

FROM AFRICANS TO GHANAIANS, FROM EUROPEANS TO EXPATRIATES. RACE AND ARCHITECTURAL LABOR IN GHANA, 1951–66

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In 1963, the government of Ghana published a delayed yearly report on the construction work that had been completed by the Public Works Division, a state institution in charge of design and construction of governmental buildings.¹ The report showed that 2 years after the colonial Gold Coast became Ghana, the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to achieve independence from Britain (1957), it vastly expanded its stock of roads, railway tracks, airfields, as well as housing, educational, health, cultural, sport and administrative facilities. Yet E. K. Bensah, the minister introducing the report, chose to emphasize a different achievement and pointed out that “Ghanaianisation of the Senior Service continued, and for the first time the number of Ghanaians holding senior posts in the permanent establishment exceeded those held by expatriates.”² That point was illustrated by a diagram of the “Africanisation in Senior Officers Grade 1951 to 1960,” which traced the growing numbers of “African officers” during that period by a line which intersected the falling line representing “overseas officers.”³

This publication was building on reports of the colonial Public Works Department (PWD), the predecessor of the Public Works Division. Since the early 1950s they registered the progress of Africanization, understood as a policy to ensure “that the maximum number of suitably qualified African candidates become available for appointment to the higher grades of the Public Service.”⁴ Each report counted PWD’s employees in a given year and compared their numbers with the numbers published in the previous reports. While these figures were passed between the reports in a consistent manner, their descriptions were changing frequently. The first post-war report (1952–1953) described the figures as representing “African” and “European” staff, and the following reports replaced “Africans” with “West Africans” (1955–1956) and, by independence, with “Ghanaians” (1957–1958). In parallel, the category of “Europeans” was replaced with “overseas,” and then with “expatriates.”⁵ These changes were neither explained nor acknowledged, and various categories were occasionally used together, just as the authors of the 1963 report referred both to “Africanisation” and “Ghanaisation” when describing the policy.⁶

GRAPH SHOWING AFRICANISATION IN SENIOR OFFICERS GRADE 1951 TO 1960

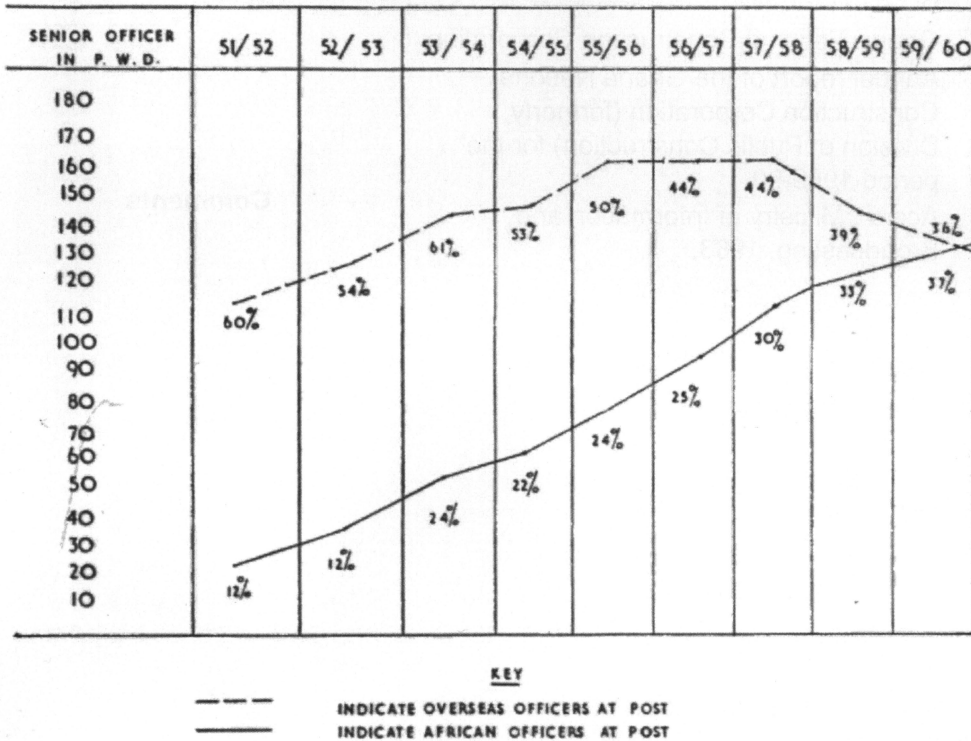


Figure 17.1 “Graph showing Africanisation in Senior Officers Grade 1951 to 1960.” “Annual Report of the Ghana National Construction Corporation, formerly (Division of Public Construction) for the Period 1959–60,” Accra: GNCC, 1963, A.3 [42].

