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ABSTRACT

Functionalist sociologist and planner Austin Tetteh was the first African Dean of the Faculty of Architecture at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) in 1971. KNUST soon became a pioneer anticolonial institution that nonetheless incorporated the neocolonial influences of its global staff in order to succeed. European planners in KNUST advocated for architectural functionalism and rapid action, reacted to European rationalist planning, provided paternalist education, considered expertise as universal, and saw humans as resources of the economic production. On the other hand, although continuist, Tetteh presented an approach to planning that was informed by sociological functionalism, emphasized the detriments of colonial legacies, sought collaboration instead of imposition from Europe, spoke to global networks from a socio-geographic situated position, and considered humans as active resources for national and continental developmentalism. The term "Environ", used by KNUST staff and students in the 1970s, summons these aspects from an African situated cosmopolitan perspective on ecology and society.

Environing as Situated Worldmaking

The histories told of the architecture of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) are mainly focused on the work of western and, most recently, eastern European architects in the Departments of Architecture and Planning in the Faculty of Architecture. These focus, amongst others, on the European architects of KNUST in collaboration with British anthropologists, and the construction of campus buildings that were, at the time, developed by Ghanaian and European architects, a collaboration that would continue in the 1970s and 1980s.[1] Most of the international literature of Ghanaian architecture starts in the 1940s and ends in 1966 with the coup d'état by the National Liberation Council, and seems fascinated with the

influence of Kwame Nkrumah himself in shaping Pan-African movements, challenging neoliberal forces, and the relation of these to tropical architecture, i.e., the climate-based methods of architectural design. By exploring histories that trespass these temporal limits I instead aim to pay attention to the inertia of the ecology of ideas that preceded KNUST and that continued throughout Ghana's four coups d'état and periods of civil and military rule. With this, I want to challenge western depictions of African politics as inherently unstable.[2]

Sociologist and planner Austin Tetteh moved through several institutions which, during the 1960s and early 1970s, were nodes of an international intelligentsia with prominent anthropologists, architects, planners, artists, and many other practitioners of the built environment. First, Tetteh was taught by Kofi Abrefa Busia in the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana that Busia himself had established. Later in the 1950s, he studied at Cornell University and at the School of Ekistics in Athens. The latter was a multidisciplinary centre led by Constantinos Doxiadis, who in turn would produce plans in the late 1950s and early 1960s for Tema, the Accra-Tema-Akosombo metropolitan Area, and Accra's Central Area.[3] During the 1950s, Tetteh worked for the Office of the Town Planning Adviser in Accra, and for the Research Section of the Division of Town and Country Planning in Accra and in Kumasi. In October 1961 he became Lecturer and Assistant Director in the Institute for Community Planning (ICP) at KNUST, and in close cooperation with the Research Building Group at KNUST for whom he would provide advice.[4] Soon thereafter, in 1963, with the integration of the ICP into the Faculty of Architecture of KNUST, Tetteh "was promoted Senior Lecturer and was put in charge of the course in regional planning."[5] Tetteh became head of research and (later, in 1967) head of the Department of Planning, right before taking sabbatical years to study in the United States.[6]

KNUST was that second node of international intelligentsia, in which artists, architects, and planners began to gather for very different reasons. South African Selby Mvusi fled Apartheid due to his activism and found a temporary but unwelcoming home in the KNUST Faculty of Arts.[7] Max Bond, an architect from the United States, "was part of a small group of African-Americans in Ghana, committed to helping in the establishment of Africa's first fully independent state," whilst "escaping the limited opportunities and incipient racism present in the Architectural profession in the USA in the 1950s."[8] Several British architects, most prominently from the Architectural Association (AA), found a space to shape, afresh, their holistic vision of architecture with the ambition to redirect British colonial influences.[9] Other eastern European architects arrived with the intention of "socialist worldmaking" but were completely alien to the environmental characteristics of Kumasi.[10] From further afield, Leandro Viloria arrived in the 1960s at KNUST to conduct his research for a master's degree at the University of British Columbia on physical planning programmes in the Global South, which he used to shape the Philippine Institute of Environmental Planners in the late 1960s.[11]

With Tetteh's deanship in the 1970s, the Faculty of Architecture developed a particularly African and cosmopolitan approach to ecology and Tetteh himself became its convenor and spokesperson through publications like *Environ*, interdisciplinary clusters like the Urbanization Study Centre, and his participation in international

planning conferences, from the Commonwealth Association of Planners in 1977 in Liverpool, to pre- and post-Habitat I conference lectures in Vancouver, as well as other international conferences in sociology and related disciplines.[12] Tetteh presented himself as an ally of avant-garde British planning methods, although from an African anticolonial and Ghanaian developmentalist perspective.[13] His holistic approach to planning was informed by sociological training, emphasizing the detriments of colonial legacies, and he sought collaboration instead of imposition from Europe, spoke to global networks from a socio-geographic situated position, and considered humans as active resources of national and continental developmentalism.

These aspects of Tetteh's practice I suggest could be summoned in the term "environ" as KNUST staff and students used it in the 1970s.[14] Environing is a situated practice that departs from a deep knowledge of the environment and its society, the history that preceded it, and the ambitions of a population for their future built environment. From Tetteh's sociological perspective, to environ one had to depart from the survey as the foremost sociological and architectural and planning method, which KNUST had developed with students and for key national infrastructural projects and which persisted into the 1990s.[15]

To environ, in the expanded sense I am suggesting from KNUST, could be one of architecture's contributions to the literature on worldmaking and worlding, benefiting from architecture's mantra of a situated approach to the construction of the built environment, and of the survey as the premise of any plan of any scale in the world. Worldmaking practices highlight "the world as an emerging dimension of practice" full of diversity and connections; and worlding practices highlight the terrain as a space where practices from all over the world conflate—from the construction of an environment by oppressive colonial knowledge to the construction of a utopian platform for multiple futures. From a worlding perspective, one's understanding of a terrain, a region, or a nation (or other) is shaped by its representation which in turn shapes oneself and the subjects living in that terrain; for instance, colonial epistemic violence shapes the terrain and its subjects by imposing knowledge, language, and cartography that shapes the way one conceives of the terrain and the environment which in turn defines the self.[16] To environ as a disruptive world(mak)ing practice embodies and pushes forward the idea of worlding when it "becomes about acknowledging one's situation [and that of the environment] and then opening up to new versions of what might be possible today and in the future."[17] Just as worlds have been imposed on one's own environment, one can reimagine a different world from that environ, situating the architectural and environmental setting before considering any attempt at shaping the world (and the subject as a construction of that world) that in KNUST, as I explain in the following sections, took the form of surveying the socio-economic conditions of the terrain as a form of making the world or worldmaking. Such a situated approach does not fit an idea of worldmaking in which the emphasis is elsewhere.[18]

A question arises from these considerations framed in this special issue: if cosmopolitanism means belonging to everywhere and anywhere, free from national limitations (a privilege that prioritizes the unattached western wealthy man that roams around the world), can one become cosmopolitan if one's practice is situated in the

country in which one was born, was raised and lives? To environ, to encircle, as with any action, has a point of departure that in the histories of this paper is African and Ghanaian. The cosmopolitanism of KNUST's Faculty of Architecture and of its Ghanaian leaders can be an opportunity to reflect upon present conceptions of Afropolitanism, particularly recent ones that rely neither on privilege nor a fixed idea of movement, which might constitute the political dimension of "environing."[19] The Afropolitan encompasses two forms of movement: dispersion, as in the itinerary of the African in history; and immersion, the non-African in Africa.[20] Tetteh's practice lies somewhere in between the two movements. On the one hand, it accepts the immersed Afropolitanism of all those from all over the world that came to KNUST and the dispersion of those in KNUST that travelled east, west, and south in search for further education and to share their practices—as Tetteh did. On the other hand, it understands that this cosmopolitanism is embodied by an African subject concerned with a region: indigenizing but not nativizing.[21] The cosmopolitanism that I present is also translatable to other environs but from a clearly situated position. To attend to KNUST, and particularly to Tetteh's leadership, responds to the now pervasive question put by Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff: "What if we posit that, in the present moment, it is the global south that affords privileged insight into the workings of the world at large?"[22]

It is no coincidence that this question is reflected in the status of Tetteh's archive, which does not exist in a conventional, definitive sense. Following the dispersion and immersion moves of a situated cosmopolitan actor, Tetteh's archive is a diffuse collection of reports, chapters, editorial forwards in publications, conference proceedings, recorded talks, and other hard to find pieces that are scattered in libraries and archives of Ghana, the United Kingdom and the United States of architecture, sociology, social work, and other disciplines. More material might be found in archives of architects and planners that visited or worked in KNUST's cosmopolitan environment, which only further reflects the act of environing from Ghana, from Africa, and towards the world.

