultural

¹¹ Ahmed, Z. , et. Al, “Portrayal of Postcolonial Lahore in Selected Pakistani Postcolonial Fiction: Historical versus Modern Perspective”, *Webology*, 18(4), pp. 1285-1293.

¹² J.S. Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (1), 2008, pp. 95, 96.

armory'. Used judiciously, it can shower its patrons with honor, reputation and fame'.¹³ An appropriate term for such projects is coined as "Soft Power architecture" by I. Filipovic, I and V. D. Tomic, to refer to the architecture used for achieving political ends, by a country in its diplomatic relations. In 'soft power architecture' a country finances projects in other countries based on the utilization of its own architecture, portraying its political ideology. The architecture becomes a foreign policy tool for creating a favorable image of its sponsors, and encouraging congenial relationships abroad. Therefore, soft power architecture can be defined as;

any state-sponsored work of architecture, built purposefully, as a new object, from the ground up, to enhance the relations (on different levels and scales) between the sending and receiving states with or without ulterior motives on both sides.¹⁴

The US public architecture finds its inspiration in the principles of the Palladian Neoclassism. This style in architecture traces originated in 1730 in Naples, Italy, and blended together the elements of Palladian and classical architecture. This type of architecture is characterized by

Symmetry in the floorplans, simplicity, Greek and Roman architecture styles, no decorations on the interior and exterior surfaces, flat and horizontal roofs with a central dome, tall columns of the Doric or Ionic order (*Art in Context, 2021*).

These are the characteristics of the neoclassical Palladian style of architecture as can be seen in the design of the Capitol Hill, Washington DC and many other federal buildings. The saga behind the inspiration for Palladian neo-classism in the construction of the US public buildings lies in the functional logic of architecture. The logic was firmly supported by the third US president Thomas Jefferson; Who ardently believed in architecture to be the embodiment of cultural values. Since his political ideology for the new American world rested in re-modeling the newly liberated country as the second Rome on the republican ideals of democracy and liberty. The adoption of no other style of architecture could effectively portray these values except the 'Palladian

¹³ Tinneswood, from ancient Rome to modern Paris, pg:6

¹⁴Ivan Filipovic and Dragana Vasiljević Tomić, "Soft Power architecture: (un)intentional and incidental in culture relations policies." *Architecture and Urbanism*, 49, 2019 pp. 25

neoclassicism as the federal style of American public architecture.¹⁵The experiment of Jefferson's functional logic in architecture can be seen in the construction of the Capitol in Richmond which became:

the first real neo-classical building in America and one of the first in the world to emphasize the sanctity of public institutions by literally building a temple to democracy. The “academical village” he designed for the University of Virginia at Charlottesville with its Pantheon-like rotunda..... is a tour de force. And Jefferson’s contribution to the building of the Federal City defined the nature of American public architecture.¹⁶

Consequently, we see the principles of American public architecture conveying itself as a sign and symbol of republicanism. That is reflected heavily in its domestic government buildings and also by its soft power architecture abroad.

Architectural Determinism and the idea of the Panopticon

Architectural determinism can be seen in Jeremy Bentham’s 1791 idea of the Panopticon which presented an imaginary architectural design for prison for molding the behavior of its inhabitants. The building design used an architectural mechanism that provided opportunities for "continuous surveillance of the inmates,” secretly, by a hidden supervisor.

He assumed that if a prisoner believed he was being watched that this would be sufficient to reform his behavior, at least during his incarceration and perhaps beyond as well.¹⁷

The panopticon as a “penitentiary” design is based on the presence of round hierarchical structures around a rotunda. It resembles numerous levels of a wheel with cells facing a tower. The cells are visible because of the presence of clear windows visible to the supervisor occupants of the central tower. At the same time, the architectural design of the tower ensures the occupants’ invisibility through the presence of a complicated system of “slits, blinds, lanterns, and reflectors”.¹⁸ The supervisors and guards in the tower, however, do not exercise complete power of control over the inmates in the cells as they too are watched invisibly by a higher administrative

¹⁵ Adrian Tinniswood , “Visions of Power: Ambition and Architecture from Ancient Times to the Present”, 1st ed, (New York: Stewart Tabori & Chang, 1998), 125.