This chapter revisits the racialization of architectural labor and studies the ways in which racial categories structured the implementation of the policy of Africanization in state institutions in charge of architecture in the Gold Coast, then Ghana. In particular, it shows how the negotiation of these categories impacted the recruitment, training, and promotion of architectural labor in the PWD and its successor organizations. In this way, it takes architectural labor as a starting point for a study of the overarching consequences of the Africanization policies for the design and construction practices in the country, as well as for education and regulation of the architectural profession.

The expanding body of scholarship on mid-20th-century architecture in the Gold Coast, then Ghana, has paid little attention to the policy of Africanization and the question of race which this term emphasizes.⁷ This reluctance might have been inspired by Frantz Fanon, who

considered Africanization as “a transfer of power previously held by the foreigners” to the national bourgeoisie.⁸ This transfer involved both political authority and economic assets, as African Marxist economists, including Bade Onimode, pointed out.⁹ More recently, Achille Mbembe highlighted the racial dimension of Fanon’s critique of Africanization as a process which both obstructed Pan-African solidarities and contributed to ethnic violence in the newly independent countries, thus undermining their polity.¹⁰ Mbembe contrasted decolonization as an open-ended, unfinished, and emancipatory project with the historically specific and colonially designed procedures of Africanization and their often disappointing results.

However, rather than opposing Africanization to decolonization, in this chapter I understand Africanization as a set of governmental policies that were negotiated and contested by professionals and administrators in ways that intervened into decolonization, delimited by Olúfẹ̀mi Táíwò as “the struggle for independence and its outcome.”¹¹ I argue that a significant part of this negotiation and contestation pertained to the racial categories which the Africanization policy was based on. I discuss how Europeans and Africans shaped and reshaped these categories during the country’s political transition towards self-rule and its accelerated economic and social development, but also in response to its increasing opening beyond the British Empire. In particular, I show how ambiguities of colonial definitions of who counted as an African impacted the employment policies at the PWD during the shared British–Ghanaian rule (1951–1957). Then, I argue that Ghana’s opening towards the socialist countries in the early 1960s fractured the understanding of who counted as a European. This fracture was instrumentalized by Ghanaians to emancipate architectural education in the country from British control. In short, this chapter studies the impact of the changing racial categories on the Africanization of architectural labor, and shows how Ghanaians actively participated in creating and instrumentalizing these categories.

Expanded Africa

Earlier than most “localization” or “indigenization” policies across the British Empire, the Africanization policy was initiated in the Gold Coast during the 1920s.¹² It was motivated by what Governor Frederick Gordon Guggisberg called “the spirit of justice” and by the necessity of saving on the costly European staff.¹³ This policy put an end to restrictions of African employment in the colonial administration that had been introduced during the 1890s under the influence of late-Victorian racial theories. In 1943 Africanization was defined as a policy “to appoint Africans to superior appointments in preference to Europeans whenever suitable Africans could be found, and further, to take all practicable measures, by way of scholarships, training schemes and the like, to augment the number of Africans suitable for such appointments.”¹⁴ After World War II the government accelerated its Africanization efforts under the pressure of mass-political mobilization in the country, including the Convention People’s Party headed by Kwame Nkrumah, and in view of the country’s independence. In 1950 A. L. Adu, a Gold Coaster, a Cambridge University graduate, and a high-ranking official was appointed as the first Commissioner of Africanization.

