14

"Compartmentalized World"

Race, Architecture, and Colonial Crisis in Kenya and London

Mark Crinson

Early in Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* comes his famous description of the colonial world as a compartmentalized world:

> The colonist's sector is a sector built to last, all stone and steel. It's a sector of lights and paved roads, where the trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage, undreamed-of leftovers. The colonist's feet can never be glimpsed, except perhaps in the sea, but then you can never get close enough. They are protected by solid shoes in a sector where the streets are clean and smooth, without a pothole, without a stone. The colonist's sector is a sated, sluggish sector, its belly is permanently full of good things. The colonist's sector is a white folks' sector, a sector of foreigners. The colonized's sector, or at least the native quarters, the shanty town, the Medina, the reservation, is a disreputable place inhabited by a disreputable people. . . . It's a world with no space, people are piled one on top of the other, squeezed tightly together. . . . The colonized's sector is a famished sector, hungry for bread, meat, shoes, coal, and light. The colonized's sector is a sector that crouches and cowers, a sector on its knees, a sector that is prostrate. . . . This compartmentalized world, this world divided in two, is

> inhabited by different species . . . what divides this world is first and foremost what species, what race one belongs to.[1]

The passage has all of Fanon's characteristic physical immediacy and urgency, conveyed by the prose's clogged and released cadences, the way it makes objects creaturely, and its insistent triangulation of bodies, mentalities and violence. We might quibble with the description—where are the laborers, servants, shopkeepers, the traffic in goods, including building materials, that traverse these compartments?—but its psycho-existential truth is powerfully produced by its formal system of differences. It is a Manichean society, a world divided by the interiorized impositions of "epidermalization," its differences born out of dispossession and coercion.[2] But it is also an interdependent and self-mirroring society, as shown by its recto-verso sensualities of abundance and lack, and the near repetitions of colonist's sector / colonized's sector ("*la ville du colon . . . la ville du colonisé*").

In terms of the interactions between architecture and racial discourse, however, Fanon's description only offers a promise, a glimpse. While the white feet in the sea, the solid shoes, the strange garbage, the cowering knees, all carry through into the main arguments of Fanon's writing, nothing is made of the stone and steel, the shacks squeezed tightly together. In short, it seems that Fanon's interest in the body's perspective on the world and the world's impress on the body—race as discourse and race as phenotype—are not accompanied by any extended sense of the spatio-physical specificity of that world. Nor do we find this elsewhere in Fanon's work, despite his many analogies between race and building.[3] While Fanon's thought insists on physical embodiment, equally physical matters like buildings, walls, and roads become etherealized, dissolve into background or, at best, act metaphorically. Perhaps the physical environment is a less urgent consideration than the immediate demands of psychic survival under the isolating terms wrought by colonial racism. Or perhaps Fanon in constructing an anti-colonial psychology based on anti-carceral social therapy, was avoiding the deterministic links between race and environment that played an operative role in colonial psychology. Perhaps the "sociogenic principle" would break through the compartmentalization.[4]

In what follows, Fanon's idea of a "compartmentalized world" is used to help understand the divided yet interdependent terrain of architecture as it was structured by racial discourse at this historical moment of late colonialism. The chapter starts with a colonial practice of psychology that caused actual spaces to be reshaped under its authority. It looks at resistant conceptions of space that directly challenged the logic of colonial racism. It suggests how colonial violence was enabled by the interdependent compartments of vernacular and high architecture.

And finally, it tracks how the racially compartmentalized world of the colony resonated with the metropolis at just that moment when empire was in crisis. Overall, the argument is that any fuller account of the imbrications of race and architecture must both recognize and at the same time, as a matter of historical and political necessity, break out of those compartments—colony/metropole; *la ville du colon / la ville du colonisé*; vernacular/modern—into which the built world is divided.

Villagization

Well-known to Fanon, and directly attacked by him, was the work of the leading exponent of colonial "ethnopsychiatry," J. C. Carothers, director of the Mathari Mental Hospital in Nairobi between 1938 and 1950.[5] Both Carothers and his predecessor, H. L. Gordon, were obsessed with brain capacities. Notoriously, in one study Carothers described "the African" as "remarkably like the lobotomized Western European and in some ways like the traditional psychopath."[6] Biological determinism was used to understand cultural matters such as the effects of European education and the modern city on the supposedly undersized brains of Kenyans; it was this conjuncture of biology and modernity that formed the "African mind."[7] However crude its findings, however belated its version of phylogenetic race theory, Carothers's work could not so easily be dismissed as it gave scientific justification to colonial policy.

By contrast Fanon's psychiatry was radical, in the sense that it was dedicated to improving the lot of the people studied rather than supporting the prevailing colonial regime. Fanon argued against any idea his colonized patients were innately deranged, but instead for derangement as a product of historic and sociological conditions: to use his famous phrase, "beside phylogeny and ontogeny stands sociogeny."[8] The sense of self was produced by lived experience, which included derangements such as racism and the internalized effects of racism. In this sociogenic principle the reality to be grasped was not the structure of the brain, but the structure of social relations and their construal of the individual in racial terms. In Fanon's words, "it was necessary to go from the biological to the institutional, from natural existence to cultural existence."[9] Symptoms resulted from "a distorted dialectic between the ego and the world and from the internalization of social conflicts."[10] If Carothers's ethnopsychiatry attributed everything to the ethnos, the idea of unchanging racial difference, and understood human geography as an expression of this, then Fanon took the structure of society as a given (its "historico-racial schema") and worked towards the psyche.

