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Lagos’ Delirium is Not That of New York: Rem Koolhaas and the Role of the Author-architect in Conflictive Territories
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The architect Rem Koolhaas, under the umbrella of the Harvard Project on the City, started studying the Nigerian city of Lagos at the end of the 20th century, a megacity that he ended up designating as the paradigm of the urban condition in the 21st century. Following that sentence, based on a superficial and purely formal analysis of a tremendously conflictive context, the article will make visible not only Koolhaas’ own statements, but also the criticisms that have considered this approach a self-absorption of the figure of the architect. Thus, we will show how Koolhaas’ authority is counterproductive for the discipline and architectural practice, since in Lagos there only seems to exist what the author has seen or perceived, making invisible both the multiple and complex spatial dynamics of the subaltern bodies—necessary to understand the particularity of the area—and the previous work of academics, architects or urban planners interested in the spatiality of the conflict.

LAGOS: A SEEMINGLY EMPTY MAP
Between 1998 and 2001, the Harvard Project on the City (HPC) research programme, under the direction of Rem Koolhaas, explored the Nigerian city of Lagos to find a “new conceptual framework and vocabulary for phenomena that can no longer be described within the traditional categories of architecture, landscape, and urban planning.” This research led to widely discussed results, which concluded that Lagos was the forerunner city of urbanism to be implemented and imitated in the 21st century. This was a controversial position that stemmed from understanding informality as a process decontextualised from the economic, social or political circumstances that developed and generated it. It was an abstraction of reality—certainly common among Western tourist-architects—where the informal problem was idealised and understood as a sophisticated and attractive system capable of self-regulating an apparently
uncontrollable chaos. This aesthetic but unethical praise of informality gave birth to the project that has been very harshly criticised in Koolhaas’s professional career, a criticism he is aware of and for which he tries to justify himself:

“in this case, I also felt to judge a kind of sense of responsibility of not caricaturing, or not being ridiculous, or not being simplistic to these people. That made me also kind of vulnerable. My own actual empathy makes me also vulnerable and I wanted to be scrupulous.”

Koolhaas claimed on his first trips to Lagos that “Nigeria was blank on the map—there weren’t even any maps. The US State Department, everyone said don’t go there. (...) It was a no-go zone, almost in its entirety.” An imaginary lack of information made Lagos a dangerous terra incognita: “And there were simply no maps. It was all rumour, an unbelievable amount of rumour—largely about crime and almost mythical manifestations of evil.”

This, we can thus highlight how Mbembe, who had been working for decades on the particular narratives of post-colonial Africa, was formulating a theory that would see the light of day in 2003 under the notion of ‘necropolitics.’ This concept took Foucauldian biopolitics to the extreme in order to crudely and precisely define power relationships on the African continent, emphasizing how its leaders—in insisting that we are not talking exclusively about heads of state but about the country’s multiple networks of power—exercise their authority through violence. These rulers and leaders make decisions at every moment and without any scruples about the life and death of their compatriots or employees, which ends up shaping the very complex spatial dynamics and activities of cities such as Lagos. This situation can be complemented by what historian Laurent Fourchard calls ‘partisan politics,’ which, as we shall see in the next section, served to demand greater precision from the director of the Harvard Project on the City or by the very pertinent concept of ‘people as infrastructure,’ proposed by urban planner AbdouMalig Simone, where the inhabitant becomes the main infrastructure of the city.

In turn, Chimurenga, an African platform for writing, art and politics, was founded in 2002 by the writer, journalist and DJ Ntone Edjabe, whose goal was to allow Africans themselves to “express the intensities” of Africa. In his words, we seek to go beyond the coloniser’s gaze to implement “new practices and methodologies that allow us to engage the lines of flight, of fragility, the precarioussness, as well as joy, creativity and beauty that defines contemporary African life.”