The implementation of the Africanization policy in the PWD was far from straightforward. One controversy concerned the prospect of employing architects by the Department rather than commissioning external, private consultants. While the latter practice was often seen as necessary, given the accelerated volume of state investments, it clashed with the imperative of Africanization in view of the small numbers of African professionals. For example, a list of consultants eligible to apply for government contracts in 1959 mentions only

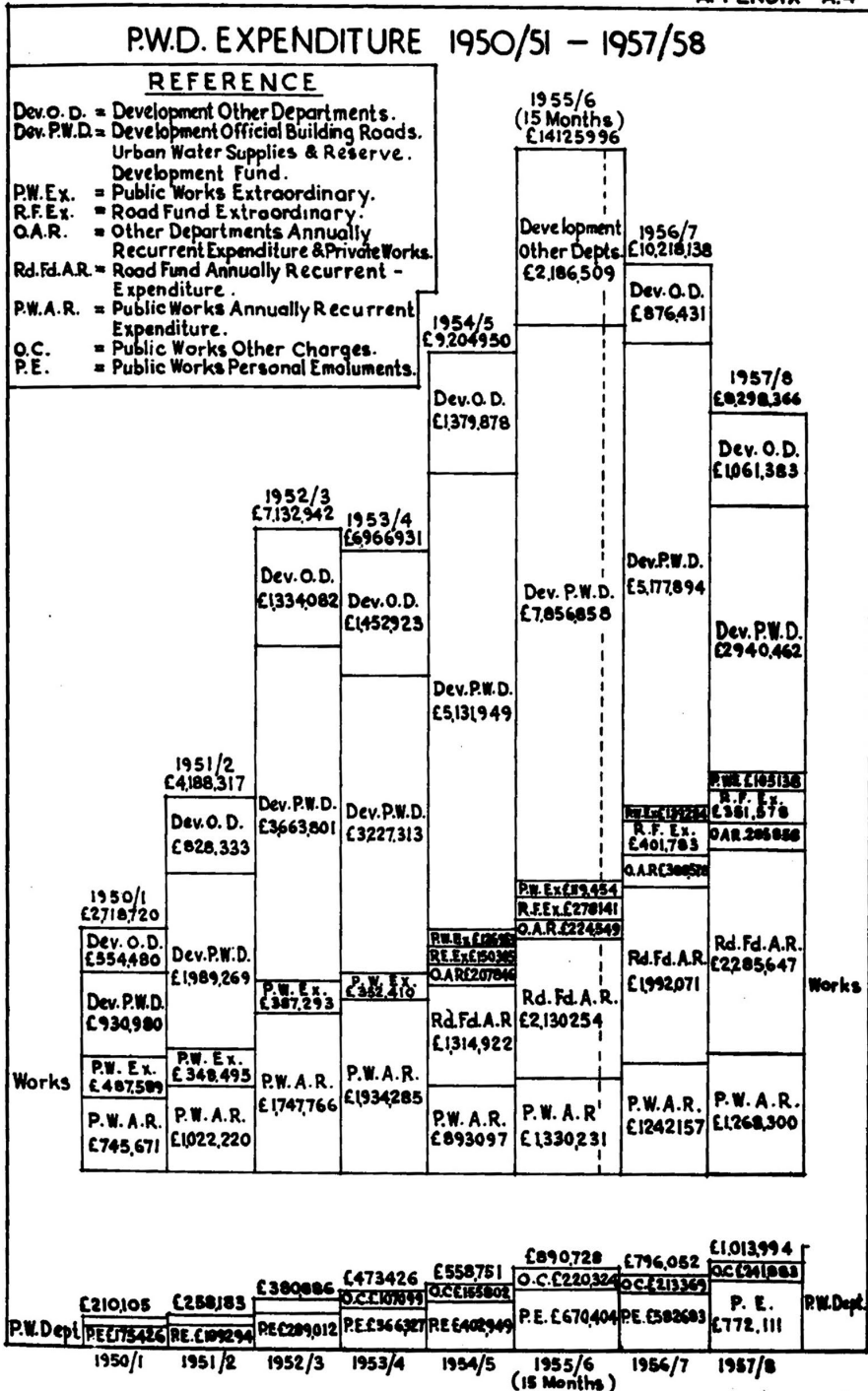


Figure 17.2 “P.W.D. Expenditure 1950/51–1957/58.” “Annual Report 1957–58.” Accra: PWD, 1961, A.4.