¹⁶ Tinniswood, Ancient times to the present, 122

¹⁷ H. Strub, “The theory of Panoptical Control: Bentham's Panopticon and Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four”, *The Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 25(1), 1989, 40.

¹⁸ Strub, Nineteen eighty-four, 41

authority, and the spiral continues. This idea of covert surveillance through the architectural design of a building finally inculcates in the individual the suspicion of being watched at all times, and the belief that they will be held accountable for their actions. Thus, the inmates assume the responsibility for self-discipline without the involvement of corporal or other drastic measures of punishment. Bentham's idea of covert surveillance in the built environment for developing the self-disciplining human behavior without the use of corporal punishments provides the base for Michel Foucault's concept of disciplinary power.

Foucault's Disciplinary Power

In his 1975 book, *Discipline and Punishment* Foucault presented his idea of a postmodern disciplinary society employing the mechanism of Bentham's panopticon using covert surveillance. To explain his idea of panopticism Foucault conducted a detailed study of the evolution in the methods of execution of punishments in different periods. The modes of punishment for Foucault in different periods represent a political ritual for the display of the power of the political authority.

According to Foucault, in the monarchial society of the 18th century, the normal modes of punishment were based on corporal torture. This brutal exercise of authority over the subjects was identified as part of "Sovereign Power" a modern approach to power that worked on the principle of visibility and public display.¹⁹ Whereas in the postmodern "Disciplinary Power," the mode of punishment has metamorphosed into a new form. This new form of punishment unlike that imposed by a sovereign power has stopped being the explicit exercise of a 'power ritual.' Instead punishment by a postmodern disciplinary power tends to be exercised covertly. This covert exercise of power is made possible through architectural designs of buildings that provide opportunities for the continuous and careful supervision of the criminals in modern-day prisons and other settings. These settings are based on the architectural design of Bentham's panopticon, therefore today the sovereign power avoids the public display of immense power. In disciplinary power only the objects of power are made visible, as can be seen in the central rotunda of Bentham's panopticon where the supervisors and guards are hidden from the gaze of inmates of the cells behind screens, lanterns, and reflectors. Thus, disciplinary power in modern societies according to Foucault operates through covert social control such as the use of rules, surveillance

¹⁹ Michel Foucault, "Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison." 2nd ed. Trans. Alan Sheridan. (New York: Random House, 1975) 60,61.

mechanisms, and various legal procedures. These mechanisms discipline people serving power in a subtle and “quiet” ways.²⁰

Having analyzed the Foucauldian approach to monarchical sovereign and postmodern disciplinary power, and Bentham’s panopticon, we can discern that both have presented architectural theories of surveillance, in which surveillance is conducted through a specific arrangement of the built environment that offers chances for covert observations of the human activity by the powerful authorities. “Panoptic structures, therefore, become the architecture of power, not directly but also through (self-) disciplining of the watched subjects”.²¹

The panopticon as a design for surveillance has many positive aspects such as in schools and educational institutions “the ‘Chrestomatic-Panopticon’ a panopticon-shaped day-school, where one inspecting master could supervise pupils without being seen. This was described in *Chrestomathia* (1816–1817)”.²²