Finally, and from a more architectural point of view and as a possible direct reference for Koolhaas, we should point out that in 1997, Tunde Agbola published his book The Architecture of Fear: Urban Design and Construction Response to Urban Violence in Lagos, Nigeria, where not only the violent practices of the city were shown, but also the spatial tactics of its inhabitants wishing to avoid crimes against people and property. These actions were called Crime Prevention through Environmental Design.

Despite all this, Koolhaas insisted that “it was clear that nobody really knew what was happening in Africa.” Koolhaas seemed to want to mimic Mungo Park, the first Western explorer to travel the Niger River area in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The accounts of Park’s expeditions gave rise to various maps that created false geographies. These included the ‘Mountains of Kong’ or the ‘Mountains of the Moon,’ which supposedly crisscrossed the whole of Africa. These maps were universally believed until the end of the 19th century when the French explorer Louis Gustave Binger demonstrated the non-existence of such mountain ranges. This is evidence of how the African continent has been fertile ground for the deliriums of the Western author.

LAGOS/KOOLHAAS VS LEARNING FROM LAGOS

As a publication of the results, a 56-minute film was produced in 2002 with the title: Lagos/Koolhaas, which made it very clear that the architect’s vision of Lagos—and not the reality of the city itself—was the real motive of the research. The author, through his interpretation, became the work.

The film shows children begging in the streets, metal or plastic workers beside one of the city’s numerous flyovers, vendors occupying the railway tracks, rubbish collectors everywhere and the commercial dynamics at the famous Alaba Market (figs. 03, 04).

Various survival tactics, designated by Koolhaas as fragments of a self-organising system, whose analysis—superficial and unsuccessful—was not intended to decipher the complexity in order to propose a solution, improvement or denunciation, but only sought to export to the West the ‘creativity’ of this informal reality that seduced him: “It is a real creativity in Lagos, and almost doesn’t exist anywhere else and makes people to make the best in terrible situation (sic.).”

However, this enthusiasm for the form of informality meant that Koolhaas did not use the same level of interest to address the many different forces—both visible and hidden—that characterised such spatial constructions. This absence of forces and an excess of form was harshly criticised by the geographer and urbanist Matthew Gandy in his article Learning from Lagos (2005). For Gandy, Lagos fails to understand and describe the city of Lagos accurately: “To treat the city as a living art installation, or to compare it to the neutral space of a research laboratory, is to dehistoricise and depoliticise its experience.”

Lagos is neither an autonomous space nor a generic city, but a territory full of singularities. Koolhaas’ vision, detached from the historical context, is labelled by post-colonial studies as ‘authorised ignorance;’ the ignorance that imperialism uses to sustain its dominant narratives (fig. 01).

Gandy also reproaches Koolhaas for seeing Lagos as a “forerunner of a new kind of urbanism, hitherto ignored within the teleological discourses of Western modernity.” The latter ends up defining it as a type of “urbanism that could be perfectly adapted to the challenges of the 21st century,” for “If Lagos urbanism ‘works,’ the conclusion is inescapable: from his perspective, the city’s capacity to sustain a market is the only indicator of its health.”

Lagos is approached by Koolhaas from a purely economic dimension, ignoring the hierarchical and coercive structures that sustain informal economies. Laurent Fourchard refers to these structures as the ‘partisan politics’ of local bosses and leaders, associations and unions, informal vendors, military chiefs or militias. These are the protagonists of the end of the post-colonial state.

The inclusion of all these actors and their forces (not just the forms they take) would provide the contextual rigour that the research project lacks, where Koolhaas saw a model to imitate, authors such as Mike Davis saw misery:

“Lagos provides ample evidence for Mike Davis’ argument that rapid urban growth in the context of structural adjustment, currency devaluations and state retrenchment has been a ‘recipe for the mass production of city-misery.’”