one Ghanaian architect: J. S. K. Frimpong, educated at the Bartlett School of Architecture in London.¹⁵ The small number of African architects, and the time and cost required to train them according to British standards, led Europeans and Africans to question these standards' appropriateness for the Gold Coast. Local and foreign advisors challenged European models of the architectural profession in a country where by the mid-1950s licensed surveyors and draftsmen were "said to be responsible for the designs of about 90 per cent of the private [urban] residential buildings."¹⁶

Less openly discussed but often more consequential was the understanding of the very term that underlaid the Africanization policy: the question of who counted as an African. By the 1930s, this term replaced the earlier term "native" in most administrative contexts in the Gold Coast,¹⁷ and it was used to distinguish between "African" and "European" staff. This distinction was unstable and, in the administrative contexts, ambiguous, since senior posts in the colony were sometimes called "European" and, occasionally, they were held by Africans. Along these lines, Governor Guggisberg explained the Africanization policy as that of increasing the number of Africans in "European Appointments."¹⁸

By the 1940s, these posts were renamed "senior" and distinguished from "junior" appointments. Accordingly, the 1952–1953 PWD report accounted for "Africans" and "Europeans" holding senior appointments when documenting the progress of Africanization.¹⁹ By that time, the earlier practice of hiring Europeans on senior posts independently of their qualifications was discontinued with all positions opened to all races "on merit alone."²⁰ In view of the shortage of professional labor, however, administrators advised incentivizing candidates from abroad by offering them a supplement to their salaries.²¹ Many Africans saw this as a continuation of the older system based on racial discrimination, and in the mid-1950s a new salary system was introduced. While equalizing the salary scales, this system preserved the stratification of the public service between a large number of low-paid junior posts, all held by Africans, and a small number of highly-paid, increasingly Africanized senior posts.²²

In order to alleviate the shortage of professional staff, politicians considered tapping into diasporic networks and recruiting people of African descent attracted by Nkrumah's Pan-African ideas. Before traveling to the United States in 1951, Nkrumah announced that "he [would] try to encourage American Negroes to take up appointments here."²³ Writing from Accra around that time, American scholar Edwin S. Munger reported that Gold Coasters were fond of African Americans joining the public service, especially as his interviewees assumed that government salaries in the country were lower than those in the United States.²⁴ By contrast, the same author claimed that Gold Coasters opposed the hiring of West Indians of African descent,²⁵ some of whom had been employed in the colonial administration since the late 19th century on "European" posts, resulting in numerous tensions.²⁶

However, during the early 1950s neither African Americans nor West Indians were considered Africans in the sense of the Africanization policy. Writing in 1951, A. L. Adu, the Commissioner of Africanization, expressed frustration about the fact that he needed to discourage overseas professionals of African descent from applying for government positions in the Gold Coast. He wrote that "non-West Africans," such as West Indians of African origin and South Africans, were outside of his remit and would need to be offered "expatriate terms."²⁷ He commented that if "people of African descent [...] are so anxious to come and work in the Gold Coast as our kinsmen, then I feel that they ought to come in on the same terms as ourselves."²⁸ Even after removing the salary supplement for overseas hires, this classification mattered since the Africanization policy required that permanent contracts be offered only to Africans.²⁹

Adu's claim about the geographical restriction of his remit seems to be corroborated by the 1955–1956 PWD report, where the term “West African” replaced the previously used term “African” in the chart of the Africanization process.³⁰ Metropolitan officials often referred to British West Africa as one operational space, especially when deciding about the program and funding of universities and colleges established or planned in Freetown (Sierra Leone), Ibadan and Zaria (Nigeria), Accra, and Kumasi.³¹ As an Administrative Officer in the Ashanti region, Adu would have been used to the practice of exchanging personnel and experiences in British West Africa. This included exchanges in architecture and construction, facilitated by regional organizations such as the West African Building Research Institute, established in 1952 with branches in Accra and Zaria.³²