African Architectural Sociology or "World-Knowledge"

> Two mouths that feed a single stomach
> Fight that each may taste the food
> To share a first hand view. They should.[23]

Funtunfunefu Denkyemfunefu, or *Funtumfrafo*, became the adinkra symbol "chosen by the Faculty [of Architecture at KNUST] to express its aim in teaching a comprehensive vision of social and environmental planning and design."[24] It was adopted during the collaboration between KNUST and the AA, alongside architects from eastern Europe and the United States as they sought to bring in a climate-responsive design that met the needs of Ghanaians, attending thus to climate, material possibilities, social patterns, and other matters (fig. 1). This approach can be defined as expanding the general remit of architectural functionalism (where form follows function), to reach those aspects of a building's function that had been specifically identified by architects in Ghana.[25] Another functional approach to architecture coexisted
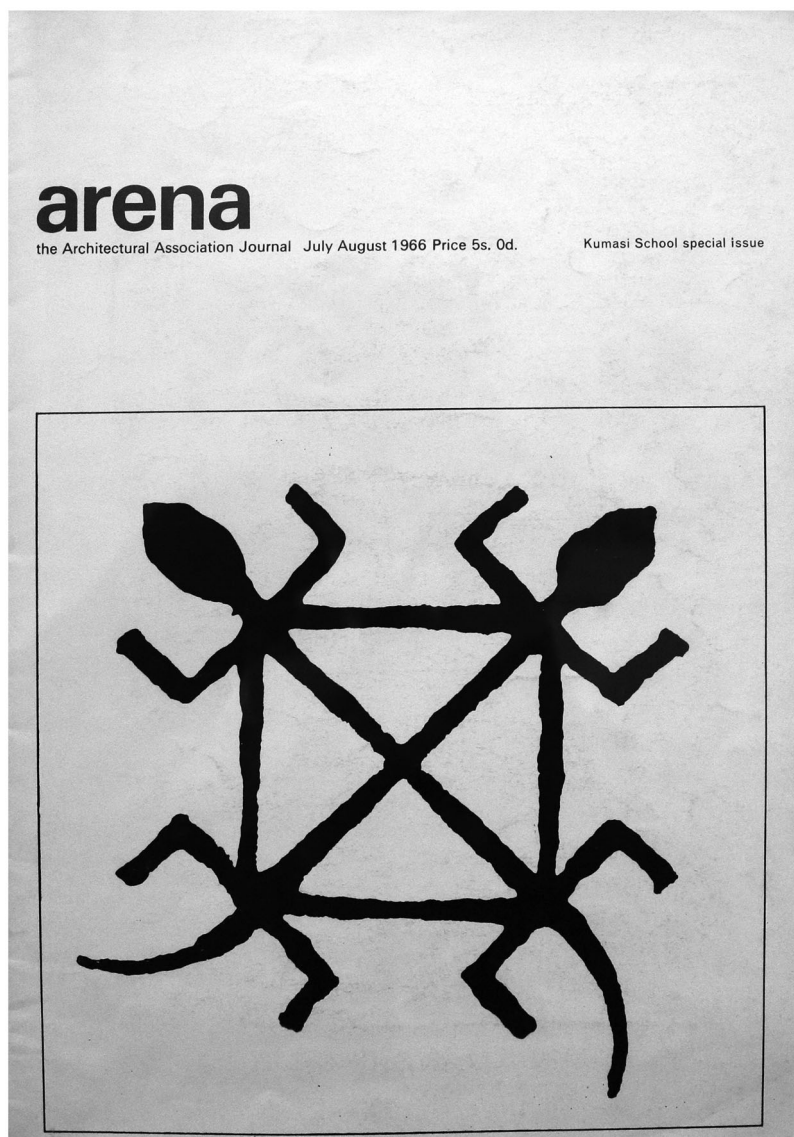
Figure 1. *Arena: The Architectural Association Journal* 82, no. 903 (June 1966) cover. Courtesy AA Archives.

with this approach, but only thrived after the AA reduced its presence in the school. This was a sociologically inflected practice of architecture that arrived in KNUST through three generations of Ghanaians that reorganized the priorities of foreign architects, bringing social patterns to the forefront. This can be further defined as a sociological functionalism or design as a response to the functions of human society they had identified; a functionalism difficult to disentangle from an anthropological functionalism—particularly in Ghana—that I distinguish throughout the piece. The three functionalisms—one architectural yet situated; the other two sociological/anthropological—departing from two different premises, met each other in both the

shaping of productivity, and the understanding of the environment as a whole. For architectural functionalism this whole emphasized the environment that shaped the space which, in turn, shaped human productivity; for anthropological functionalism the environment shaped humans and their needs, which in turn shaped the architecture in which they lived; whilst for sociological functionalism it was society shaping itself, thus shaping the architecture and the environment where they lived. Understanding the point of departure each took might clarify the sort of relation each had with the shaping of the human and its productivity. These functionalist approaches coexisted at KNUST and never disappeared, at least throughout the 1970s and 1980s with students becoming lecturers and continuing to publish within these strands of thought.[26] In this section I attend very briefly to architectural functionalism as it has been explored by scholars of tropical architecture before turning at length to the difficult entanglement in Ghana of anthropological and sociological functionalism.

Architectural functionalism is, simply, the architectural practice whereby form follows function. This was particularly clear at KNUST, where architecture was understood as a direct response to climatic conditions in the land. Here, "form follows function" became "form follows climate" (see fig. 2 or a model of a wind tunnel to study the shape of the house in response to air currents in contrast to fig. 3 depicting an everyday life moment as a form of anthropological functionalism), or even "form follows finance," where the self-help housing responses of western architects to

Figure 2. Photograph from the Faculty of Architecture's pledge for funding, here interpreted as presenting architectural functionalism (the first) and anthropological functionalism (the second) in *UST Kumasi Expansion Fund: 6,000,000 New Cedis 1968–1973* (Kumasi: University of Science and Technology Kumasi, 1968), 9.

Figure 3. Photograph from the Faculty of Architecture's pledge for funding, here interpreted as presenting architectural functionalism (the first) and anthropological functionalism (the second) in *UST Kumasi Expansion Fund: 6,000,000 New Cedis 1968–1973* (Kumasi: University of Science and Technology Kumasi, 1968), 9.

resettlement schemes in Ghana (particularly in the Volta River Project) were conditioned by the accumulation of international debt.[27] This was a holistic approach in so far as it tried to consider all climatic conditions to shape the built environment whilst it aimed to shape the productivity of its inhabitants; to make them productive was to make them useful to society. Such architectural functionalism arrived as much from the AA as it did from eastern European architects, and was usually present in the work of other schools from all over the world focusing on the tropics.[28]

The study of KNUST's sociological functionalist practice, as led by Tetteh, must begin with the relation of sociology and anthropology to its colonial inheritances, and particularly through the emic–etic dilemma to which Tetteh and other Ghanaian sociologists were providing a response. With some exceptions, whilst the British architecture context received a sociology informed both by the sociological study of the selves and by the non-native anthropological study of the oppressed "other," the Ghanaian architecture context received a native and non-native sociology informed by non-native colonial anthropology of oppressed selves.[29] British anthropologists travelled the world to study subjects in British colonies and recorded knowledge which was later adapted to the anthropological study of citizens in the British Isles (as Mass Observation would do from the 1930s). Meanwhile, both British and Ghanaians trained in the British Isles would later settle in Ghana and expand that external knowledge and its methods towards a Ghanaian sociology that challenged anthropological colonial methods. Tetteh found himself learning sociology in Ghana from Ghanaians trained as anthropologists in the UK and from British

anthropologists who studied West African rural communities in imperial Britain. Since the focus outside Europe was on anthropological studies, very little had been studied of Ghana's urban society, and even less of the relations of different communities, population growth, dwelling, or labour, sociological information essential for architects' responses to their own societies.[30]

In 1950, social anthropologist Kofi Abrefa Busia led the establishment of the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana which complicated the training of sociologists in Ghana by bringing anthropological thinking and its colonial roots to the forefront.[31] Having studied in Oxford, Busia developed his programme with teaching material and lectures by British anthropologists, most of whom having trained in colonial West Africa. Amongst the invited speakers was Meyer Fortes, Busia's own PhD supervisor. Fortes was a convinced functionalist social anthropologist whose theories on kinship developed through studies first of the Tallensi in Northern Ghana, and later, when he led the Sociology Department of the West African Institute in Ghana, of the Ashanti. Fortes's connection to Tetteh is threefold. First, Fortes was one of the lecturers who would influence Tetteh's later writing and its invocation of Busia, Jack Goody, and Fortes himself.[32] Second, Fortes worked alongside British architects in Ghana to provide knowledge of the terrain and its population, even if his specific interest in rural communities—particularly on tribal dynamics—made his studies particularly difficult for British architects working in the urban realm to implement.[33] And third, Fortes had trained such leading anthropologists as Daryll Forde and Mary Douglas, both having contributed to Forde's *African Worlds*, and who would later teach in the Department of Tropical Studies at the Architectural Association from the late 1950s until at least 1964, when the AA initiated its collaboration with KNUST.[34]

Therefore, Busia's training led to a Department of Sociology with strong influences from colonial anthropology which reproduced racist and stereotyping studies. This went alongside a social anthropological functionalist approach that became "the dominant theoretical framework adopted by Ghanaian anthropologists/sociologists in the early years."[35] Initiated most prominently in the early twentieth century by Bronislaw Malinowski—who, in turn, influenced such eminent African leaders as Jomo Kenyatta—anthropological functionalism promoted the study of the environment as a whole: "Social practices and institutions were functional in the sense that they fit together in a functioning whole, which they contributed to maintaining."[36] This functionalism did not cater for conflict and tensions in society, resulting in approaches where society was presented in a fictional harmonious whole. Finally, the department developed quantitative methods with little space for qualitative ones which sociologists had to develop on their own.[37]

Tetteh was part of the first cohort of Busia's students who would absorb and reproduce these approaches.[38] His time at the Department of Sociology should have been of extreme turbulence and excitement. After Nkrumah's victories in the 1950s municipal elections and 1951 national elections of the Gold Coast, Busia became the leader of the opposition, from 1952 in Ghana and from 1956 in exile. In those first years of the Department of Sociology, and before his oppositional leadership, Busia wrote two manifestos for *West African Affairs*: *A Series of Discussion Pamphlets*, one

on "Education for Citizenship," opening the series, and another on "Self-Government," both published by the British Bureau of Current Affairs in collaboration with the Director of Extra-Mural Studies at what was at the time the University of the Gold Coast—a role that would soon be taken by another of Busia's early students, Kwasi Ampene.[39]