In 1953 British colonial authorities deployed Carothers's ethnopsychiatry to maintain colonial rule, using its findings to justify reshaping the built environment. This was a year after the start of the so-called Mau Mau Uprising, a revolt over

land rights by sections of the Gĩkũyũ, the main ethnic group in central Kenya. The Mau Mau quickly achieved an extraordinary place in colonial mythology, seen to represent an atavistic return to violent barbarity and precolonial witchcraft.[11] Commissioned to look into the reasons for anti-colonial revolt in Kenya, Carothers produced *The Psychology of Mau Mau* in a short two months.[12] The region's Gĩkũyũ people—from which the majority of the Mau Mau rebels came—were deemed to suffer from mass psychosis due to their liminal condition, neither urbanized nor forest-dwelling. Displacement and alienation of living conditions were already understood as central to the problems studied by colonial ethnopsychiatry.[13] In Carothers's terms, the Gĩkũyũ's essential "forest psychology" had been jolted and disturbed by their new situation "in transition" between two worlds, traditional and modern.[14] The Mau Mau rebels had lost the constraining influences of their own culture, so letting loose their old "'magic' modes of thinking."[15] The problem was exacerbated, Carothers claimed, because of current land settlement patterns: disloyal Gĩkũyũ "have no chance to alter their allegiance in isolated country houses." As the primitive had reemerged in the Mau Mau, he argued, becoming violent anti-colonialism, so these isolated huts had to become communalized if they weren't also to foster the primitive. These huts' very existence, unscientifically scattered across an otherwise uncannily "English" landscape, was an affront to any sense that human community was reflected in architectural community.[16] Forced villagization was the answer, and not just for "emergency" conditions but for the foreseeable future. It would "rehabilitate," engendering a sense of security and communal-mindedness among the Gĩkũyũ as a whole.[17] And this concentration on enforced patterns of communal life would be extended with a home hygiene program teaching domesticity to Gĩkũyũ women so their children would be better socialized.[18] In Carothers's cosmos the new village would create and occupy a zone, both psychic and spatial, between the swirl of urban modernity and the call of jungle atavism, a new/old space invested—as will be seen later—with ideas of the vernacular.

The policy of villagization was already being used in British Malaya to combat Communist insurrection there.[19] But in Kenya, where the problem was perceived less as political than as racial and psychological, the policy needed the authority of ethnopsychiatry for its application. It was carried through on a vast scale: over eight hundred new villages were built—laid out by the police and military—with many hundreds of thousands of people forcibly removed from their homes and resettled (figure 14.1). Villagization was only one way in which space and containment were used against anti-colonial revolt, and by no means the worst. Historians have belatedly exposed the brutal "bare life" of the detention camps for Mau Mau suspects.[20] No association with villages and vernaculars was felt or intended in these camps, where barracks and tents were the usual form of accommodation.

Fig. 14.1 Nijku village, Kiambu, from Elspeth Huxley, *A New Earth—An Experiment in Colonialism* (1960).

Across the spaces of the colonized a compartmentalized world was thus reinforced, reshaped, and made police-able: the forest world of the atavistic Mau Mau, with their scrambled brains and unconstrained nature; the country world of the wavering Gĩkũyũ, isolated, with their brains vulnerable to reversion; and finally, the world of the secured, made-loyal Gĩkũyũ, given their demarcated villages, their petri dish for proper community.

Land and Home

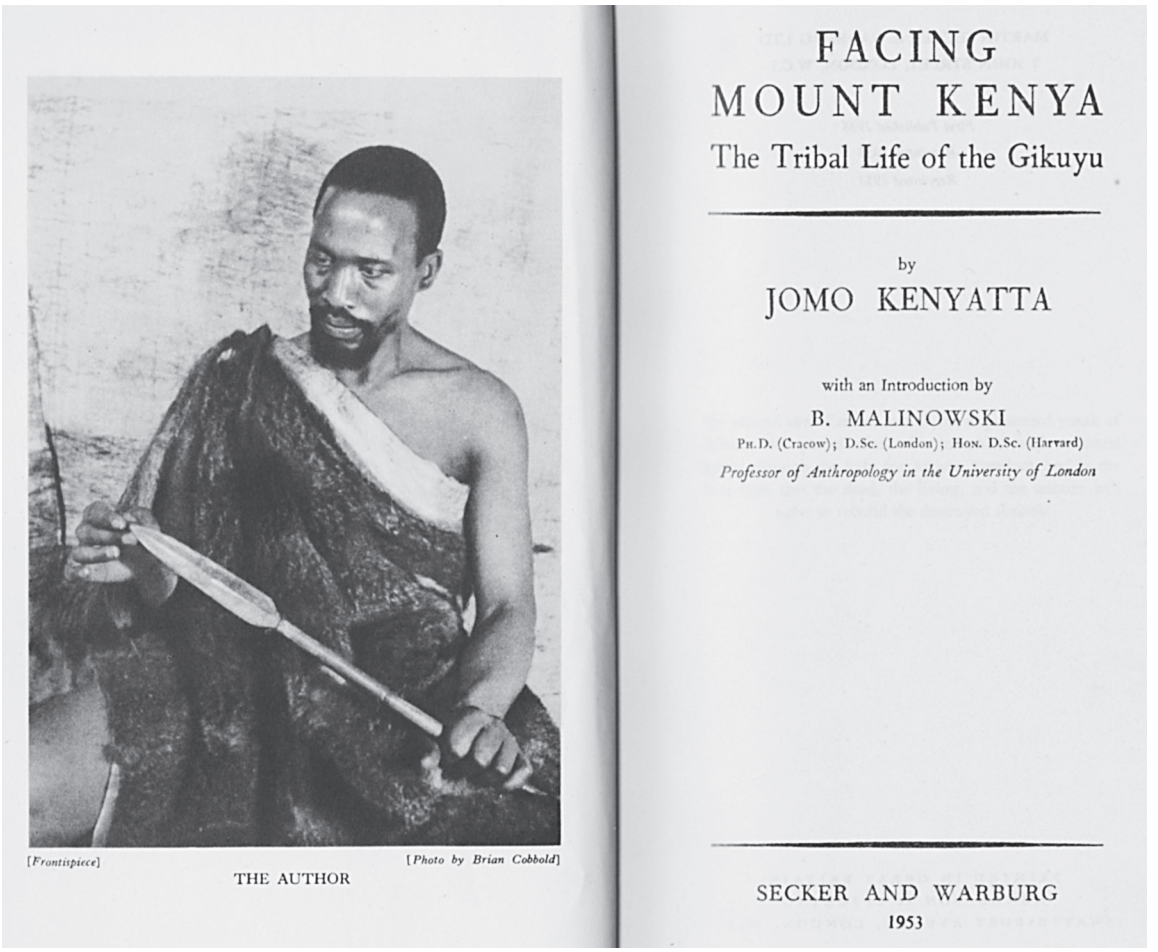
Even before the Mau Mau revolt the Gĩkũyũ had articulated their own understanding of land and home in forms that were resistant to colonial culture. *Facing Mount Kenya*, for instance, the anthropological study written by the Gĩkũyũ (and future Kenyan president) Jomo Kenyatta provides a legalistic defense of Gĩkũyũ conceptions of proprietorship and elaborates on Gĩkũyũ domestic space, and would become particularly resonant in the 1950s. Kenyatta presented dual forms of authority to his metropolitan British readership: as a Gĩkũyũ elder, and as an