Another aspect that Koolhaas acknowledges, but overlooks, is the violence in the area:

“This work is not inspired by the need to discover ever more exotic, violent, extreme urban thrills, but by the realization that the engrained vocabulary and values of architectural discourse are painfully inadequate to describe the current production of urban substances.”

Nevertheless, in an interview Koolhaas gave to The Guardian in 2016, the first comments he made about the city were related to crime: “There was a bridge that became the perfect trap for...”
explains the term 'subaltern urbanism' as follows: “At first sight the city had an aura of apocalyptic violence.” For Fourcheard, this violence is not so much a manifestation of the decay of the state but characteristic of the existing political order not only in the city but in Nigeria as a whole. 

**SUBALTERN URBANISM AS OPPOSED TO A GENERIC CITY**

Koolhaas’ apocalyptic vision contrasts with his impression of the city and seems to fall into oblivion when he rents the Nigerian president’s helicopter to take a bird’s eye view of Lagos (fig. 06). From there, conflict, violence and chaos disappeared in favour of: “a much less improvised, much less chaotic Lagos (...) Our preoccupation with the apparently ‘informal’ had been premature, if not mistaken (...) What seemed, on ground level, an accumulation of dysfunctional movements, seemed from above an impressive performance, evidence of how well Lagos might perform if it were the third-largest city in the world.”

This detachment from the reality and scale of the problem leads us to a ‘corporate urbanism,’ ‘capitalist city,’ ‘global city’ or ‘generic city’ – following Koolhaas himself, – as possible denominations for cities that are being built mainly from macroeconomic dimensions and therefore leave sensitivity towards the complexity and particularity of the socio-spatial context as a secondary concern. With these conceptions in mind and in order to insist on the importance of both communities and particular and/or marginal territories in mega-cities such as Lagos, the Indian-born scholar Ananya Roy explains the term ‘subaltern urbanism’ as follows: “Subaltern urbanism then is an important paradigm, for it seeks to confer visibility and recognition on spaces of poverty and forms of popular agency that often remain invisible and neglected in the archives and annals of urban theory.”

This vision, where the subaltern inhabitant becomes one of the main agents to be taken into account during the design process, has been a very residual position throughout the history of urban planning, as it is still the architect or town planner who, through regulatory elements and allocations of uses, becomes the author-creator of the city. Whilst it is true that after the ‘spatial turn’ of the 1970s urban space becomes in space– went beyond mere recognition and into action. Subaltern urbanism begins to be truly useful when it is postulated as the driving force capable of planning contemporary urban spaces, as Roy herself points out, “from the subaltern making the limits of archival recognition to the subaltern as an agent of change.” This complex and operative vision of the singular bodies of Lagos is one that Koolhaas overlooked in the light of his fascination with form, derived from a totalising and superficial approach to infomrality.

**LAGOS IS NOT NEW YORK**

Rem Koolhaas intended – and perhaps still intends – to publish a book about this research, a delicate matter that Bregtje van der Haak, co-director of the Lagos/Koolhaas film, asks him about in 2014. The architect, already prepared for this question, shows different drafts of possible books, prompting the interviewer to ask about the underlying reason why none of the versions had seen the light of day so far since such a book would serve to answer the criticisms he received (fig. 06). At this, Koolhaas snorts, looks at the ground and remains thoughtful for a few seconds until he says: “I think in the end... some kind of lack of concentration... I don’t know (fig. 07).” Lagos’ delirium is not that of New York. Whilst it is true that Delirious New York offers a valid approach to a city that supports almost any narrative, the survival ways of life to which the inhabitants of Lagos are subjected do not accommodate authorial deliriums.

On the first page of the New York manifesto, Koolhaas asserts that “Manhattan is the 20th century’s Rosetta Stone” and that he is not only interested in the island’s buildings – the architecture’s static formalisation – but in the fact that “several layers of phantom architecture in the form of past occupancies, aborted projects and popular fantasies... provide alternative images to the New York that exists,” that is, the multiple dimensions that “have been constantly ignored and even suppressed by the architectural profession.” This obliges him to designate himself as a ‘ghostwriter’ where authorship disappears.