However, at other instances, colonial administrators did not recognize British West Africa as one operational space. For example, colonial officials employed discretionary powers to deport from the Gold Coast African dissidents originating from other parts of British West Africa, in spite of the introduction of the “imperial citizenship” in 1948 which allowed subjects to move between British-ruled territories with few restrictions.³³ Furthermore, the “regionalization” of the public service in Nigeria into Federal, Northern, Western, and Eastern services (1954) meant that indigenes in each of these regions were preferred over other candidates, including people from other parts of the colony, let alone from abroad.³⁴ Neither Adu's letter of employment, nor the earlier report of the Committee on Africanization that called to create his position, restricted his remit to West Africa.³⁵ Instead, the report frequently referred to “local” candidates.³⁶ This ambiguous term, which in the “localization” policies in British Eastern African settler colonies opened the public services not only to Africans but also to settled Asians and locally born Europeans,³⁷ would have raised concerns among Gold Coast elites, who insisted on excluding long-settled Lebanese communities from the Africanization policy.³⁸

While the racial categories that the Africanization policy was based on were often ambiguous, Adu's understanding of his remit as restricted to residents of West Africa impacted the scope of this policy in the PWD during the final years of the colonial rule. On the one hand, this definition was too narrow to include architects of African descent keen to work in the country. It would have excluded V. H. Cooper who was born in Port Antonio, Jamaica (1917), served during the war as a RAF navigator, studied architecture in Cardiff, and moved to Ghana in 1957 to work for the Tema Development Corporation.³⁹ Similarly excluded would have been African American professionals, among them the architect and Harvard graduate Max Bond, who worked in Ghana in the mid-1960s.⁴⁰ At the same time, this definition was too broad for retaining African professionals in the country. For example, during the late 1950s Sierra Leonean and Nigerian universities were competing for African lecturers with the College of Technology in Kumasi, an institution whose opening Adu considered “one of the most significant events in the history of Africanisation.”⁴¹ The College's efforts to Africanize its staff were undermined when its high-ranking administrators accepted positions in Nigeria.⁴²

Fractured Europe

While the opening of the Gold Coast towards the British Commonwealth and the United States complicated the understanding of who counted as an African, Ghana's exchanges with the socialist countries in the wake of independence fractured the understanding of who counted as the African's Other. These exchanges followed Nkrumah's turn towards

socialism, including state-centered development, egalitarian welfare distribution, and mass-mobilization of the society.⁴³ By the early 1960s Ghana signed low-interest credit and barter agreements with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites, China, and countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, such as Yugoslavia. Following these agreements, professionals from the socialist countries were arriving to Ghana, among them architects, planners, and engineers.

During their work in Accra, most Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, and Yugoslav architects were employed by the Ghana National Construction Corporation (GNCC), the successor to the PWD.⁴⁴ In line with the colonial-era policies of Africanization, Eastern Europeans were categorized as “expatriates” and offered temporary contracts that would have bought time for Ghanaians to be trained, gain experience, then take over. By independence, the category of “expatriates” replaced in the PWD charts the term “overseas officers,” itself a replacement of the previously used term “European officers.” This genealogy testified to the indebtedness of the category of expatriates to the racialized binary between Europeans and Africans stemming from the colonial regime.⁴⁵

However, this binary was triangulated in view of the Soviet propaganda which differentiated Eastern Europeans from Western European colonizers. Eastern Europeans were presented as conveyors of European technology and culture, yet without the burden of Western European colonialism, imperialism, racism, and capitalist exploitation of the African continent. The Soviet Union claimed the status of an antiracist power that liberated Central Asia from tsarist colonialism, and Eastern Europeans maintained to share with Africans the history of colonial occupation by the Prussian, Habsburg, tsarist, and Ottoman empires.⁴⁶ The German-Nazi genocide and colonization of Eastern Europe during World War II was presented by Czechoslovak, Polish, and Yugoslav envoys in Accra as the most recent instalment in a history of political domination, economic hegemony, and cultural peripheralization of the region since the late 18th century.⁴⁷ These narratives omitted the participation of Eastern Europeans in Western European colonial expansion and exploitation, and the policies of “internal colonization” of the ethnically diverse “borderlands” in the region.⁴⁸