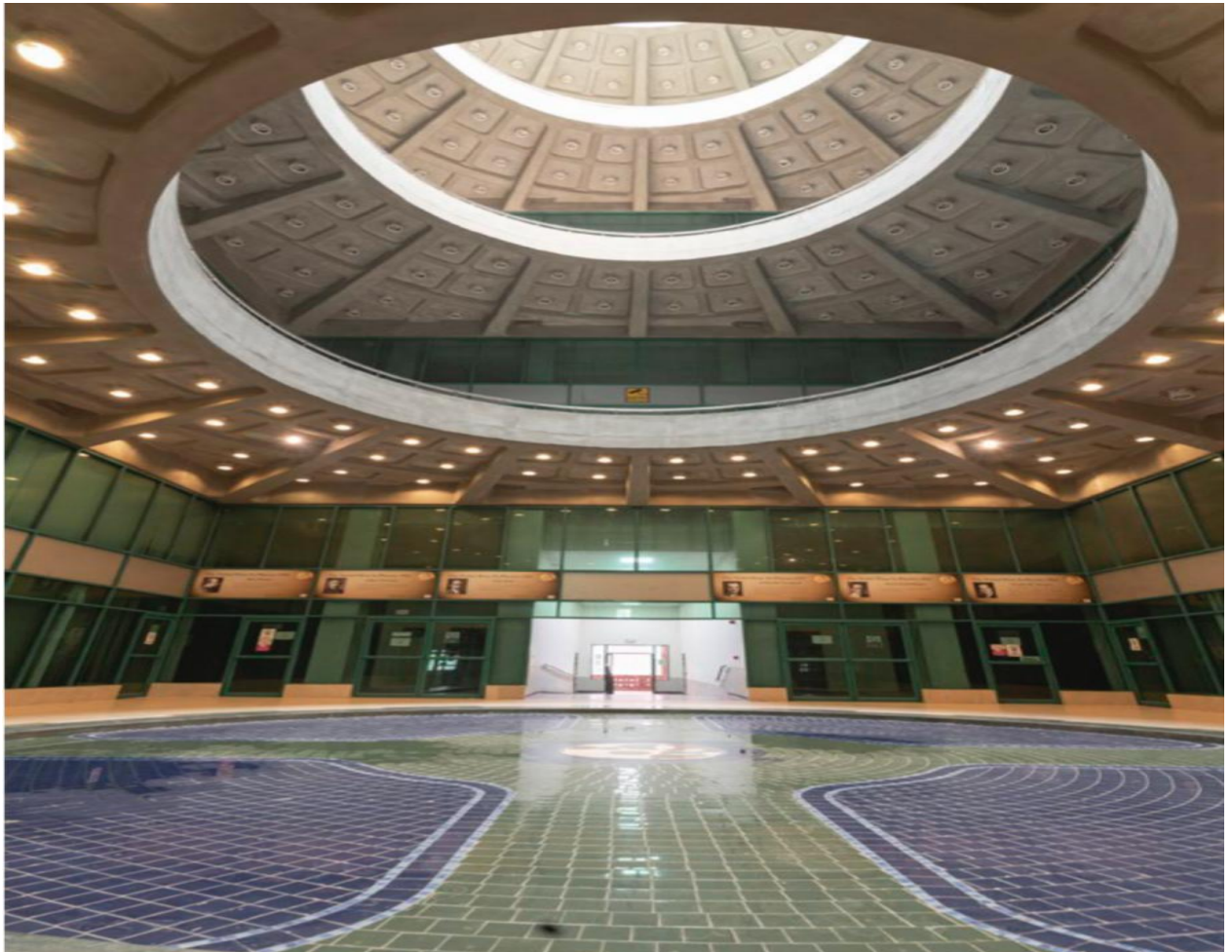
Both the approaches to power---Soft and Behavioral Power emphasize the co-optive element of power, in which the individuals on whom power is exercised voluntarily agree to submission. The soft power creates an attraction which pulls people to the agenda of the powerful, whereas behavioral power use architecture and covert surveillance systems to shape the preferences of the people into voluntary submission. Both approaches shape the preferences of people to be co-opted by the agenda of the powerful.

²⁰ S. Fernandes, “Foucault and Disciplinary Power.” 2014 [video] Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0tOf5XuURno> (Accessed 2 July 2022).

²¹ M. Gallagher, “Are schools panoptic?” *Surveillance and Society*,7(3/4), 2010, pp. 263

²² Masa Galic, Tjerk Timan and Bert-Jaap Koop, “Bentham, Deleuze and Beyond: An Overview of Surveillance Theories from the Panopticon to Participation.” *Philosophy and technology*, Vol 30, Springer, 2017 Available at: DOI 10.1007/s13347-016-0219-1.

Discussion and Analysis:



Picture 1. Interior of the Armacost Science Building, Forman Christian College, Lahore representing the principles of US public architecture.



Picture 2: Façade of the Armacost Science Building, Forman Christian College, Lahore, based on the redbrick Vernacular Punjab architecture (Photograph by Principal Architect Raza Kazim, Rk Studios Islamabad).