African using the discipline of anthropology learnt from his teacher Bronislaw Malinowski. Kenyatta teased his readers by using another clearly stereotyped authority, portraying himself masquerading as a warrior in the frontispiece photograph (figure 14.2). Here Kenyatta was shown wearing an animal skin and fingering the sharp point of a spear, both hastily acquired for the shoot (he had been living in London for several years and studying at the London School of Economics).[21] Native informant, subaltern native subject, and ethnographer were made one and the same.

Central to Kenyatta's book was the ascription of rationale, history, and intricate anthropological meaning to Gĩkũyũ modes of land tenure and patterns of inhabitation. This was a Malinowskian functionalist account of precisely those things that Carothers would ignore. Gĩkũyũ were presented as agriculturalists who depended entirely on the land. But the connection was deeper than this, for the earth was considered the "mother" of the tribe and, as "it is the soil that nurses the spirits of the dead for eternity," so communion with ancestral spirits was perpetuated by contact with the land.[22] Land was owned individually and collectively (by family, not tribe) through a complex system of tenure through which a right to own land arose from labor spent developing it.[23] This system, including common land for grazing and woodlands held in common, was underpinned and explained by rich tribal legends, some of which had predicted the coming of Europeans. But although understood as temporary settlers initially, Europeans soon claimed the land as Crown Lands, with the Gĩkũyũ designated "tenants at will of the crown."[24]

Also significant for Kenyatta were the meanings invested in Gĩkũyũ huts. He spent what might otherwise seem an excessive amount of time describing hut building: the transfer of fire, the different functions of the woman's hut as opposed to the man's, the speed of building and the collective effort that went into it, the selection of a plot (emphasized as "one that has been lawfully acquired"), the relation to various taboos, the foundation ceremony, and the marking of foundations and digging of postholes.[25] Thus far all was done by men, but then women took over the thatching while singing songs. Feasting followed and an address by the ceremonial elder, who chanted a prayer blessing. Then the homestead was declared open and a fire was lit. A book that had announced itself in the familiar titillating terms of the frontispiece, had become an elaborate anthropology of Gĩkũyũ life, a counter-account deploying ethnographic authority against ethnocentric reductionism.[26]

If Kenyatta was writing before the Mau Mau revolt, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's novel *A Grain of Wheat* (1967) narrativized the experience of villagization. In the novel, hut and village environments are dynamic psychological arenas, theatres of contestation with colonial ways of understanding. Landscape and dwelling are torn by shifts of loyalty and betrayal, as the powers of state and settler, military and


[Frontispiece]

[Photo by Brian Cobbold]

THE AUTHOR

FACING
MOUNT KENYA

The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu

by

JOMO KENYATTA

with an Introduction by

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SECKER AND WARBURG

1953

Fig. 14.2 "The Author," frontispiece to Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938; repr., London, 1953).

rebel, village and family, come into conflict. Reversing Carothers, the pathologies in *A Grain of Wheat* are associated with the colonial world and seen as a direct result of its policies: the sadistic violence of a District Officer, born out of thwarted idealism and replaying the psychic inversions of Joseph Conrad's Kurtz; and the emasculation of Gikonyo, a craftsman whose materials and motivations are alienated by the emotional devastations of colonial rule. Ngũgĩ's reading of Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, usually understood in terms of Fanon's critique of decolonization, may also account for the way the author explicitly tries to link mental pathologies with the effects of colonialism.[27]

Villagization itself plays a central role in *A Grain of Wheat.* Ngũgĩ understood land settlement before villagization in Kenyatta-like terms as relatively harmonious; the people are dispossessed but they still recognize the land and revel in it.[28] Villagization, however, gives this dispossession a wholly new and coercive viciousness, remaking Gĩkũyũ space so that it becomes colonial space: penetrable, know-

able, containable. There is forced ejection, belongings are hurriedly removed, huts burnt in the night.[29] This psychic and spatial violence is especially marked in the case of Mugo, the novel's scapegoat figure, whose serenity is reflected in his hut, "his first big achievement."[30] The act of opening the hut's door after a day in the fields gives him pleasure: "the hut was an extension of himself, his hopes and dreams." He admires the walls and the cone-shaped roof, whistles to himself, cooks his meal and indulges his physical lassitude. But one night this home is ripped open when a fugitive seeks refuge there. Mugo later betrays the fugitive and in contemplating that betrayal his new disassociation is shown as much by his inability to discern the "broken sites" of the old village as by his physical trembling and depression. After the betrayal Mugo becomes completely cut off, his life inarticulate and futile. In a curious ironizing of ethnopsychiatry, his betrayal causes his mental disassociation from the rest of the new village.