In the first pamphlet, Busia advocated some of the most extreme functionalist tenets. He asked: "Education for what?" To which he responded: to earn a living, to build values and, most importantly, to become "useful members of society."[40] Such utility-oriented focus was always thought in relation to the environment as a whole, conditioned by three positions. First, the population comprised of "child[ren] of the ages, having relations with all mankind,"[41] from the present, past and future, and who shaped their surroundings. Second, humans were understood in relation to "soil and Nature, and the links between his home and distant lands."[42] And third, that the human "lives in society, and is connected by a network of social relations with its members."[43] These terms led Busia to advocate for an education with an African background—confronting myths of a superstitious and primitivist Africa still present in the colonial Gold Coast—but integrated with western political, moral and social values.[44]

From these considerations, Busia proposed a "Social Studies Course" for every school—also termed "World-Knowledge"—that would combine the material of different disciplines in one sole interdisciplinary course, drawn from history, geography, science, literature, and arts, amongst others, but always focused on the social circumstances of society, the problems it faced, and its relationships with other societies "in so far as they affect this country."[45] This holistic perspective, Busia suggested, would provide "effective guidance for life" that schools lacked.[46] This guidance, he suggested, was missing from universities in Europe and North America that had only focused on producing new knowledge and new ideas and that therefore did not "teach us how we should live."[47]

This paternalist approach derived from Busia's own personal experience of coming back to his hometown when he felt that his formal education was isolating him from his roots, realizing that formal education was splitting formal and indigenous knowledge. This concern resonated with other sectors of society that felt this gap between forms of education and colonial legacies.[48] He suggested that proper engagements between these forms of knowledge could benefit the nation.[49] This was taken up by some under the banner of purposeful education as a form of manpower management for national advancement.[50] As Kwasi Ampene (Tetteh's colleague in Busia's classes) pronounced in a symposium in 1973 in which both participated:

> we need to indoctrinate our people with a philosophy of nation-building which they understand, e.g. self-reliance, and to commit ourselves to the realization of objectives which we shall outline in accordance with this philosophy. In short, we must give our people a direction, and provide them with a framework for ordering social relationships.[51]

Over the years, Tetteh would bridge the division between sociology and urban planning, distinguishing his approach from architects who had become disenchanted with the promise of the social sciences.[52] British architects such as Jane Drew or Maxwell Fry, as well as such influential architects in the AA's Department of Tropical

Studies as Peter Smithson, saw social anthropology (and probably sociology as well) as being able to define historical social patterns but incapable of approaching change: "what the pattern is to be now seems to be more a matter of social magic rather than social anthropology."[53] And this concern was partly reinforced by the lack of social urban studies.[54] Also, the main lecturers of the AA Department of Tropical Studies little by little dismissed the study of society, leaving room for managerial and entrepreneurial ideas in developmental studies concerned with the Global South. To this Tetteh directly and diplomatically responded, pushing for the reintegration of the social sciences.[55] At the same time, he would contribute to the construction of sociology in Ghana, and to an international network of planning practices. He was producing both social surveys of towns affected by the River Volta Project and planning proposals as part of western town plans.[56] Meanwhile, such work as his "Social Background of the Kumasi Plan" was published both in the first issue of *Acta Sociologica* of 1962 and in *Ekistics*, the Greek-based journal of international planning.[57] Notably, from 1967 to 1971 he took study leave at the University of Pennsylvania to complete a PhD in Sociology, Regional and City Planning, devising town planning as a response to the optimal distribution of *manpower*—an epitome of a functionalist study—for the independence of the nation from extractivist powers.[58]

The contact between Europeans and Ghanaians from the "allied arts" at KNUST saw an ambivalent relation to anthropology and sociology that resulted in a complex relation between anthropological and sociological functionalism on the one side, and architectural functionalism on the other, which subtlety coexisted despite being diametrically opposed in their premises. KNUST's early years saw in-depth sociological studies produced by its Building Research Group (BRG), established in 1959, and which would become the Research Department in the Faculty of Architecture in 1963, to be soon thereafter led by Tetteh. Compared to its British counterparts, like the Building Research Station at Watford and the West African Building Research Institute, the BRG was "thinking in much more comprehensive terms and much further ahead, as an aid to long-term national planning and not just a guide to the building industry and related professions."[59] The studies of the early BRG looked at those aspects of built environments that the building trade had no time for and that fulfilled anthropological and sociological functionalist concerns, including "family habits, harvest seasons, hygiene, main roads and mammy-wagons, schooling and job-hunting."[60] Their results were published as two national monographs on population and town patterns, and a specific study of Tema Manhean that tried to repair the damage of the early plans draughted by Tema's European architects.[61] From the architecture school, social studies focused on the main national projects of the country—either Bui, Volta, or Tema resettlement schemes—and combined these studies with architectural proposals.[62]

The functionalism at KNUST however must be seen also through the strong opposition that Busia's functionalism faced from students in Legon in the 1960s and from sociologists of the second Ghanaian Department of Sociology established at Cape Coast in 1963. Functionalism was too closely connected to indirect colonial rule. A revised study of Max Assimeng's *History of Ghanaian Sociology* reveals that functionalism (in Malinowski's tradition, as taught in Ghana) is synonymous with

epistemic violence for its colonial roots and legacies, and because it does not begin from the interests of the Ghanaian population. For some with Marxist training like sociologist Kwesi Kwaa Prah, functionalism should be questioned in a non-western society with social dynamics that cannot be understood in functionalist terms. Functionalism was incapable of tackling conflicts and tensions because, as Busia's 1950s study of Sekondi-Takoradi showed, it left behind those in the liminal and conflicting spaces of society, or those not functional with respect to the whole.[63] This discussion remains ongoing in Ghanaian sociology, and it prompts a line of enquiry into KNUST's functionalisms which are nonetheless still approached too leniently. Closer attention to Tetteh's work introduces a more comprehensive and inclusive functionalism that resolves some of the emic–etic dilemmas of this starting point, as the next sections will show, but still show the service that such anthropological training provided to neocolonial forms of practicing architecture and planning.

Surveying as Situated World-Knowledge

The ambivalent perception of the social sciences presented above would translate into different ways of approaching sociological studies during the 1960s at KNUST, the period that accounts for the maximum presence of Europeans in leading roles at the Departments of Architecture and Planning. The idea of "patterns" was pervasive in both sociology and architecture as a performative concept that synthesized a general overview of the movements of society in a functional whole. It was prominent in different traditions of social and cultural anthropologies, as a concept that provided the possibility of, on the social side, transforming field data into general observations, and on the cultural side an understanding of the limits of the "normal." This enabled comparative studies across communities, which social anthropology generally rejected in principle.[64] Both a comparative (cultural) and holistic (social) approaches to anthropology reverberated through the AA's intervention in KNUST between 1963 and 1966, when the history of architecture was approached as a "comparative study of world cultures and by special studies on Africa stressing the formative influences of economic, social, climatic, geographical and historical factors."[65] However, with such an ambitious approach, the study of society transformed into general overviews that were given as holistic patterns but that missed the connection to complex layers of regional, national, continental, and international concerns of the issues at hand.

In the 1960s, West African and European architects at KNUST produced *Occasional Reports* on regions affected by the main infrastructural projects in the country, and associated projects—some of these as reports on work-in-progress projects undertaken with the students.[66] All of these projects presented brief sociological and environmental surveys with planning responses. At the same time, Tetteh and other western architects were writing comprehensive national reports on population distribution and development proposals. The differences in their analyses of population growth are telling. Generally, western architects accounted for the tropics as an almost homogeneous region characterized by its exponential population growth and rural–urban migration, to which they provided responses through self-help and similar planning tools and noting the urgency of planning proposals.[67] Meanwhile, Tetteh's quantitative sociological

studies—and his qualitative interpretation of these—noted both a lack of information and the colonial extractivist nature of urban settlements in the Global South. Tetteh demystified the general argument that urban population growth was directly causing hardship of life in Ghanaian cities—as Koenigsberger would generally do—whilst he asked to avoid putting Europe as the model of planning. He called for a situated regional and holistic approach that included the rural as part of the equation:

> The yardstick for judgement should not be a comparison between urban level of services and general well-being in Ghana and those in more developed countries. The question one should ask could be worded as follows: Is the urban level of services and general wellbeing worse or better than in the past, worse or better than in rural areas? The emphasis is laid on the term "general" or total as a sum of all indicators of level of living (economic, social, cultural and the like).[68]

At the same time, he posed the dilemma of the social scientist when confronted with planning policy that is in direct opposition to foreign approaches in Ghana: "If a choice is given between two alternatives, namely: hastened economic growth accompanied by over-urbanization or slow economic development to avoid over-urbanization it is easy to guess what will be the decision of policy makers."[69]

In 1977, more than ten years later, Tetteh encountered his British colleagues from KNUST again at the Conference on Education for Planning in Liverpool University, including John Lloyd, Otto Koenigsberger, and Gerald Dix.[70] The conference was attended by representatives from schools and planning departments in Kenya, Nigeria, Barbados, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Tanzania, and Malaysia. Eight sessions were divided in two clusters: education for developed countries and education for developing countries. Each session opened with a "sessional" paper to which other papers responded. Only one sessional paper was given by a person from the Global South and this was by Tetteh. Its transcript appears at the end of the proceedings. The remaining Global South attendants presented papers in response. This structure replicated the structure of the Conference of Tropical Architecture twenty-five years earlier in London that is now a standard point of departure from which to think of histories of western architecture in the Global South and specifically in the tropics,[71] and where two polarized positions appeared: one led by British architects and another led by West African architect Adedokun Adeyemi. The two poles appeared consistently: on the one hand, a "descriptivist" discourse on "lacking"—expertise, materials, resources—or "substituting"—replacing one knowledge for another. This discourse replicates, according to Achille Mbembe, a practice that "simply turns to statistical indices to measure the gap between what Africa is and what we are told it ought to be,"[72] but also a discourse on accounting foreign lands as spaces devoid of culture. On the other hand, respondents delivered social discourses on "integrating"—knowledge, resources, and methodologies—from different cultural environments, whilst being especially mindful of class and colonial privilege.[73] Borrowing here KNUST's term, the latter would be an "environing" response that is framed from the situated experience of Adeyemi in the UK and Nigeria, thus allowing him to see what exists and how other knowledges, resources and methods can be integrated, instead of seeing what lacks or can be imposed.