However, when Koolhaas moves to Lagos – the supposed ‘Rosetta Stone’ of 21st-century urbanism – his method of approach becomes sensitive neither to the hidden dynamics of the city nor to any political, economic or subaltern issues, but quite the opposite. Lagos becomes a city that, despite its inherent complexity, becomes prominent because of the attraction of informal processes, which he does not subject to scrupulous investigation in order to understand them in depth. The contradiction between the Koolhaas of New York and Lagos is evident. This leads us to establish five critical points by way of synthesis, as argued in the previous lines, about this Lagos offered by the Dutch architect: a lack of empathy upon seeing emancipation in degradation, an optimistic adherence to economic liberalism in informal areas, depoliticisation, an absence of historical context and a refusal to delve into violent and criminal narratives. These five points must be rethought and never underestimated in territories where conflict becomes the urban form, a conflict that according to anthropologist James Holston is characterised by “collisions of multiple and often contradictory claims, identities, and differences that both shape and are shaped by the commitments residents make to the city as their political community of belonging in their daily lives.”

If conflict comes to be understood as a binding element, generator or protagonist of architecture, then architecture will not only be a form or object to be copied or exalted by the author but a relationship of forces of the bodies that produce or avoid it, with the inhabitants and their context being the author of this architecture. Architecture as anonymous as it is multiple.

**ON THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FORM AND, AS SUCH, OF THE AUTHOR**

This article has sought to demonstrate, through Rem Koolhaas, Harvard Project on the City and Lagos, that when the spatial condition or context that constructs an architecture, district or city is characterised by a highly complex and almost unfathomable network of conflicts, resistances and survival strategies – leaving buildings, objects or static forms in the background – the notion of authorship (the author as a creative entity or interpreter) fades away.

Authorship becomes a much more elusive, dispersed, open, relational and impersonal stance, where a unique, dogmatic, formalist or biased vision is not capable of producing a piece of work or interpretation that is both responsible and appropriate to the territory. If the author is an architect and there are no longer any forms to analyse or construct following the classical or modern language of architecture but rather a multiplicity of bodies, forces and dynamics to become sensitive to, the notion of authorship, as the philosopher Félix Guattari wrote, should begin to be constructed and reformulated based on the following reflection: “From the moment in which the architect no longer aims just to be plastic of edified forms but would also propose herself/himself as a revealer of the virtual desires of space, places, routes and territory, she/he will have to bring analysis to the relationships of individual and collective corporeality, constantly singularising her/his approach and should become (...) an artist and a crafts-person of the lived experience, both sensitive and relational.”

Lagos’ (author-architect) delirium is not that of New York.
Koolhaas, "From a Deep, Deep Pit": Rem Shows How a City Can Recover

03. contributed to his unease at the personal experience perhaps seven years (since 1945). This had been independent for only the Republic of Indonesia, which in Jakarta, the capital of the age of 8 to 12 (1952 to 1956). Note that Rem Koolhaas interviewed about Lagos, https://vimeo.com/97503875. His line of research –focused on cartographying conflicts and resistances through the subaltern bodies that construct it– has been published in international journals such as the Chilean ARQ, the Dutch MUTATIONS, the German MONU (University of Weimar-Bauhaus), and exhibited in events such as the Chile Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism 2017 or the Venice Biennale of 2016 and 2018. He is co-founder of the collective ‘Arquitectura Subaltern’ and is currently a visiting faculty at CEPT University. E-Mail: victor.m.cano@gmail.com ORCID: 0000-0002-2199-4273

Notes
02. Architect Rem Koolhaas interviewed about Lagos, 2014, https://vimeo.com/97503875. Note that Rem Koolhaas lived with his father from the age of 8 to 12 (1952 to 1956) in Jakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia, which had been independent for only seven years (since 1945). This personal experience perhaps contributed to his unease at the criticism he has received.