New bodily dissociations from land and dwelling culminate in the novel's crucial sexual and political betrayals. The authorities punish the inhabitants for the Mau Mau activities of one of their members by forcing them to dig a ditch around the village. Villagers are beaten and killed while at this labor, their frail relatives and children forced to watch. In a moment of bravery and kindness that soon becomes mythical, Mugo saves a pregnant woman from a beating. The ditch is thus the antonym of the rhyming of body, community, and hut before villagization; it is violently cut through the earth, much as the whips of the soldiers cut the bodies of the villagers working on it. Following Carothers's logic, the ditch's purpose is to contain and control, to sever the villagers from the forest as much as from their communal practices of land tenure. The village as proper community is thus redescribed as a deeply politicized site in Ngũgĩ's novel, part of a larger colonial contest around the home.

Vernacular

The word "vernacular" is not used by Kenyatta or Ngũgĩ, and yet the idea of the vernacular, and associated terms like village and picturesque, played a key role in conceptualizing and justifying the persuasive and coercive functions of colonial architecture. The term had, of course, widespread usage in the metropolis. The vernacular describes the low or common, an unthinking and unchanging dialect of architecture. As a concept it belongs to the master's language, with its Latin roots in *vernaculus* meaning domestic or indigenous. In ancient Rome the *verna* was a household or home-born slave, one favored more than other kinds of slaves.[31] The vernacular's origin defines a subject position only possible within the language of power. To identify the vernacular is thus a performative act creating an asymmetric relationship to something subordinate in status. In Hegelian terms its naming is also a mastering of the other that in the end only makes recognition more

difficult; the master sublates or loses himself, because he cannot regard the other as essentially real or different, he can only see himself in the other.[32] The truth of modern self-consciousness is bound up in the servile consciousness of the *vernae*.[33] Naming the vernacular is therefore particularly conflicted and coercive in the immediate contexts of empire. Everywhere, in the spaces of colonialism, the vernacular belonged to the peoples who had been colonized, who were ethnically different from their colonial masters; those who lived on the land but did not determine its future. They were the *vernae* in the colonial house. Wherever it emerges—Europe or the colonies—talking about the vernacular was an attempt to allay or to momentarily forget the effects of modernization. Vernacular discourse usually avoided a deeper political reality; that colonialism would cater for difference, it would license the apparent existence of hetero-temporalities, providing they did not block its own logic of reproduction.[34]

While Kenyatta and Ngũgĩ affirmed the meaningful and layered relations between hut and community, many colonialists were wedded to a racialized understanding of those same things and it was here that vernacular thinking came into its own, helping particularly to disavow the effects of villagization. Relevantly, both in their homes and in their imagining of the Kenya Highlands as "white man's country," colonial settlers had imported ideas of the vernacular taken from a preindustrial mythology of the English countryside.[35] But the terminology seems even more incongruous when applied to what were effectively detention camps surrounded by barbed-wire. Some colonial officials imagined that villagization was the creation of "a harmonious society of prosperous villages and sturdy yeoman farmers immune to the appeals of political radicalism."[36] It was suggested that "village streets" could still preserve Gĩkũyũ patterns of land holding while presenting reassuring images of "English villages [where] we find blacksmiths, innkeepers, millers and so on as regular members of the community."[37] "The resulting picture," wrote another official, "reminded one of the English medieval manor with its village—though in this case it was a rugged wired-in home guard post on a high knoll with a series of grass roofed mud-walled huts below."[38]

The British architectural culture's response to villagization was more tentative but essentially similar. Architectural culture's very existence, like that of the professional architect, is dependent on maintaining its difference from practices of building deemed vernacular. The liminal or "transitional" condition of much African culture was a trope shared by many architectural commentators.[39] Villagization was only referred to obliquely or in isolated articles, but in those rare instances when the Kenyan emergency was mentioned it was seen instrumentally as an opportunity for architects in what was thought to be a reconstituted vernacular.[40] The following, which appeared in an architecture school journal, may be exemplary: "The simplicity of the early homesteads was retained. . . . The solution

answered some of the more immediate problems relative to the emergency and contributed to the overall progress of the native. The African shanty town complex . . . has been avoided."[41] The self-perceived benevolence of late colonialism takes mythical form here, including the separation of high architecture from the activities of policing and coercion. Progress is associated not with the realities of urban change but with securing Africans' proper place within the vernacular, now developed and planned. In all this, the discourse carries its own history of racial subordination inscribed in the very idea of the vernacular.

This extended to "high" architecture too. At the very same moment of villagization, some of the most representative architecture of the colonial state manifested both regionally symbolic and climatically regional responses to Kenya. Contemporary to the new villages, for example, were buildings in Nairobi by Amyas Connell, a pioneering modernist in Britain who came to Kenya in 1941.[42] These included the Crown Law Offices (1960), a generic modernist office block whose major external features were decorative screens using motifs from Indian and Timurid sources pierced with an asymmetrical pattern of windows, including one larger opening framed in a version of Venetian Gothic (figure 14.3). In terms of European modernism, the Crown Law Offices breached the modernist prohibition on ornament, one that Connell had respected in his British buildings. But the breach or "crime" seemed licensed outside European architectural culture and in the context of an "undeveloped" African colony: the Crown Law Offices' screens were a more extensive example of a feature often found in that version of modernism known as "tropical architecture." Whether such ornament was vernacular in any local or general sense is not the point here. Connell and the colonial authorities preferred to conjure up more historically and geographically distant sources (Moorish Spain, Moghul India), perhaps because they were understood as addressing the loyal Muslim population in east Kenya. It was important this symbolically ornamental work was done in the skin of the building while the universalist source of functional authority, the structure and overall spatial form of the building, was unaffected. Departing from its previous adherence to neo-traditionalist expressions of permanence and European association, such as Herbert Baker's interwar neoclassical buildings in Nairobi, high architecture was now allowed to create a scenography of affiliation and difference; it projected the appropriation of a historical architecture, remaking it as vernacular. And in the course of this another imperial tradition was invoked. For it was John Ruskin's "central building of the world," the Ducal Palace in Venice, that the Crown Law Offices simulated and, with it, Ruskin's famous invocation of a hybrid mixture of racial elements, brought together under the paternalist authority of the British empire.