Tetteh started his sessional paper with the racist conditions of colonial planning that East Africa had inherited, and the public health-directed planning in West

Africa, led by engineers and sanitary officers. For Tetteh, an important change had occurred during World War Two, when a Town Planning Adviser had been appointed to "harness the resources of the West African colonies for production for the war effort." For him, this was a significant move to relate "the structure and distribution of human settlements and the development of a productive economy."[74] This movement coincided with a bureaucratic move in architectural institutions in the UK—advancing master planning of the kind that Britain was exporting to Ghana—and that swept through curriculums and teaching methods, the Royal Institute of British Architects, and the main British planning schools.[75] This move had two diametrically opposite strands. One, as Tetteh suggested, was a form of rejecting static planning that "inhibit[ed] development by means of all sorts of controls based on values derived from foreign cultures."[76] A second strand, however, was a form of indirectly controlling such development through the provision of financial means by western international corporations, from the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund, and that penetrated, as we can see in the West African arts of the 1960s, through institutions into architectural practices. [77]

Tetteh would, in most of his publications, present his approach in communion with the work of British planners. His work nonetheless challenged certain assumptions. First, his rejection of master planning was based on colonial premises that stifled development in Ghana and not, as others have suggested, as a reaction to "anti-big city movement" resulting from the rationalist idealizations of Britain's new towns since the beginning of the twentieth century.[78] This distinction, for example, explains the careful attention with which Tetteh explained, in international meetings, the situation in rural environments that were only tackled by his British counterparts when these were part of national projects—or in other words, his attention to the rural environment was not just as part of comprehensive planning but as a duty in itself for the planner.[79] Second, in the face of western planning practices that often rejected the role of extensive surveys in favour of planning through immediate action, also known as "Action Planning"—whereby the planner could thus provide planning advice with minimal fieldwork—Tetteh, following his anthropological training, would advocate for exactly the opposite approach.[80] This distinction between the planning methodologies of the "entrepreneur" (modelled in Ebenezer Howard) and the "scientist" (modelled in Patrick Geddes) was made more explicit in the Liverpool conference, where Tetteh responded: "I will say that he [the planner] should combine the best elements of both because the planner can take effective action only after examining and analysing all the relevant facts."[81]

These two perspectives had an emic–etic dimension. The non-native planner was expected to do a ten-day visit to the land, produce a report, and cash in. Meanwhile, Tetteh, the indigenous planner, was advocating for in-depth research of the land, its peoples and their problems, and from this he managed to connect his concerns to national and, even though not always clear, international relations. Particularly telling of this encounter are two key events in the early 1980s. The first of these are Tetteh's lectures delivered as a Visiting Lecturer in Vancouver's School of Community and Regional Planning. Tetteh delivered three lectures that reflected two of his main concerns—regional planning and its dissemination—in relation to colonial inheritances.

He therein approached this from an overview of national plans in Ghana that had been implemented since 1919. He highlighted their focus on transport infrastructures—railways, ports, and roads for the extraction of cocoa, coffee, bauxite, and manganese—and reflected upon the relation of extraction to the urban realm in Africa.[82]

> African urbanisation is essentially a 20th century phenomenon, and basically a product of colonial history. There are a few exceptions, such as the traditional urban system of the Yoruba Western Nigeria, and the city states of northern Nigeria. With exception of these, cities were created to serve the colonial rulers. Most of these cities are port cities built to facilitate the export of primary commodities from the rich hinterlands of the colonial territories. And along with the roads or railways, or the mining enclaves, and the export oriented agriculture, the cities were designed for the economic exploitation of the resources of the African countries. [83]

Since the 1940s, national plans added the provision of industrial facilities and the development of basic services such as health and housing.[84] For Tetteh, the particular attention to national development plans was, for "many developing countries […], a means of achieving desired levels of economic development." He also noted that "one of the factors usually considered in planning for this development is the quality and quantity of human resources available to a country."[85] In architectural terms, there were thus two key objectives: first, to understand the influence of development plans on the distribution of labour, thus on population, and thus on housing. This would lead him to claim, against a general misconception in international planning practice, that "the highest increases in population recorded are not for the metropolis, regional capitals or the urban centres" but for industrial and agricultural regions.[86] Second, and along with his British counterparts, he advocated for the participation of architects in national planning at decision-making levels: "national settlement policies must be formulated as a means for implementation, and must be selected and combined with national development strategies."[87]

Unlike his counterparts (and indeed against Busia's xenophobic political measures), Tetteh's approach was more continental, appealing to collaboration with other African institutions and also highlighting the contribution of African migrants to the Ghanaian society.[88] His ambition was to formulate spatial understandings of Ghana at a national level using its 1960s census, which was then one of the few sources of housing data. With this tool, Tetteh proposed measuring the spatial distribution of labour in the nation to understand long-distance migration and assess the needs of urbanization and education at regional levels.[89] In his second lecture on "rural change" he gave special attention to rural struggles, their relation to KNUST's development and the trading routes between Kumasi and Accra, the rural industries of raw materials and the consequent displacement of populations (which were seen as more significant than the rural-urban migration movements in the country), the agricultural cycles in the land, and suburban pressure from Kumasi's expansion. This extensive analysis would lead Tetteh to provide comprehensive responses to questions of land distribution, cooperative formation, and industrial consolidation in the village of Kwamo.[90] For Tetteh, a primary concern was to distribute housing throughout the population, since most housing loan programmes only benefited upper and middle income classes.[91] Alongside this adjustment within central banking systems, he was

also very concerned about materials, decreasing the cost of housing—and doing so with attention to tradition, and to local small-scale industries.[92]

Tetteh's approach was regional, reached all sectors of society, and maintained a general opposition to market logics. He thought of small and intermediate-size towns as urban centres, and pointed out that "the absorptive capacity of [an industrial centre] might be rather low unless care is taken to insure that the industry is labour intensive."[93] For example, he observed that the promotion of the construction sector disproportionately increased male labour, while Ghana generally led in female employment rates compared with industrialized countries. In the same vein, Tetteh supported David Grove and Laszlo Huszar's studies for new urban centres in Ghana but called for supplementing this work with regional studies.[94] Nonetheless, his approach was quantitative and functionalist, making the relation of the utility of humans to architecture quite compatible with western-led production-driven forms of understanding architecture in the Global South.

These approaches to the rural, land and labour could be framed in the action of environing. Tetteh's practice nuanced ideas of political inter/trans/nationalisms: not so much a practice of "anticolonial nationalism" that turned to national formation as a first step towards another sort of emancipatory entity, nor an internationalist solidarity movement of Pan-African or tricontinental nature.[95] It is not that Tetteh's practice and the idea of "environ" could not encompass these ambitions, but rather that the practice of "environing" makes these practices grounded in the terrain: a cosmopolitanism that builds first on the need for labour against international capitalist extraction of material resources;[96] the need to situate oneself in an environment against the privilege of claiming to belong to the universe (universalism), the globe (globalism), or the cosmos (cosmopolitanism); and a situated resolution to the emic–etic dilemma where the oppressive study of society as a functional whole is nuanced by the study of one's own society as part of the world.

Indigenous Afropolitanism Instead of African Essentialism

Following Tetteh's return from Pennsylvania in 1971, holistic and African approaches to architecture became more prevalent in KNUST. Tetteh would create the Urbanization Study Centre in the Faculty of Architecture to facilitate cooperation between departments and "to relate it to work done by other departments and individuals elsewhere, and to facilitate co-operation where this would seem beneficial to all concerned" with the ambition to "examine the complete process of towns getting bigger, and rural areas losing their populations."[97] The Faculty focused "on the problems of man's environment as a whole [.] through the provision of many common courses and ensuring that at certain levels students from the various departments work together in the solution of common problems."[98] In this sense, the structure of the school aimed to replicate what it wanted to see outside, emphasizing "the interrelationships amongst the various disciplinary and professional approaches."[99]