Eastern European propaganda was met with mixed responses by Ghanaians, who noticed the ambiguous position of the region’s inhabitants as both subjects of imperial dominance and active participants of European colonialism.⁴⁹ That ambiguity also came to the fore in the Ghanaian press, where Eastern European pronouncements of antiracism and anticolonialism were sometimes published next to accounts of racist attacks on African students in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. Several Ghanaians compared the latter to racist violence in Jim Crow-era United States, thus embracing the argument by the sociologist, historian, and Nkrumah’s advisor W. E. B. Du Bois that the color line was the fundamental division of world politics.⁵⁰ Others, including former Ghanaian students in Moscow—some of whom were victims of racial attacks—countered that the Soviet Union criminalized racism.⁵¹ Ghanaians who travelled to Soviet Central Asia would have noticed how racialized hierarchies inherited from Russian imperialism reverberated in the paternalism of the Soviet modernization of the region, which was presented by Soviet propaganda as an example of socialist development in a non-European context.⁵² In turn, elite Ghanaians who studied at British universities sometimes absorbed the racialization of Eastern Europeans in Western Europe, with Poles described as “Orientalized Irish” and k-word by some early 20th-century British imperial figures.⁵³

Such older perception of Eastern Europe as Western Europe’s “first Orient”⁵⁴ received a second life in Western Cold War propaganda. In West Africa, this propaganda was sometimes



Figure 17.3 Victor Adegbite (first on the right), Kwame Nkrumah, and others at the construction site of the State House Complex, mid-1960s.

Private archive of Victor Adegbite. Courtesy of the Adegbite family.

instrumentalized in the professional rivalry between British and Eastern European architects. Eastern European professionals hardly perceived themselves along the lines of Soviet propaganda and, instead, saw themselves as proponents of modern architecture on par with their British colleagues. However, the latter rarely shared this view. For example, British architects Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry compared modernization of Africa with Soviet development, but devalored the latter as coercive and thus of lesser value.⁵⁵ The underlying assumption was that architectural value can be produced only by “free” labor specific to the “free world,” and hence that it was irreconcilable with “non-free” labor that, in their view, characterized socialist societies. Similarly, speaking at the opening of the School of Architecture at the College of Technology in Kumasi (1957), British architect Anthony M. Chitty described architecture in Soviet Russia as “completely subjected to politics and to the party line, sterile, ugly, without emotion.”⁵⁶ That discourse was fueled by the increasing sense of beleaguerment by British architects in Ghana, whose professional prospects were undermined by the progress of Africanization. By the early 1960s, they were increasingly alarmed by the takeover of the most prominent design commissions by state institutions headed by Ghanaians, such as the Howard-educated architect Victor Adegbite, and staffed by Eastern Europeans.

This projection of Cold War antagonisms on architectural labor was consequential for the Africanization of architecture in Ghana. A case in point was the conflict around professional organizations of architects. The first of them was founded in 1954 as the Gold Coast, then Ghana, Society of Architects (GSA).⁵⁷ As an “allied society” of the Royal Institute of British

Architects (RIBA), the Society required that the majority of its members be “citizens of the Commonwealth or British Protected Persons.”⁵⁸ Accordingly, the membership comprised British and Ghanaian architects, the latter typically with degrees from British schools of architecture, though Adegbite was accepted as well. The Society was instrumental in RIBA’s accreditation of the School of Architecture in Kumasi.⁵⁹ In particular, the Society was put in charge of the preliminary marking of students’ exams. Yet when in June 1962 none of the students passed their exams for the second time in a row, Ghanaian administrators called for a new supervisory body for architectural education.⁶⁰ To this aim, in 1962 the Ghana Institute of Architects (GIA) was created, with Ghanaian architect and planner Theodore Shealtiel Clerk, educated at the Edinburgh College of Art, as first president. Membership was “open to all Architects practicing in Ghana, provided they are qualified to practice as Architects in the country of their origin, or the country in which they have received their training”⁶¹—a clause which conveyed the cosmopolitanism of Ghanaian architecture at that time.