04. The word ‘chimurenga’ comes from Shona (one of the Bantu languages of Zimbabwe) and means ‘Revolutionary Struggle.’ The term is associated with the insurrection carried out by the Ndebele and Shona Bantu ethnic groups against the British South Africa Company in what is known as ‘The Second Matabele War’ or ‘First Chimurenga’ of the late 1890s. It may also refer to the ‘Second Chimurenga’ or ‘Rhodesian Bush War,’ which pitted African nationalist guerrillas against the white majority in Rhodesia during the 1960s and 1970s.
05. These references were ignored by Koolhaas and some were reviewed by Joseph Godlewski in “Alien and Distant: Rem Koolhaas on Film in Lagos, Nigeria,” Public Culture 16, n. 3 (2004): 407-29.
06. The notion of necropolitics, by objectifying human beings and alienating them to the point of being just another –somewhat dispensable– part of the machinery of production, has often been linked to the most savage facets of capitalism.
08. https://chimurengachronic.co.za/about/
09. Tunde Agbola points out that the book was born out of the Urban Violence Symposium held in Nigeria in 1994 in response to the need to study the effects of violence not only on bodies but also on the territory’s physicality.
Futhermore, it should also be noted that the book does not understand crime as an isolated action but contextualises it within the conditions of the territory. In this regard, see chapter 3 “Lagos: A Socio-economic Profile of Selected neighbourhoods.”
13. Matthew Gandy is an urban planner and geographer concerned about social aspects. He founded and directed the Urban Laboratory at UCL-Bartlett University from 2005 to 2011.
17. Ibid, p. 124. Gandy echoes a quote by Koolhaas about Lagos: “Yes, it is still –for lack of a better word– a city; and one that works.” Koolhaas et al., Mutations, p. 682.
19. Gandy insists that the informal market “cannot be abstracted from a more all-encompassing economic and political context: the virtual disappearance of the manufacturing sector, the devastation of rural smallholdings, the plundering of oil revenues by military elites.” Gandy, “Learning from Lagos,” p. 119.
20. Ibid, p. 121.
22. MICHAEL, C., “Lagos Shows How a City Can Recover from a Deep, Deep Pit.” We should also add to this the general view of the dangerous no-go zone and the words of architect Kunlé Adeyemi in the same interview: “There was a lot of crime in several pockets, and it was a very difficult city to navigate.”
24. Following Ananya Roy, “the megacity is the ’subaltern of urban studies. It cannot be represented in the archives of knowledge and therefore cannot be the subject of history.” It is in this historical and representative void that the interest of this approach lies. Roy, “Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism,” p. 224.
26. This was the moment when ‘space’ ceased to be an abstract concept monopolised by certain disciplines and was understood as a production, as Henri Lefebvre indicated, or an experience, according to Bernard Tschumi, where the
Autoría múltiple: la producción colaborativa de conocimiento en la Shinkenchiku Residential Design Competition (1965-2020)
Cathelijne Nuijsink


De igual modo, al desmitificar la genialidad de un único juez “arquitecto estrella”, el artículo aporta su grano de arena en la actual cruzada de escribir una historia global de la arquitectura más inclusiva, donde se puedan oír voces hasta hoy silenciadas.

La editorial japonesa Shinkenchiku-sha convocó un concurso internacional de ideas para vivienda en 1965 en un intento de dar nuevos aires a su revista de arquitectura Shinkenchiku (Nueva Arquitectura), que ya entonces contaba con una larga trayectoria de cuarenta años. Tras un conflicto editorial, la publicación se había vuelto bastante conservadora y sus editores rehuían cualquier opinión controvertida. Para revitalizarla y atraer a lectores jóvenes, acordaron que le vendrían bien algunas páginas más vanguardistas, e inspirados por diversos concursos de vivienda que la revista...