This interdisciplinary and interinstitutional ambition was also of a continental dimension. These aspects were explicit in *Environ*, a student newspaper that in 1975 became the journal of the Faculty of Architecture. In its first issue as a journal
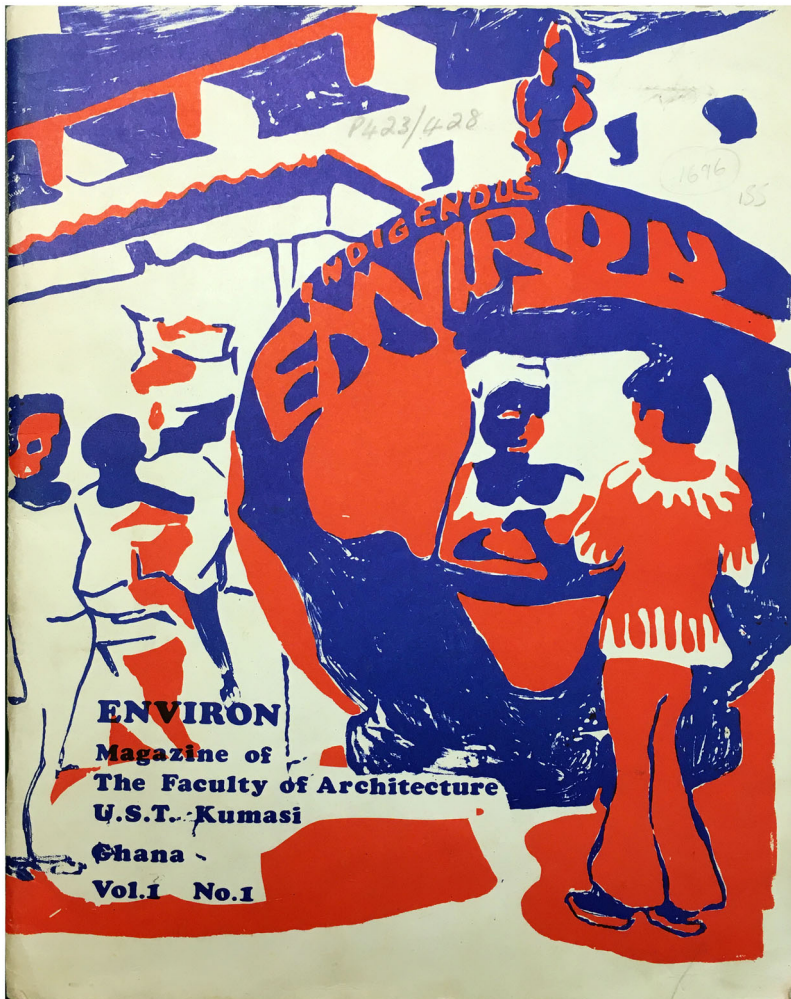
Figure 4. *Environ: The Magazine of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana* 1, no. 1 (September 1975).

(fig. 4), *Environ* embraced multiple forms of expression, such as vignettes, poetry, reviews, and critical articles reflecting the creative and artistic environment of the Faculty. *Environ* aimed to become "a forum for the dissemination and discussion of ideas over problems of the environment from all over Africa."[100] In his writing in general, Tetteh invoked an architectural approach that took Africa as a whole, in that the sort of concerns and solutions he aimed to provide for Ghana could be exported, with modifications, to the rest of the African countries and vice versa.[101] This approach was embedded in the DNA of KNUST from the very beginning, whereby "the University's own syllabuses [were] constructed to reflect *African and Ghanaian environments*."[102] *Environ* was consequently launched with an issue on "Indigenization," "for lack of a better word," as it appealed to Ghanaianization inside an African macrocosm engaged

in a global cosmos.[103] This complex approach was anticolonial in nature and mindful of both neocolonial influences and naïve decolonial approaches:

> As Africa shakes off its colonial past, it embraces a modern, fast-changing world, and is influencing world affairs to an increasing extent. In the process, Africa is in itself searching for identity. This is not merely a matter of discarding all that was associated with past history, and substituting a facade of decorative Africana. Mental attitudes are changing, and with them so are Architectural attitudes. […] Africa will continue on a course of development which, inevitably, must include some of the solutions already applied elsewhere. But this course is no longer in blind imitation. The mistakes of others can be noted, and the great error of assuming that solutions that work in one country must be suitable to all others is well recognized. More useful still, Africa is now scrutinizing herself with all the modern facilities and minds available. And coming up with new answers.[104]

Environ looked at planning, architecture, and academic culture in detail, and presented calls for the indigenization of African architecture both through KNUST's complex global relations and an ambition to decolonialize these. Catherine Acquah called for comparative studies with architectural solutions of neighbouring countries, and to reject technical studies that missed cultural and social factors.[105] Efua Winful criticized mass-produced kitchen counters that clashed with Ghanaian cooking activities.[106] Henry Nii Adziri Wellington wrote a few pieces, one of which calling for a distinct Ghanaian academic culture and another as "A Tribute to Professor Lutz Christians," who he called most endearingly *Opanyin* ("wise elder").[107] Bill Hill, one of the editors of the volumes—and one of the closest collaborators of Tetteh with meaningful contributions to the ideas presented in this article—called to end the imported, environmentally damaging "throw-away" culture and most remarkably issued a call to "leap-frog past the worst aspects of 'development'."[108] The complexity of this cosmopolitanism was evident. Against the editorial piece he probably co-wrote, Hill's words resonated with an earlier call of Tetteh's predecessor at KNUST, John (Michael) Lloyd, when he argued that "the emergent countries can leapfrog beyond the developed nations & make a true contribution to the future of mankind."[109] To a certain extent, these calls distorted Frantz Fanon's call at the end of *The Wretched of the Earth*, that makes evident that Hill and Lloyd's calls struggled to avoid thinking of Europe as the model of Africa's development:

> So, comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions, and societies which draw their inspiration from her. Humanity is waiting for something from us other than such an imitation, which would be almost an obscene caricature. If we want to turn Africa into a new Europe, and America into a new Europe, then let us leave the destiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us. But if we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries.[110]

Despite general academic agreement that Lloyd's work as Dean of the Faculty of Architecture in the 1960s appropriately responded to the institutions architectural needs, I suggest that some attention to Tetteh's and Wellington's work can help nuance that contribution.[111] Lloyd's work struggled to account for the resistance that parts of Fanon's text called for and that were reflected in KNUST's internal debates
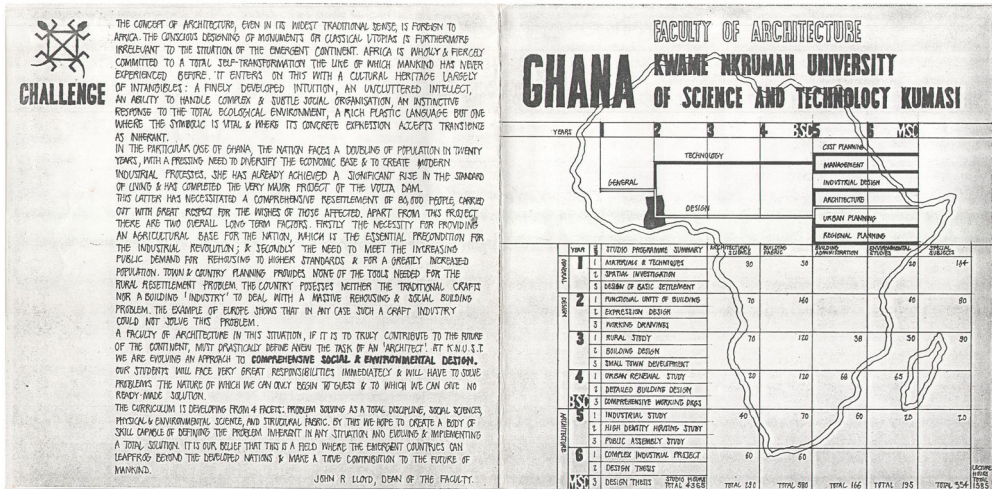
Figure 5. Charles Polonyi and Graham Wilton, *Faculty of Architecture, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi* (Accra: KNUST University Press, May 1965). Courtesy AA Archives.

in *Environ,* and that, taking up the idea of "indigenization," aimed to define what it meant to be African and Ghanaian.

Lloyd's presentation of KNUST to the world ten years before the publication of *Environ* took place at the VIII Congress of the International Union of Architects (UIA) in Paris.[112] The leaflet documenting his panel, edited by Charles Polonyi and Graham Wilton (fig. 5), began with the idea that "[t]he concept of architecture, even in its widest traditional sense, is foreign to Africa."[113] Lloyd likewise presented a homogeneous African humanity that had:

> a finely developed intuition, an uncluttered intellect, an ability to handle complex and subtle social organisation, an instinctive response to the total ecological environment, a rich plastic language but one where the symbolic is *vital* and where its concrete expression accepts transience as inherent.[114]

Such a primitivist perspective in disguise seems not to have been remarked upon before now, but seems a perfectly suitable maintenance of neocolonial and racist perspectives whereby the African was given the same capacity for holistic approaches as their European counterpart, just as long as it appealed to an ecological instinct and a differentiated, unspoilt mind. These attitudes were confronted in *Environ* by Wellington in his poem "Indigenization Means."[115] He called to replace academic gown with umbrellas, convocation's formal speeches for festive durbars, blocks of flats for multi-family indigenous housing, and "expensive 'low-cost housing' for 'hometels' to preserve communal life."[116] Wellington had presented his concept of "hometels" a year before in the first volume of *Ghana Architect*, the journal of the Ghana Institute of Architects, that followed similar aesthetics to *Environ*. The first issue of *Ghana Architect* published several papers of the Symposium of Environmental Design for Tropical Countries celebrated in September 1973 in Ghana and that reproduced ideas for low-cost housing and climatic design that were certainly against Wellington's proposal. In contrast, hometels were "a synthesis of two forms of development, named, a house and a hostel […] The concept has been based on the traditional system of the

Ghanaian family, with a host of different individuals who order their life patterns in the family house."[117] Wellington's response encompassed the spiritual and intellectual development of the individual in society that could be reified in hometels—as "centres for better civic participation and nationalism" that would pass through different peoples of "different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds."[118] He suggested this solution as suitable for other West African and African countries, offering "a basis for a new form of living which may have a lot of political, social, and intellectual importance for the advancement and development of the nation."[119]