In contrast to the Society, which was governed by British architects and took instructions from the headquarters of the RIBA in London, the Institute was governed from Accra by Ghanaians closely linked to the government. According to Clerk, institutional independence allowed Ghanaian architects to “help to mold both the shape of Architecture, Architectural education and the future of the Architectural profession in this country.”⁶² A further difference between the Institute and the Society was the composition of their members. While the groups of Africans were largely the same in both institutions—most founders of the GIA were GSA members—the European membership was decisively different. In the case of the GSA, they were predominantly coming from Britain and the Commonwealth; in the case of the GIA, they were Eastern European employees of the GNCC and other state institutions. When counted in 1965, the Eastern European group was the largest in the Institute.⁶³

The motivation of Eastern Europeans to join the Institute was far from clear, but the fact that their qualifications were not recognized by the RIBA, and hence that they were excluded from the GSA, was probably significant. The hostility which some of them experienced from British architects might have played a role in that decision too. As employees of Ghanaian state institutions headed by the founding members of the GIA, such as Victor Adegbite, they might have felt compelled to join. Perhaps they expected to elevate their professional status in Ghana, or they wanted to support their Ghanaian colleagues against an institution associated with the former colonial power.

The motivation of the Institute to include Eastern Europeans was clearer. The participation of Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, and Yugoslav architects made GIA’s membership larger than GSA’s and gave the Institute a stronger position in its bid to absorb the older organization, which took place in 1965. Furthermore, a numerous membership strengthened GIA’s hand in its negotiation with the government in a crucial battle for the legal recognition of the architectural profession. The relevance of membership numbers was confirmed by the Professional Bodies Registration Regulations (1971) which specified that a professional organization would be registered by the government provided it represented at least 75% of persons in the country who were trained and qualified in that profession.⁶⁴ Finally, the fact that Eastern European architects joined the GIA allowed the Institute to present itself as a model institution under Ghanaian leadership which gathered professionals from around the world and from across racial, professional, and political divides in order to contribute to Ghana’s development.⁶⁵

The controversies around professional organizations of architects reflected a shift in Ghana’s policies of Africanization, since the mid-1960s often called “Ghanaization.” A case in

point was the revision of the GIA bylaws in the early 1970s. The new bylaws restricted the membership to residents of Ghana, and declared that “no firm shall be registered as an architectural firm if [...] the majority of partners or directors are not members of the Ghana Institute of Architects [or] none of its partners is a Ghanaian.”⁶⁶ That regulation was part of the policy of Ghanaization of the country’s economy promulgated in the course of the 1970s.⁶⁷ It led to the transfer of ownership and management of enterprises to Ghanaian citizens, including architectural offices, thus opening a new chapter in Ghana’s architecture.

Conclusions: Race Off-Center

During the transition to self-rule and in its wake, the state was just one among many agents of architectural production in the Gold Coast, then Ghana, which also included economic and political elites, foreign enterprises, churches, and local communities. However, institutions such as the Public Works Department and its successors were important agents of this production which, consequently, was shaped by Africanization policies. Besides directing the employment of professionals in charge of the design, construction, and maintenance of governmental buildings, these policies impacted architectural education and professional regulation and, beyond the scope of this chapter, construction and construction materials industries.

This chapter focused on the changing and often ambiguous categories that these policies were based on. It showed how European and, increasingly, African administrators negotiated such categories as “African,” “West African,” and “Ghanaian” in view of distinct and sometimes conflicting imperatives of constitutional change and economic development. These categories were defined in the course of debates concerning racial classification, imperial citizenship, colonial governance, developmentalist planning, nationalist politics, but also new ideas about Pan-African and transatlantic solidarities. The controversy about the remit of the Commissioner of Africanization in the early 1950s showed how the racial categories used by Adu were at odds with the practice and sentiment in the Gold Coast, being at the same time too broad to protect the interest of national institutions from competition across British West Africa, and too narrow to benefit from the country’s appeal for Africans outside the British Empire. The transfer of power to Ghanaians did not end these ambiguities, as the colonial practice of politicizing citizenship continued under Nkrumah and after the end of his rule (1966).⁶⁸

Just as the colonial understanding of who counted as an African was complicated in the course of the opening of the Gold Coast beyond the British Empire, so the understanding of who counted as a European was fractured by the arrival of professionals from Eastern Europe. Their arrival was accompanied by Cold War propaganda which, from the socialist side, claimed antiracist and anticolonial solidarities and, from the Western side, activated longer Western European traditions of racializing the European East. While Ghanaians held differing views on this controversy, it provided Ghanaian decision-makers with an opportunity to accelerate the institutionalization of the architectural profession and to shift control of architectural education from London to Accra.