The dynamics of power, cultural form, and racial subordination are complex here, if more gestural than precise in their semiotics, but we need to insist on their

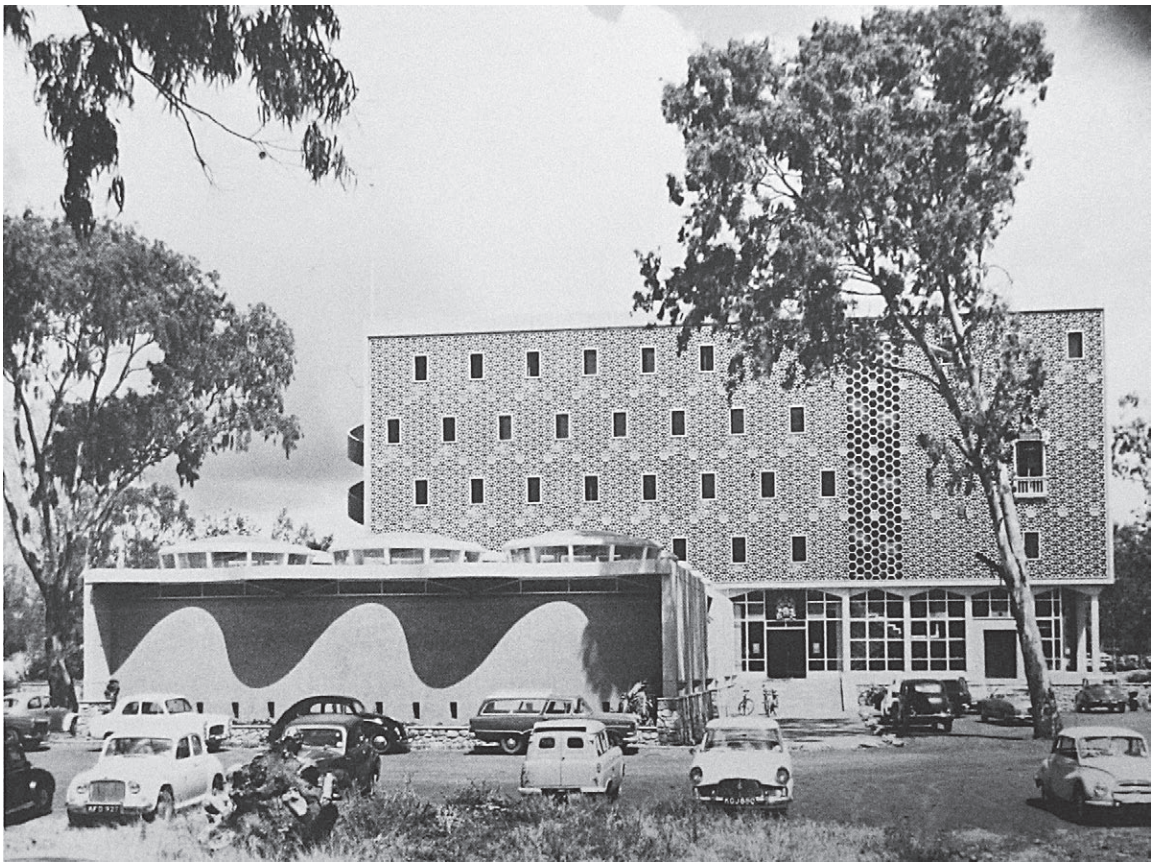

Fig. 14.3 Amyas Connell, Crown Law Offices, Nairobi (1960).

entanglement with other spatial politics in contemporary Kenya. While in Nairobi, flamboyant, structurally and ornamentally expressive forms of modernism were declaring the benefits of new policies of welfare and development, just outside the city the coercive intervention of villagization was effectively redefining Gĩkũyũ society. This network of power, with its attendant disavowals and disassociations, was carried across the building cultures and cultural spaces of colonial Kenya.

The antinomies and valences of temporality underpin much of this. The vernacular-high relationship is based on a dialectic between the ahistorical and the ownership of History. Fanon tells us that the colonists' sector is "built to last," or to achieve historical significance by making its claim on time, while the colonized's sector is "prostrate," fixed in an existential present of the body's biological time. The same contrast operates with villagization and high architecture. The latter, whether modernist or historicist, oversees the future (seeking destiny) as much as the past (tracing the plot); it makes a claim on the fullness of time that parallels the European assumption of "a fullness and genericity of being human."[43] The former is always static, always subjected to the discipline of duration, a hold-

ing to identity or originality under the threat of violence. In this scheme of things, the isolated hut fails to signify—it has to be brought into the familiar durational time of the vernacular. Simultaneously, it has to be remade as community, with all the accompanying possibility of a disordered community or, worse for colonial power, of a community made assertive by its historical and collective contingency. The vernacular, we might say, becomes the apotropaic figment with which to disavow both the abyss between colonial forms of life and their interdependence. So if villagization seemed like a situation far removed from the concerns of modernism, then that would be to accept modernism's self-mythology as some new universalism, separated from violence and coercion and devoted instead to the ulterior motivations of technological progress and welfarist benevolence.