Environ's situated perspectives in relation to the African continent were similar to Mvusi's architectural explorations in Nairobi after his stay in KNUST in the 1960s, although he was far more outspoken.[120] Mvusi's capacity to confront neocolonial attitudes was reflected in his clash with Robert Gardner-Medwin about the comprehensive programme at the University of Nairobi, the two providing two differentiated forms of holistic thinking. Mvusi defended both a generalist programme to art/architecture and an ecological approach where a "man/environ project" was embedded in an "East African macrocosm" connected to a "world macrocosm."[121] It is worth noting that he had trained and taught in the Faculty of Arts of KNUST until 1964 and had influenced Max Bond during his time there; and that two associates of the Department of Tropical Studies at the AA took over Mvusi's programme in 1969.[122]

Mvusi's attention to indigenization departed from a complex notion of "native land" as he expressed it in the International Congress of African Culture, which he attended while teaching at KNUST. His idea of "native land" had nothing to do with nativistic approaches, which he understood as a colonial tactic of constructing rivalries between African communities.[123] Instead, his approach to the formation of the future environment, to "environ," was to accept an action that had a situated point of departure and destination, "the unfolding story of change": "The acceleration of change and the changing character of change today, should contribute not to bewilderment revulsion and resignation, but to an entrenchment of the tested belief in Africa that the journey is the native land."[124] Such an approach to change thus confronted institutions that were "developing knowledge about the continent" that "could never know about Africa, because Africa was still being made and defined."[125] In front of Lloyd's essentialism, Mvusi's words resonated with the act of environing at KNUST where "to be an African was to live openly and creatively without knowing what being an African meant."[126]

Conclusion

Tetteh's intervention in Liverpool in 1977 closed with two appeals. The first was a call for west–South collaborations to provide development for staff, curriculum, and the provision of instructional materials and short-term lecturers. He offered his collaboration between the Department of Planning in Kumasi and the University of Newcastle's Department of Town and Country Planning as an example. A second plea was "for greater co-operation and exchange of information between planning schools in Africa," which was either extended for the publication of the talk in

Ekistics in 1980 or was edited down for the publication of the conference proceedings in 1977:[127]

> Although the problems facing them are similar there is very little contact between the various planning schools and to date there has never been a meeting of heads of planning schools in Africa to discuss common problems. In order that planning schools can benefit from each other's experience efforts must be made for increased contact through exchange of staff and students, joint research programs and regional conferences and meetings which bring together, periodically, planning teachers and researchers from all over the continent.[128]

With *Environ*, Tetteh and the whole faculty made a clear plea for an African approach to architecture and planning that was holistic and that acknowledged the limitations of its own practice to include all those actors in society that did not fit into any proposed whole. This would be more explicit in the work of a generation of younger academics as Wellington who pushed for a distinct African functionalist whilst inclusive and diverse ecology for the built environment and the production of knowledge.

The elasticity of the word "environ" presents, on the one hand, the multiple coexisting ecologies that are acknowledged: to environ others, to environ with others, to attend others' environs, and to be others' environ. The "environ" action also reflects on the labour-oriented approach of Tetteh. His work is not cosmopolitan in the sense that it could be translated or resituated anywhere in the world, but in that it stems from a cosmopolitan outlook and a status quo in his environment, and aims for the betterment of his society and the mediation of multiple ecologies of knowledge (in the many ways that Zoe Sofoulis and Boaventura de Sousa Santos think of these) and colonial inheritances that were present in KNUST and became latent once they had transformed into something other.[129] With Tetteh's work, and this journal issue on *Cosmopolitanism's Others*, I suggest *Functional Environs* as a coexistence of situated world(mak)ings that renders indigenization, developmentalism, and functionalism part of a form of Afropolitanism that, borrowing from Comaroff and Comaroff, allows the rest of the world to learn about themselves in relation to others.

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3. Percival Austin Tetteh, "Social Factors in Town and Country Planning in Ghana" (MS thesis, Cornell University, 1957). On Tetteh's ongoing association with Ekistics, the Doxiadis study centre and homonymous publication, see the back matter from *Ekistics* issues in this period. Austin Tetteh, "Social Background of the Kumasi Plan," *Ekistics* 14, no. 81 (1962): 22–25. For further research on Doxiadis' work in Ghana one might start with Doxiadis Associates, *Accra Tema Akosombo: Final Programme and Plan for the Metropolitan Area. Summary of Report DOX-GHA* (Accra: Government of Ghana, Ministry of Works and Housing, 1961).

4. Percival Austin Tetteh, *Report on a Preliminary Social Survey of Kete-Krachi* (Accra: Office of the Town Planning Adviser, 1956); Austin Tetteh, "Social Background to Kumasi Plan," *Acta Sociologica* 1, no. 1 (1962); George Mackenzie Pitcher, *Knot of Wisdom: A Chronicle of the University of Science and Technology 1951–1976* (Accra, 1976), 59. See acknowledgements section in Godfrey William Amarteifio, D A. P. Butcher, and David Whitham, *Tema Manhean: A Study of Resettlement* (Accra: published for the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, by Ghana Universities Press, 1966). It is probable that Tetteh worked for some time in the Research Building Group at KNUST before this.

5. Pitcher, *Knot of Wisdom*, 59.

6. Patrick Wakely, corr. with author, January 7, 2022; *ArchPose: Evolution of Architecture Education and Practice in Ghana 01* (2018), Youtube, online video, 18:15, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TGJxN3m6w2w&t-938s.

7. Elza Miles, *Selby Mvusi: To Fly with the North Bird South* (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2015).

8. Ola Uduku, "Bolgatanga Library: Adaptive Modernism in Ghana 40 Years On" in *The Challenge of Change: Dealing with the Legacy of the Modern Movement: Proceedings of the 10th International DOCOMOMO Conference,* ed. Dirk van den Heuvel, Maarten Mesman, Wido Quist, and Bert Lemmens (Delft: Delft University Press, 2008), 267.

9. John Lloyd, "Intentions," *Architectural Association Journal* 82, no. 904 (August 1966): 40.

10. Stanek, *Architecture in Global Socialism*, 29–30.

11. Leandro Viloria, "Education for Planning: The Special Circumstances in Low Income Countries," *Philippine Planning Journal, Institute of Planning, University of the Philippines* 1, no. 2 (April 1970): 1–40; "Origin and Formation of PIEP," accessed 25 January 2022, https://www.piep.org.ph/profile/history.html.

12. Austin Tetteh, "Professional Education and Training for Planning and Development," lecture to the Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, February 13, 1980; Bill Hill and Austin Percival Tetteh, "La Sociología y Las Sociedades En Desarrollo Industrial," *XX Conferencia Internacional de Sociología*, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Córdoba, 1963; Austin Percival Tetteh, "Housing and Population," in *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Population Studies: Proceedings of the West African Seminar on Population Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, 30 November– 4 December 1972*, ed. E. Laing and N. O. Addo (Legon: Population Dynamics Programme, University of Ghana, 1975), 105–12; *Man's Habitat Cities, Towns, Villages and Houses: Report of the 27th Annual New Year School* (Legon: Institute of Adult Education, University of Ghana; Kumasi: University of Science and Technology, 1976).

13. "Developmentalism" is defined here as the fostering of internal markets for national autonomy.

14. "Editorial: 'Indigenous' Environ," *Environ: The Magazine of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana* 1, no. 1 (September 1975): 4. I develop discussion of this publication later in this article.

15. Conversation with Kojo Derban and Albert Brenchat Aguilar, "To Environ: Afropolitan Functionalist Ecology," Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Accra, April 7, 2022.

16. See Pheng Cheah, *What Is a World?: On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016). Cheah's genealogy of thinking departs from Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives," *History and Theory* 24, no. 3 (1985): 247–72.

17. Hélène Frichot, *Creative Ecologies: Theorizing the Practice of Architecture* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018), 36. To understand further the feminist implications of situation oneself in the terrain can also be expanded here: Helen Palmer and Vicky Hunter, "Worlding," *New Materialism* (blog) https://newmaterialism.eu/almanac/w/worlding.html (accessed November 2, 2021). This worlding, rooted in the environment and not only in the self, thus departs from conceptions of "worlding" from gaming theory and digital technologies that similarly models the architect as a demiurge that is "choosing a present, storytelling its past, simulating its futures, and nurturing its changes."—Ian Cheng, "The Unnatural Art of Worlding," in *Emissaries Guide to Worlding* (London: Koenig Books, 2018), 7.

18. Introduction to Stanek, *Architecture in Global Socialism*.

19. Thus not so much the form of Afropolitanism that Taiye Selasi presents but the more open-ended one on which Achille Mbembe has more recently elaborated. Taiye Selasi, *Ghana Must Go* (London: Penguin Books, 2014); Achille Mbembe and Laurent Chauvet, "Afropolitanism," *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* 46, no. 1 (2020): 56–61; Achille Mbembe, *Out of the Dark Night: Essays on Decolonization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021).

20. Mbembe and Chauvet, "Afropolitanism," 56–61.

21. In reference to Mbembe's conception of nativism see Mbembe and Chauvet, "Afropolitanism," 60. The concept of "nativizing" and "native" is presented as a conflicting term later in the piece.

22. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, "Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving Toward Africa," *Anthropological Forum* 22, no. 2 (2012): 113–31, citing from 114, Often referred to in the works of Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mbembe. Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Rethinking Development in the Age of Global Coloniality," in *Rethinking and Unthinking Development: Perspectives on Inequality and Poverty in South Africa and Zimbabwe*, ed. Busani Mpofu and Sabelo J. Ndlovu Gatsheni (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019); Achille Mbembe, *Out of the Dark Night*, 25.