The construction of the Peter H. Armacost Science Building on the premises of Forman Christian College, is a project financed by a joint collaboration of the United States Agency for international Development (USAID), the provincial government of Punjab and the government of Pakistan in 2004. The US government donated \$5 million towards the project.²³ This is a clear portrayal of American soft power architecture. Since it involves exporting the donating country's public architecture to host countries for the sake of positive image-building, i.e. developing and maintaining a congenial relationship with the host country. Therefore, Forman Christian College Science building exemplifies the tactful use of architecture as a tool of foreign policy by the US government. It brings the functional logic in the relation between architecture and power since the building through its architectural design portrays the US political ideology. The architecture of the building of the Armacost Science block replicates the principles of US public architecture, based, once again, on 'Palladian Neoclassicism'.²⁴ That architecture reflects the Jeffersonian preference for echoes of Republican Rome, with the implied hope that the political ideology of democracy and republicanism will prevail.

The use of Palladian neoclassicism in the architecture of the Armacost Science building of Forman College therefore carries a deep resemblance to the Pantheon in Rome. The structure has three tiered round domes, with a Pantheon-like oculus on the top for sunlight. However, unlike the Pantheon, instead of a circular room, the Armacost Science building has a rectangular base. As far as the presence of axial architecture is concerned, it can be seen inside the building in the presence of straight pathways leading to the next level. Unlike the Pantheon, the pathway does not lead to the altar or the seat of authority but instead to the next level of the building. The use of axial architecture suggests the US soft power approach in which authority plays an indirect role diplomatically through cultural attraction in persuading the targeted state to achieve the dominant state's policy agenda.

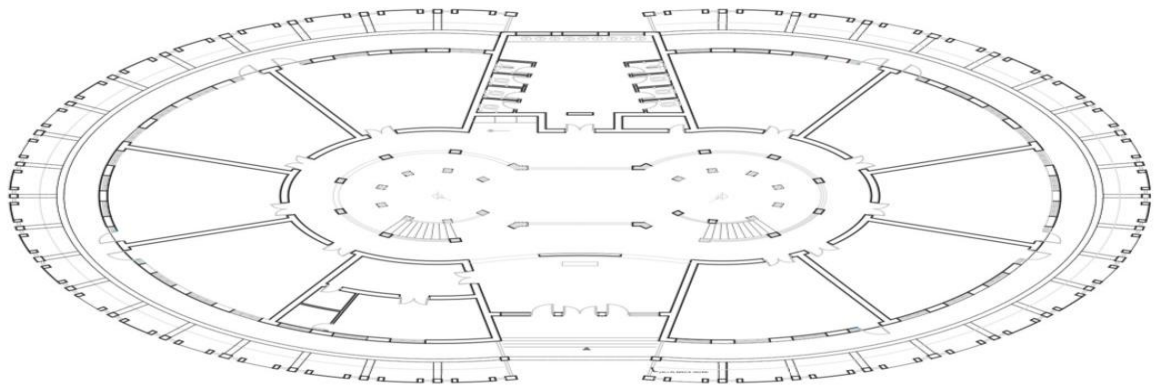
Moreover, the use of redbrick in the main façade of the Armacost Science building prioritizes regional Punjab architecture, which also shows a soft power approach to this project. The act of acknowledging the host culture's architecture simultaneously offers legitimacy to the sovereignty of Pakistan as an independent country with its own architectural style. An important

²³ Redlands Daily Facts, 12 June, 2010.

²⁴ Tinniswood, Ancient times to the present, 125

aspect of promoting a soft power approach to the relations between states here effectively develops a softer image for the US, as a peace-loving democratic country based on republican ideals.

The exercise of power as revealed in the built environment of Forman College Science block exemplifies (expands the scope of) the traditional functional relationship between power and architecture to the postmodern soft power approach. In this approach, the powerful country's architecture no longer suppresses the local architecture. Unlike the British colonial era in India where the vernacular Indian architecture was subdued by the British architecture, the post-colonial soft power architecture has its emphasis on keeping the vernacular architecture of the host country at the forefront. This act or method of exercising power helps in creating attraction towards the dominant country in the host country, as portraying it as a symbol of liberal, progressive, peace-loving, education-oriented and democratic country. By and large, over time the local populations of the host countries will view the dominant country positively and aspire to adopt their values.