By studying the dynamics of Africanization across the last decade of colonial rule and the first independence decade, this chapter showed how mutations of colonial-era racial classifications became intertwined with racial imaginations mediated by Cold War geopolitics in Ghana. In this way, it connected debates in architectural history with two decentered

approaches to scholarship on race focused on geographies beyond North America and Western Europe. They included studies on the roles of racialization in colonial governance and its long-term consequences; and research on ethnic politics at the fringes of Europe, where the concept of Europeaness was uncertain, ambiguous, contested, and mediated through transnational imaginations of race. In so doing, this chapter contributed to an architectural history that takes as its starting points geographies and concepts off-center, yet without obscuring the hegemonies of the colonial-capitalist core.

Notes

- 1 “Annual Report of the Ghana National Construction Corporation, formerly (Division of Public Construction) for the Period 1959–60.” Accra: GNCC, 1963. This research was supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation as part of the “Centring Africa: Postcolonial Perspectives on Architecture” project at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal; the Maria Sibylla Merian Centres Programme of the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, Germany (grant no. 01UK2024AJ); and the University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana. I would like to thank Felipe Hernandez, Itohan Osayimwese, and Hannah Le Roux for their comments. This paper expands a section of my paper “Race, Time, and Architecture: Dilemmas of Africanization in Ghana, 1951–1966.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Vol. 83, No. 2 (2024), pp. 191–208.
- 2 “Annual Report of the Ghana National Construction Corporation,” n.p.
- 3 “Annual Report of the Ghana National Construction Corporation,” p. 42.
- 4 “Appointment of Commissioner for Africanisation,” Public Records and Archives Administration Department, Ghana (later: PRAAD), Kumasi, ARG 2.1.13, 16.
- 5 “Annual Report, 1952–53.” Accra: PWD, 1954, pp. 9–10; “Annual Report, 1953–54.” Accra: PWD, 1955, p. 54; “Annual Report, 1954–55.” Accra: PWD, 1956, pp. 39–40; “Annual Report, 1955–56.” Accra: PWD, 1957, pp. 46–47; “Annual Report, 1957–58.” Accra: PWD, 1961, pp. 8, A.3, 48–50, 56.
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- 10 Achille Mbembe, “Decolonizing the University: New Directions.” *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2016) pp. 29–45.
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- 12 Anthony Kirk-Greene, *Britain’s Imperial Administrators, 1858–1966*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000; Robert M. Price, *Society and Bureaucracy in Contemporary Ghana*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975, pp. 43–45; Paul Bennell, “The Colonial Legacy of Salary Structures in Anglophone Africa.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1982) pp. 127–154.
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- 14 “Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Africanization of the Public Service,” 1950, p. 8, UK National Archives, Kew (later: UKNA), CO 96/815/4.
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- 16 Charles Abrams, Vladimir Bodiansky, and Otto Koenigsberger, *Report on Housing in the Gold Coast*. New York: United Nations, 1956, p. 92. See also: Stanek, "Race, Time, and Architecture."
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- 18 "Report of the Select Committee," p. 7.
- 19 "Annual Report, 1952–53."
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- 22 Bennell, "The Colonial Legacy of Salary Structures."
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- 25 Munger, "Report on Africanization."
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- 27 "Report on visit of Mr A. L. Adu, Commissioner for Africanisation, to the UK and Ireland, 28th April–30th June 1951", 11, PRAAD Accra, RG 5-1-396.
- 28 "Report on visit of Mr A. L. Adu."
- 29 "Annual Report, 1953–54." This policy was not always enforced.
- 30 "Annual Report, 1955–56," pp. 46–47.
- 31 See various files on the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, UKNA.
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- 34 Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators*, pp. 257 and 317 (note 49).
- 35 "Report of the Select Committee;" "Vacancy for Commissioner for Africanization," UKNA CO 96/815/4.
- 36 "Report of the Select Committee."
- 37 Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators*, p. 254.
- 38 Malki, "Citizenship, Strangerhood, and Exclusion."
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