23. Albert W. Kayper-Mensah, *Sankɔfa: Adinkra Poems* (Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1976).

24. Cover of *Architectural Association Journal* 82, no. 904 (August 1966). Funtunfunefu Denkyemfunefu is also a symbol of colonial institutions such as the Kempinsky Hotel in Accra.

25. Note that this is a difficult term to pin down due to the elusive definition of the "function" of the building.

26. Here, I consider the architectural functionalist works of J.W.S. De Graft-Johnson and the whole team of the Building Research Institute that would later become the Building and Road Research Institute, and the anthropological functionalist works of Sam Amissah, Frederick Abloh, Martha Tamakloe, D.J. Uwusu, R.K.B. Bofah, C.T.T. Blankson, and others.

27. Bandana Baweja, "Otto Koenigsberger and the Tropicalization of British Architectural Culture," in *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*, ed. Duanfang Lu (London: Routledge, 2011), 244; Muzaffar Ijlal, "The Periphery within: Modern Architecture and the Making of the Third World" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007). Ijlal does not particularly use the phrase "form follows finance," but I apply Carol Willis's title to the self-help architecture promoted in Ghana—Carol Willis, *Form Follows Finance: Skyscrapers and Skylines in New York and Chicago* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995). See also, for example, the results of the Ghana Roof Loan Scheme that Koenigsberger led from 1956 and that became a debt burdened scheme: *Two-Year Development Plan, from Stabilisation to development. A Plan for the Period Mid-1968 to Mid-1970*. ([Accra], 1968).

28. Consider the treatment of this theme in Otto Koenigsberger's papers at the Architectural Association Archive, box 31B; and by Stanek, *Architecture in Global Socialism*; Jiat-Hwee Chang, *A Genealogy of Tropical Architecture: Colonial Networks, Nature and Technoscience* (London: Routledge, 2016); Daniel A. Barber, "The Form and Climate Research Group, or Scales of Architectural History," in *Climates: Architecture and the Planetary Imaginary* (New York: Columbia Books on Architecture and the City, 2016), 303–18.

29. Akosua Darkwah, Steve Tonah, and Max Assimeng, "The Development of Sociology and Anthropology in Ghana and Future Trends," in *Changing Perspectives on the Social Sciences in Ghana*, ed. Samuel Agyei-Mensah, Joseph Atsu Ayee, and Abena D. Oduro (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2014), 95–112.

30. J.W.S. De Graft-Johnson, "Housing in Developing Countries," *Ghana Architect* 1, no. 1 (1974): 49.

31. Darkwah, Tonah, and Assimeng, "The Development of Sociology and Anthropology," 96.

32. Austin Percival Tetteh, "Marriage, Family and Household," in *A Study of Contemporary Ghana: Some Aspects of Social Structure*, ed. Walter Birmingham, I. Neustadt, and E.N. Omaboe, vol. 2 (London: Gerge Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1967), 201–14.

33. Viviana d'Auria, "In the Laboratory and in the Field: Hybrid Housing Design for the African City in Late-Colonial and Decolonising Ghana (1945–57)," *Journal of Architecture* 19, no. 3 (2014), 337.

34. Daryll Forde, ed., *African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954); Patrick Wakely, corr. with author, January 28, 2020.

35. Darkwah, Tonah, and Assimeng, "The Development of Sociology and Anthropology," 102

36. Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Finn Sivert Nielsen, "Four Founding Fathers," in *A History of Anthropology* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), 54. For the relation of Kenyatta to architecture see Mark Crinson, "'Compartmentalized World': Race, Architecture and Colonial Crisis in Kenya and London," in *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, ed. Irene Cheng, Charles L. Davis II, and Mabel Wilson (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020), 259–76.

37. Darkwah, Tonah, and Assimeng, "The Development of Sociology and Anthropology," 102.

38. Darkwah, Tonah, and Assimeng, "The Development of Sociology and Anthropology," 97.

39. Kofi Abrefa Busia, "Education for Citizenship," *West African Affairs* (London: Bureau of Current Affairs, 1951); Darkwah, Tonah, and Assimeng, "The Development of Sociology and Anthropology," 97.

40. Busia, *Education for Citizenship*, 4.

41. Busia, *Education for Citizenship*, 5.

42. Busia, *Education for Citizenship*, 5.

43. Busia, *Education for Citizenship*, 5.

44. Busia, *Education for Citizenship*, 7.

45. Busia, *Education for Citizenship*, 8.

46. Busia, *Education for Citizenship*, 9.

47. Busia, *Education for Citizenship*, 14.

48. See for example J.K. Martey, "Need for Purposeful Education," *Daily Graphic*, February 20, 1973; B.S. Kwakwa, "Formal Education and Conflict in Ghanaian Society," *Legon Observer*, March 23, 1973; Kwaku Ohene-Frempong, "Drawbacks Education," *Daily Graphic*, September 4, 1973.

49. See, particularly, the work of Busia's disciple Kwasi Ampene: Kwasi Ampene, "Education for What?" inaugural lecture, University of Ghana, 1983, in which he refers to his mentor's book, Kofi Abrefa Busia, *Purposeful Education for Africa* (London: Mouton, 1969).

50. "Education Must Suit Manpower Needs," *Ghanaian Times*, January 27, 1973; Nana Daniels, "A Kind of Brain Drain," *Daily Graphic*, August 8, 1973; Kofi Sefa-Boakye, "An Era of New Consciousness Which Calls for Changes in Education," *Daily Graphic*, July 24, 1973.

51. Kwasi Ampene, "Social Anomie in Development," in *Social Planning in National Development: Report of the 2nd Seminar of the Ghana Association of Social Workers*, ed. Nana A. Apt (Tema: Ghana Association of Social Workers, 1973), 34.

52. d'Auria, "In the Laboratory and in the Field," 337. This disenchantment applies most notably to the ICS, as is explained later.

53. Dirk Van den Heuvel, "Alison and Peter Smithson: A Brutalist Story involving the House, the City and the Everyday (Plus a Couple of Other Things)" (PhD diss., Delft University of Technology, 2013), 100.

54. d'Auria, "In the Laboratory and in the Field," 337.

55. Tetteh, "Professional Education and Training for Planning and Development."

56. Tetteh, *Report on a Preliminary Social Survey of Kete-Krachi*; Percival Austin Tetteh and Helga M Richards, *A Plan for Nungua Village* (Accra: Town and Country Planning, 1955).

57. Tetteh, "Social Background to Kumasi Plan," 22–25; Darkwah, Tonah, and Assimeng, "The Development of Sociology and Anthropology," 107. *Acta Sociologica* was titled

Ghana Journal of Sociology from its second issue and now continues as the *Legon Journal of Sociology*.

58. Percival Austin Tetteh, "The Spatial Structure of the Labor Force of Ghana" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971).

59. Cynthia Cockburn, "Ghana, Country's Foundations," *Interbuild* 8, no. 12 (December 1961): 16–20.

60. Cockburn, "Ghana, Country's Foundations," 16.

61. David Grove, *The Towns of Ghana: The Role of Service Centres in Regional Planning*, vol. 2, *Planning Research Studies* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1964); David Grove, *Population Patterns. Their Impact on Regional Planning … A Preliminary Analysis of the 1960 Census of Ghana,* vol. 1, *Planning Research Studies* (Kumasi: Building Research Group, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, 1963); Amarteifio, Butcher, and Whitham, *Tema Manhean*.

62. David Butcher and Laszlo Huszar, *Bui Resettlement Study*, ed. Tudor G. Ingersoll (Kumasi: Faculty of Architecture, University of Science and Technology, 1966); Iain Jackson, Ola Uduku, Irene Appeaning Addo, and Rexford Assasie Opong, "The Volta River Project: Planning, Housing and Resettlement in Ghana, 1950–1965," *Journal of Architecture* 24, no. 4 (2019): 512–48; Viviana d'Auria, "More than Tropical?: Modern Housing, Expatriate Practitioners and the Volta River Project in Decolonising Ghana," in *Cultures of Decolonisation: Transnational Productions and Practices, 1945–70*, ed. Ruth Craggs and Claire Wintle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 196–221.

63. Darkwah, Tonah, and Assimeng, "The Development of Sociology and Anthropology," 102. For more on Prah's and Assimeng's pioneering work see Akinsola A. Akiwowo, "Trend Report: Sociology in Africa Today," *Current Sociology* 28, no. 2 (1980): 3–73.

64. "We must understand the individual as living in his culture; and the culture as lived by individuals."—Franz Boas, "Introduction" to Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), xvi (orig., 1934). For a recollection on the idea of patterns, see Albert Brenchat-Aguilar, "A Burst of Architectural Plots: The Diverging Lives of Whipsnade Zoo Estate Bungalows (1933–2020)," *Architecture and Culture* 10, no. 2 (2022): 338–68.

65. Lloyd, "Intentions," 40.

66. Patrick Wakely and Kamil Mumtaz, "Community Building in the Upper Region," *Arena: The Architectural Association Journal* 82, no. 903 (June 1966): 58–60; Butcher and Huszar, *Bui Resettlement Study*; David Butcher and Laszlo Huszar, "Bui Resettlement Area" (Accra: KNUST, n.d.); Max Bond, J. P. R. Falconer, and Charles Polonyi, "Transformation New Formation" (Accra: KNUST, 1967); S. B. Amissah, J. P. R. Falconer, and Charles Polonyi, "Housing and Urbanisation" (Accra: KNUST, n.d.).

67. See for example: Otto H. Koenigsberger, et. al., "Metropolitan Lagos" (United Nations, Commissioner for Technical Assistance, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, April 27, 1964).