The paradox, or the built-in incompatibility, is that with two intimately-related architectural modes defined so emphatically by their opposed temporalities, where and how is change allowed to happen? Where is modernity allowed to appear as process, not final object? Offered as resistant, but largely consistent with this, is the anthropological frame of Kenyatta's ontogenetic "integrated culture" and its system of land tenure bound forever by ties of kinship.[44] Even Ngugi's work offers no transitional balm. Here change is registered in acts of violence both on the village and on the body of the villager; the choreography of temporality in the colonized's sector is seen to have failed. Fanon, by contrast, rejects the equally imprisoning constraints of history, declaring instead "invention" as a way of "endlessly creating myself," a "[refiguring] of life as event," a turning to the future as a time invested not with destiny but with new values.[45]

Within the environment and architectures of colonial East Africa, disparate temporalities and architectural-spatial practices thus co-existed in physical and discursive proximity, an interrelated but compartmentalized world. The compartments familiar in the literature on architecture in Kenya at this time are the colonial architecture of the state, indigenous or "vernacular" architecture, and the impact of modernism—including the techno-scientific field of tropical architecture. But these are but slices of space and architecture, and villagization would be seen as outside their compartments, as the province of colonial or military history. Despite geographic and historical proximity, architectural history too easily ignores the insidious and brutal interrelations of land, habitation, and race that cross this compartmentalized world. We do not even have any term for this—"construction sector" and "architectural culture" are clearly inappropriate, while "production of space" says little either about how conceptions of land, skill, home, and race, traverse one territorial entity, or about how space can simultaneously contain hugely variant architectural conceptions of normality and crisis, authority and violence, welfare and warfare.[46] If colonial spaces are typified by abruptly uneven and seemingly contradictory economic modes, then we need to reassert

how colonial imaginaries and colonial resource extraction, occupation and resistance, coexist across one differentiated territory.[47] The compartmentalization of the colonial world is strategic; to affirm the distance of coexistence, the inviolability of its separations, it must continue to function especially at moments of crisis in cultural legitimacy.

Blank Space

If the colony is a highly differentiated world as far as architecture is concerned, it is also related by another set of differences and interdependencies to the imperial metropolis. When the Kenya crisis was registered in London there were architectural responses that adopted the idea of racial mixing, attempting to manage difference through the graduated achievement of multiracial community.

In 1953, the same year of Carothers's report, a student at the Architectural Association in London produced a thesis setting out "an environment for multiracial living"—a development plan for the ideal town of Maragua in Kenya (figures 14.4 and 14.5).[48] This was the work of the white East African–raised Richard Hughes (helped by the engineer Terence Powell). Maragua's site was pointedly chosen. It lay on "the boundary between the Kikuyu Reserve and the European alienated land," fifty miles from Nairobi in an area of Murang'a then well known for active anti-colonial protests against land policy.[49] Here Hughes proposed to locate an industrial town and market center, arranging his demographic ingredients—African, Asian, and European—across a main road, backed by a network of minor roads and footpaths. As we know from Ernst May's work in neighboring Uganda, even leftist modernist architects had consolidated the view that Africans and urban life were a fraught conjuncture by formulating African space as strictly divided on lines of racial hierarchy, social hygiene, and what might be called urban pupilage (the idea that Africans must be mentored into city life by passing through the graduated spaces of planning).[50] By contrast, Hughes was concerned with town planning as a way of modelling multiracial cohabitation and even racial integration, through the shaping of residential neighborhoods and the sharing of certain facilities by racial groups. Hughes saw integration as anti-extremist: "The great scourge of the world today," he wrote, "is the rise of militant and uncompromising nationalism."[51] He conceived his town as four neighborhood units, each of 5,000 people (3,500 Africans, 1,000 Asians, and 500 Europeans), each given community facilities, separated from major traffic arteries and set within open spaces both landscaped and recreational.

Race was the governing concern in Hughes's plan. Each racially designated area was given a different density according to supposedly different racial expectations, creating different urban grains.[52] Overlarge single race areas were discouraged by arranging neighborhoods so they were not contiguous with areas of the same race.