Picture 3: Plan of Danish School Chistian, Courtesy: RK Studios, Islamabad.



Picture 4: The entrance of the main building Danish School Chistian,

Courtesy: Principal Architect Raza Kazim, RK Studios , Islamabad.



Picture 5: Arial View of Danish School Chistian,

Courtesy: Raza Kazim, Principal Architect, RK Studios, Islamabad.



Picture 6: Arial View of LGS, DHA, phase 1, Lahore. Picture,

Courtesy by Principal Architect of RK Studios Islamabad.

The panoptic (all-seeing or visible) theory of Jeremy Bentham can be easily seen at work in the buildings of both Lahore Grammar and Danish schools. In both the schools we see the presence of beautiful circular and semicircular buildings of the traditional red brick again as used in the vernacular architecture of Punjab. The presence of a semi-circular shaped main building facing the grounds as seen in the building of Lahore Grammar School, and the circular building of Danish school and the division of the both the buildings into separate classrooms resembles the cells in Jeremy Bentham's panopticon. Such architecture facilitates the covert surveillance of the pupil and teachers by the powerful administrative authorities of the school as well as creates awareness in the minds of the pupil of being watched making possible the exercise of a Foucauldian disciplinary power. The division of the school building into cells with windows conveys the message of being watched to the school pupils and teachers alike, providing a continual encouragement to follow the disciplinary rules and regulations of the school. If the rules are not followed all will fear that the punishment will ensue. This covert exercise of power by the school authorities coerces a kind of voluntary submission to the demands of the authority among the students, teachers, and well as everyone else in the structure. "Panoptic structures, therefore, become the architecture of power, not directly but also through (self-) disciplining of the watched subjects".²⁵

²⁵ Gallagher, Surveillance and society, 263

Conclusion

In describing the scope of the functional relationship between power and architecture, this article has applied the approaches to power in observing vernacular Punjab architecture. In so doing it has highlighted the novel idea of soft power architecture as exemplified in the construction of the Armacost Science building of the Forman Christian College, Lahore. The Armacost Science building's Palladian Neoclassical style is reflective of the US Federal architecture paying homage to Roman-inspired values of republicanism and democracy. However, the use of red brick in the outer façade of the Armacost building is a gesture acknowledging vernacular Punjabi architecture and the sovereign existence of Pakistan. The act of giving preference to the use of vernacular architecture for the outer façade of the building that in other ways is representative of the US public architecture signifies a change in the method of exercising power in the postcolonial world. In these projects the dominant power did not suppress the host country local architecture, as was done during the British Raj. Instead through soft power architecture and acknowledging the host country's vernacular architecture a positive image was crafted for the US in Pakistan as a peace-loving, egalitarian and democratic country. Using these methods, the US becomes or hopes to become a natural source of attraction for the local population, and such good feelings would add to the US's "store" of soft power.

On the other hand, the postmodern disciplinary power that can be seen in examples where a kind of architectural determinism is created, creates an environment in which achieving submission of the subjects is no longer dependent on corporal punishments publicly, but instead behavioural power is exercised through effective covert surveillance mechanisms and other means. The disciplinary and coercive power in the built environment of Lahore Grammar School and Danish School in Christian is achieved through an indirect surveillance mechanism in the architectural design of the school based on the principles of the panopticon. These physical features lead to the modification of the behavior of the school pupils—and everyone else in the buildings—since they develop the idea of being watched all the time, leading to a voluntary and even unconscious submission to the power of authority.

In general, we can say both postcolonial and postmodern power aim to use non-violent and co-optive mechanisms to ensure voluntary submission of the less powerful to the authorities. Effective power in the post-colonial and postmodern sense therefore requires "swaying" and attracting strategies for willful submission to authority (i.e., strategies which will successfully co-opt the citizens, students, etc.). The smarter the strategies, the more enhanced the power of the authorities will be.

This article and its methodology in fact can be carried further by examining the functional relationship between power and architecture in studying the vernacular architecture of the different provinces of Pakistan. These observations can also be brought to bear on aspects of regional and domestic power relations, and their evolution as depicted in domestic architecture.