68. Hill and Tetteh, "La Sociología y Las Sociedades En Desarrollo Industrial," 163. See also the work of other colleagues developed during Tetteh's deanship such as the compelling compendium of indigenous architecture in Ghana that attended to the extractive capitalism that had transformed, per force of the lack of raw material for national consumption, indigenous architecture. John Owusu-Addo, "'Foreword'," to *Construction Technology for a Tropical Developing Country* (Eschleon: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammernarbeit, ca. 1983)

69. Hill and Tetteh, "La Sociología y Las Sociedades En Desarrollo Industrial," 163.

70. Commonwealth Association of Planners, "Introduction," in *Report* [conference proceedings], Conference on Education for Planning, Liverpool University, September 11–16, 1977.

71. Some of the literature that identifies this conference as a significant historical moment are: Warwick Anderson, "Decolonizing the Foundation of Tropical Architecture," *ABE*

Journal 18 (2021), https://doi.org/10.4000/abe.9215; Ola Uduku, "Modernist Architecture and 'the Tropical' in West Africa: The Tropical Architecture Movement in West Africa, 1948–1970," *Habitat International* 30, no. 3 (2006): 396–411; Chang, *A Genealogy of Tropical Architecture*; Hannah le Roux, "The Networks of Tropical Architecture," *Journal of Architecture* 8, no. 3 (2003): 337–54; Marion Von Osten, *A Hot Topic: Tropical Architecture and Its Aftermath* (Fall Semester, 2014), https://fallsemester.org/2014; Mark Crinson, "Singapore's Moment: Critical Regionalism, Its Colonial Roots and Profound Aftermath," *Journal of Architecture* 22, no. 4 (2017): 689–709.

72. Mbembe, *Out of the Dark Night*, 26.
73. Arthur M. Foyle, ed., *Conference on Tropical Architecture 1953*, proceedings (London: University College London, 1954).
74. Austin Percival Tetteh, "Education for Planning: Third World Experience, Africa," in *Report* [conference proceedings], Conference on Education for Planning, Commonwealth Association of Planners, Liverpool University, September 11–16, 1977, 43.
75. As Tetteh denounced in "Education for Planning," 43. I develop the British context in my PhD but a broad testament of this can be found in Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock, *Architecture—Art or Profession? Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); and Patrick Zamarian, "The Origins of the Oxford Conference within the Networks of 1930s Student Activism," *Journal of Architecture* 24, no. 4 (2019): 571–92.
76. Tetteh, "Education for Planning," 44.
77. Kodwo Eshun, "The Transitional Coalition: Reciprocal Readings of Transition and the Congress for Cultural Freedom between 1962 and 1967" and Sylvester Okwunodu Ogbechie, "Ulli Beier, Cultural Brokerage, and Cold War Parapolitics," both in *Parapolitics: Cultural Freedom and the Cold War*, ed. Anselm Franke, Nida Ghouse, Paz Guevara, and Antonia Majaca (Cambridge, MA: Sternberg Press, 2021), 481–95 and 541–57, resp.
78. Otto H. Koenigsberger, "Towards an Urban Planning System for India: Five Lectures to the Institute of Development Studies, University of Mysore," August 1974, 20, Box 14, AA Archives; Otto H. Koenigsberger, *The Absorption of Newcomers in the Cities of Developing Countries* (New York: United Nations, 1975), 10.
79. Austin Tetteh, "Rural Change," lecture to the Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, January 30 1980.
80. Otto Koenigsberger, "Action Planning," *Architectural Association Journal* 79, no. 882 (May 1964): 306–12.
81. Tetteh, "Professional Education and Training for Planning and Development." Tetteh was responding in his lecture to a paper in the Liverpool conference: Otto Koenigsberger, "Specialist Education for Development Planning," in *Report,* 51–53.
82. Austin Tetteh, "Urban Development, Part 1," lecture to the Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, January 21, 1980.
83. Tetteh, "Professional Education and Training for Planning and Development."
84. Tetteh says: "Most of the postwar plans have concentrated on road development and accelerated education, industrialization of the import substitution variety and the provision of basic services such as health and low-cost housing."—Tetteh, "Urban Development, Part 1."
85. Tetteh, "The Spatial Structure of the Labor Force of Ghana," 1.
86. Tetteh, "Urban Development, Part 1."
87. Tetteh, "Professional Education and Training for Planning and Development."
88. For example, "those [African migrants] who went to the agricultural areas and lived in settlements, or created new ones on the farms, especially those who went to the mining towns, the centres of provincial administration, the ports or the commercial centres contributed in no small measure to the growth of these centres." "Urban Development, Part 1." See also Tetteh, "Education for Planning," 48.

89. Tetteh, "The Spatial Structure of the Labor Force of Ghana," 4.
90. Tetteh, "Rural Change."
91. Tetteh, "Housing and Population," 108.
92. He speaks in this case on a project at KNUST where they are studying decreasing the cost of traditional wall construction.—Tetteh, "Housing and Population," 110.
93. Tetteh, "The Spatial Structure of the Labor Force of Ghana," 298.
94. Tetteh, "The Spatial Structure of the Labor Force of Ghana," 298.
95. See, particularly, the references to Kwame Nkrumah in the introduction of Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019). For an explanation of these aspects under the umbrella of "Afropolitanism," see introduction to Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire*; Mbembe and Chauvet, "Afropolitanism," 57.
96. This is argued by John Owusu-Addo in the preface to Hanna Schreckenbach's work, developed during Tetteh's deanship, in which he denounces the rising prices of material that is destined for export while Schreckenbach highlights the need to think of a Construction Technology in Ghana that can make the most of a "labour surplus" in the country. Owusu-Addo in Schreckenbach, *Construction Technology for a Tropical Developing Country*.
97. Jane Stanley, "Urbanization Study Centre—Subsection," *Environ* 1, no. 1 (September 1975): 15.
98. Austin Tetteh, "A Message Fron the Dean," *Environ* 1, no. 1 (September 1975): 3.
99. Tetteh, "A Message Fron the Dean," 3.
100. Tetteh, "A Message Fron the Dean," 3.
101. Tetteh, "Professional Education and Training for Planning and Development."
102. Quoted in George Mackenzie Pitcher, *Knot of Wisdom*, 25 (author's emphasis).
103. "Editorial: 'Indigenous' Environ," 4.
104. "Editorial: 'Indigenous' Environ," 4.
105. Catherine Acquah, "House Form and Culture," *Environ* 1, no. 1 (September 1975), 21.
106. Efua Winful, "Today's Mass Produced Kitchens," *Environ* 1, no. 1 (September 1975): 8–9.
107. H. Nii Adziri Wellington, "A Tribute to Professor Lutz Christians," *Environ* 1, no. 1 (September 1975): 43.
108. Bill Hill, "Where Have All the Eccentrics Gone?," *Environ* 1, no. 1 (September 1975): 34–35.
109. Charles Polonyi and Graham Wilton, "Faculty of Architecture, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi" (Accra: KNUST University Press, May 1965), AA Archives.
110. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 254 (orig. 1961).
111. Mark R. O. Olweny, "Architectural Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Investigation into Pedagogical Positions and Knowledge Frameworks," *Journal of Architecture* 25, no. 6 (2020), 725. Lloyd stated: "A Faculty of Architecture … if it is to truly contribute to the future of the [African] continent, must drastically redefine anew the task of an 'architect'."—Lloyd in Polonyi and Wilton, "Faculty of Architecture."
112. Tomás Maldonado, "Une formation pour l'avenir," *Le Carre Bleu*, no. 4 (1965).
113. Polonyi and Wilton, "Faculty of Architecture."
114. Polonyi and Wilton, "Faculty of Architecture" (author's emphasis).
115. H. Nii Adziri Wellington, "Indigenization Means," *Environ* 1, no. 1 (September 1975): 13; and "The Use of Adinkra Symbolism in Architecture," *Ghana Architect* 1, no. 2 (1995): 4.
116. H. Nii Adziri Wellington, "Indigenization Means."
117. H. Nii Adziri Wellington, "The Homelet Concept," *Ghana Architect* 1, no. 1 (1974): 18.
118. Wellington, "The Homelet Concept," 18.
119. Wellington, "The Homelet Concept," 21.
120. Miles, *Selby Mvusi*, 35.

121. Daniel Magaziner, "The Foundation: Design, Time, and Possibility in 1960s Nairobi," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60, no. 3 (July 2018): 599–628.
122. Barbara Murray, "The 1962 First International Congress of African Culture: A Brief Report," *Nka* 42–43 (November 2018): 74–94. Max Bond kept a copy of Mvusi's seminal 1962 work, "Toward a Contemporary Art in Africa." Box 27, Max Bond's Papers, Columbia University Collections
123. Mbembe and Chauvet, "Afropolitanism," 60.
124. Daniel Magaziner, "Designing Knowledge in Postcolonial Africa: A South African Abroad," *Kronos* 41, no. 1 (November 2015): 276–77.
125. "Designing Knowledge in Postcolonial Africa," Magaziner, 267.
126. "Designing Knowledge in Postcolonial Africa," Magaziner, 267.
127. Tetteh, "Education for Planning," 48.
128. Austin Tetteh, "Third World Experience of Education for Planning: Africa," *Ekistics* 47, no. 285 (1980), 440.
129. Zoë Sofoulis and Dena Fam, "A Knowledge Ecologies Analysis of Co-Designing Water and Sanitation Services in Alaska," *Science and Engineering Ethics* 23, no. 4 (2017): 1059–83; Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "A Non-Occidentalist West?: Learned Ignorance and Ecology of Knowledge," *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, nos 7–8 (2009): 103–25.