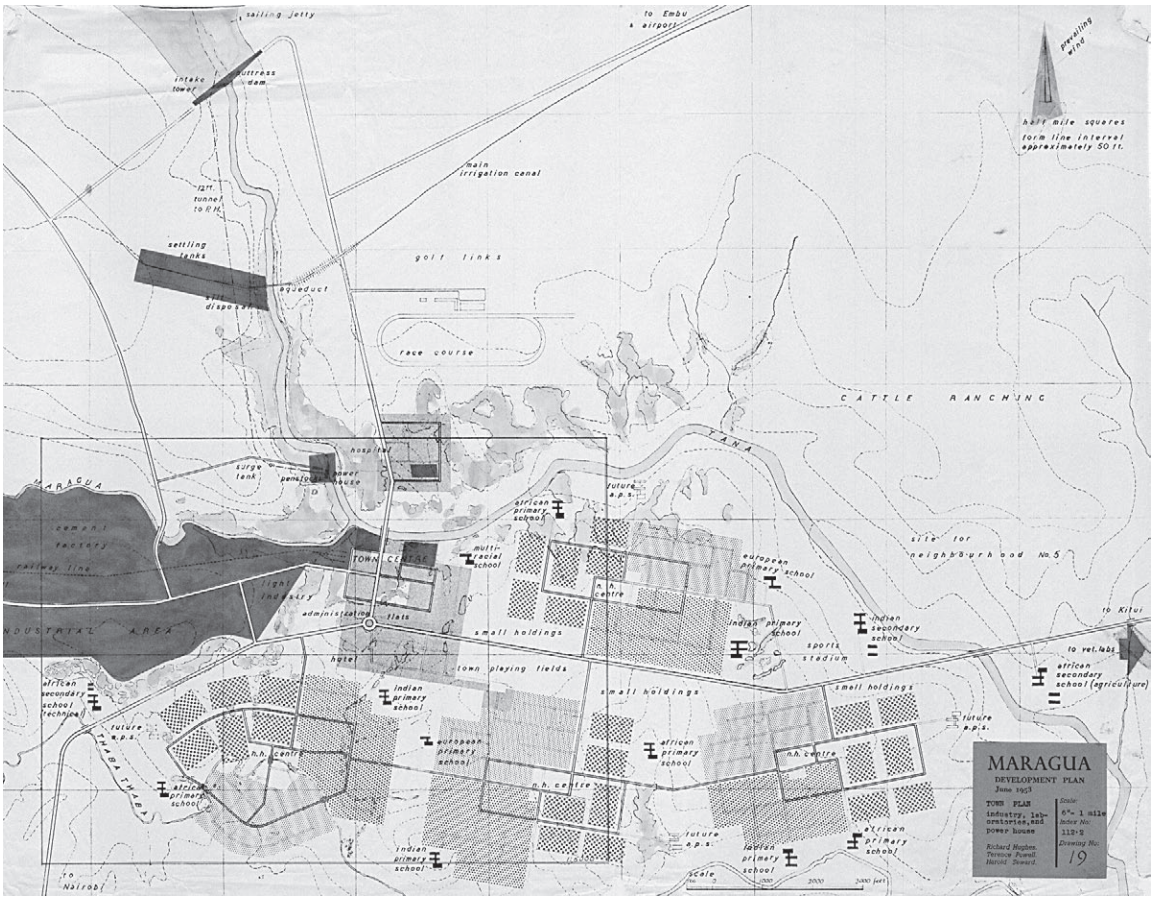

Fig. 14.4 Richard Hughes, Maragua Development Plan, fifth year thesis, Architectural Association (1953)—overall plan. Courtesy of the Architectural Association Archives.

The African neighborhood was given most attention, being further differentiated by arranging houses in short terraces representing family groups, to "soften the impact of modern urban living with its responsibilities and disciplines."[53] To embody the family in a grouping of terraces, the clan by the larger unit of a ten-acre block of such groups, and then the race by the neighborhood, would plan away the impact of modernity, help it to remain outside familiar structures of kinship. Many elements of the plan therefore envisaged race in stable terms, giving the organization a racially restrictive spatial schema whereby phylogenetically limited Kenyans could not advance beyond a certain cosmetic modernity.

Change would occur, or would be registered as having occurred, in two specified areas of the plan. The first is represented in the town center by the plan's finest, most milled-down shading (as opposed to the three racial areas given differently graded shading). Here, in flats and houses "of a fairly high standard," those already prepared would live "amongst those with similar standards." Of these Hughes only

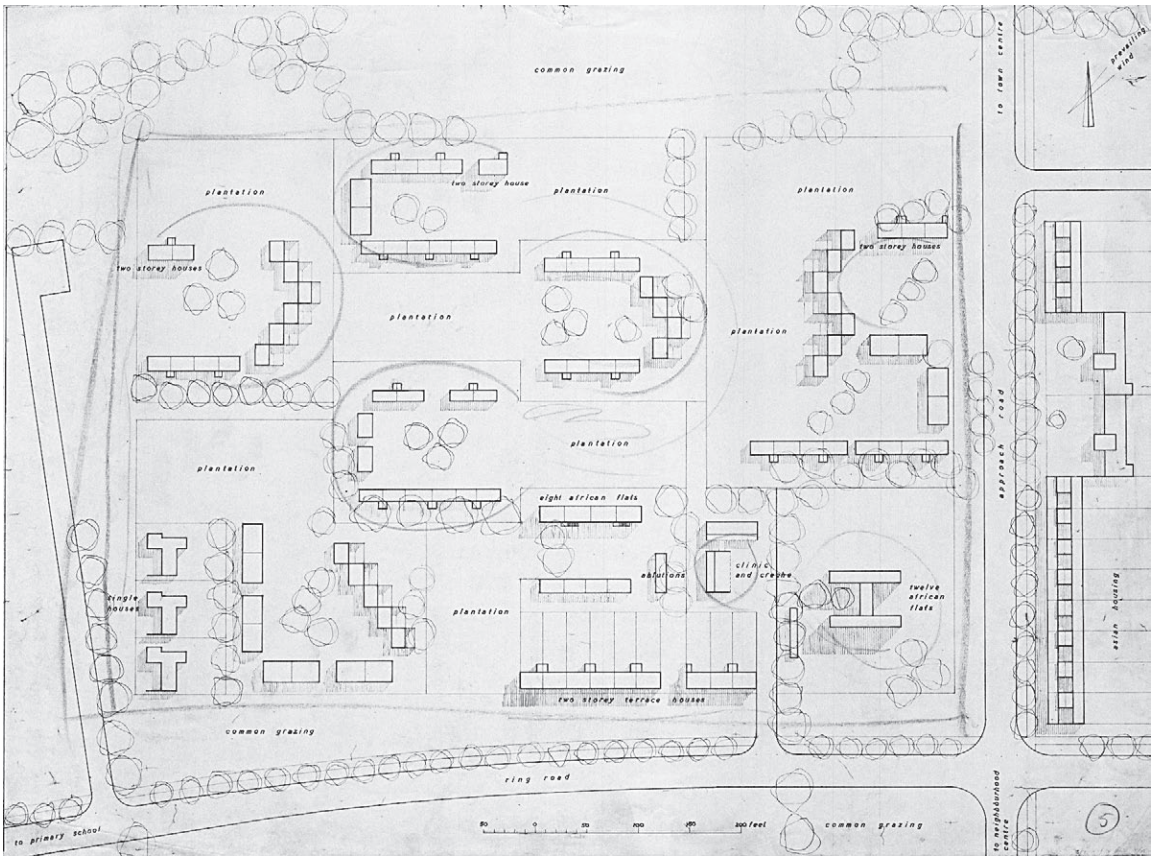

Fig. 14.5 Richard Hughes, Maragua Development Plan, fifth year thesis, Architectural Association (1953)–African neighborhood. Courtesy of the Architectural Association Archives.

singled out the integrated cadres of educated Africans (the *evolué*), who, having already "evolved" (or been routinized into the workplace) elsewhere, would take their rightful place as "leaders of their own community," exemplars of Fanon's sociogenic principle.[54] But while this transculturation activates the most urbanized space of the new town, Europeans and Indians implicitly stay unchanged.

The second area of change consisted of certain designated schools and the central hospital. It was the multiracial nursery schools in the center of each neighborhood that carried the most overt burden of racial mixing. School curricula would expose each child to the cultures of other races through games, folklore, and sharing knowledge about different flora and fauna. The schools were, effectively, distillators of cultural lore, forcing houses of tolerance and respect, racial condensers in which "the lessons of tolerance and respect . . . would be ineradicable."[55]

Beyond such designated areas, however, there are blank unshaded spaces on the plan that are less programmatic, where unsupervised racial integration was possible, but the drifting of the "wretched" more likely. These are found less in the center

of neighborhood units, also blank, than in spaces between these units and the town center, such as around a multiracial school. On the outer fringes of the town blank space includes playing fields, small holdings, sports stadiums, and unspecified land. In some blank space, between the shaded areas, racial mixing may be a side effect of avoiding single-race dominance, in others it may be a product of the "blank" hours of nonwork. Similar areas elsewhere—for example in Ernst May's designs and in numerous colonial cities like Nairobi itself—might form *cordons sanitaires*, areas of separation in reality usually populated by "transient" workers. But in Hughes the function of blank space is differently ambiguous; if this is a mixing space, then it is space still determined by and determining of race. Is it space where, in Fanon's terms, "the phenotype undergoes a definitive, an absolute mutation," as it is acted on by sociocultural elements? Is it space where the self becomes a different kind of colonial subject?

A Contrapuntal Relation

There are several contexts in which Maragua's idea of space as a medium for racial mixing had resonance. Its conceptual and visual inspiration, for example, came clearly from those recent prewar and wartime projects, the MARS Plan for London (1938) and Abercrombie and Forshaw's County of London Plan (1943) and Greater London Plan (1944). As well as their elements of zoning these were typified by their cellular conception of neighborhood units. London's postwar integration was based not on the dissolution of classes but a new interclass settlement where class appropriately belonged.[56] The planner had a moral and state-sanctioned right to reshape "inchoate communities" and promote the "greater mingling of the different groups of London's society."[57] Middle class areas would be made accessible to a greater social mix. Class difference would remain, but a more harmonious society would be created by the intricate interpolation of classes across the spaces of the metropolis.[58] And each community would be centered on the primary school as the institution all citizens would value. In fact the very size of a community was defined by the catchment required for such a school (some 6 to 10,000 people).[59] One can conceive of Hughes absorbing these ideas and simply replacing class with race as their governing rationale.

Relations between class and race are not the only link between the politics of spatial planning in London and colonial Kenya. A form of social psychiatry had emerged just before the war and was used by officialdom in Britain after 1945 to reform or control elements of the population deemed socially destabilizing (it would also be used by some of the new "race relations" sociologists of the next decade).[60] The social psychiatrist was a professional of sudden importance, much like the architect and planner of the welfare state; all were experts in the scientific modernism required to heal or reform society, whether as manifest in the decrepit

built environment or the ruined social landscape of family structures. The particular focus of this work was the home and its associated dimensions, the "problem family," the "broken home," and the "slum," each treated as formative elements in a subject's environmental history. The sciences leveled at them were motivated in part by the "fear of the crowd . . . the unpredictability of a formless mass" symptomatized at the individual level in terms of "drift."[61] The similarities with the racial symptomatology of Carothers's ethnopsychiatry hardly need spelling out.

Perhaps in Maragua race was more of a difference and less of one, by comparison with the psychopathologies transecting the metropolis. On the one hand, by seeing race as the issue causing colonial revolt, especially the effect of modernity on "the minds of rural people," and by deploying architecture and space as the solution, Hughes was continuing some of the spatio-racial practices that had shaped a colonial city like Nairobi, and even articulating some of the same ideas as Carothers. Maragua, like villagization, was also a response to the "isolated hut" and to the idea of the deracinated urban African; it also shaped new community (urban pupilage here being enacted through racial transition zones). On the other hand, Hughes's thesis embodied the dream of metropolitan postwar planning that architecture would solve inherited social problems as well as those generated by modernity. Maragua was a product of this new moral framework for planning in Britain, as much as or more than it was a statement about Kenya.

While Hughes's thesis made no discernable architectural impact, it did have two links to the emerging postimperial politics of race. The first is in Africa. Hughes joined the Capricorn Africa Society when he returned to Kenya, and later became its historian. This was an organization formed to maintain British economic interests by staving off both white supremacy and black nationalism. It aimed to increase European immigration, and to control the transition from white rule in East Africa to power sharing via a multiracial electorate of the educated, with voting loaded in favor of Europeans via the so-called "plural" or "multiple" vote. The society saw itself as above matters like land tenure, being devoted instead to the issue of political representation, a cohabitation within the suffrage that mirrored the racial cohabitation of Maragua.[62]

The second aspect of postimperial racial politics occurred when Maragua was taken up within the new field of "race relations."[63] This was the official management of cultural difference that developed after the 1948 British Nationality Act, which recognized residents of the empire as British citizens, and the influx of Caribbean immigrants into Britain from that date. Kenya also featured in those new discourses centered on the so-called "problem of color," as sensationalized accounts of Mau Mau violence fused with fears about the effects of immigration.[64] In postwar London Hughes's thesis, presented as "a political programme for a multiracial country," made a splash in the media and especially with the colonial

service.[65] Among its admirers were Philip Mason, formerly of the Indian Civil Service and later the first director of the Institute of Race Relations (started in 1958). This context of the empire as a continuing structure of consciousness, rather than the studiously avant-garde circles of the Architectural Association, is where Maragua was best received.[66] For the British reader of the *New Commonwealth* (once the *Crown Colonist*), Maragua seemed to address the central issue of colonial revolt—race—head on, and to deal with it through the means of state planning, the organization of space and facilities, the fantasy of the managed compartmentalized world.