

Article

The Impact of Post-War Transnational Consultants in Housing and Planning Development Narratives: The Case of Otto Koenigsberger

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Abstract

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the progressive dismantling of previous power-nations and the independence of many countries have contributed to new political, economic, and technical processes and highly mobile flows of people and ideas. Yet, research has overlooked knowledge channels outside of mainstream geopolitical frameworks. In particular, the role and power of international aid organizations, their development assistance programs, and the impact of the emergent new actor of this phenomenon—the consultant—in housing and planning narratives deserve to be examined. This article proposes to do so by exploring the historical contribution of Otto Koenigsberger (1908–1999) as part of the first generation of CIAM-UN experts. His view of “housing as a problem of numbers” engaged him on a lifelong pedagogical and transnational political project of decolonizing architectural education and the redefinition of both the profession and the professional. By emphasizing the importance of (a new) training, it raises questions on what sort of knowledge housing may require, by whom knowledge competencies may be conveyed, and how that knowledge should be instrumentalized. The article draws on extensive archival research, findings on the protagonists and institutions involved, and the author’s interviews with key players that shed light on evolving conceptualizations of “development,” built environment, educational programs, and knowledge production. Ultimately, examining the terminology underlying the expertise delivered through consultancy reports vis à vis the education and skills needs contributes to a better understanding of the foundations of housing as a problematized field of architectural education.

Keywords

architectural education; consultancy; housing missions; John Lloyd; KNUST; Otto Koenigsberger; United Nations

Issue

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1. Introduction

Recent scholarship has focused on foreign aid and foreign diplomacy as agents of construction. The current research aims to reflect on consultancy as a new modality of knowledge exchange through technical assistance and the nature of this emerging professional—the consultant—the context of their production, modes of circulation, and actual impact. The UN report on housing, which was produced in 1954 by Charles Abrams, Otto Koenigsberger, and Vladimir Bodiansky at the request of the government of the Gold Coast (as Ghana was then known), is of particular importance in this con-

text because in one of its annexes it contains one of the first documents, within the framework of technical assistance, putting forward a proposal on specialized training. This constituted a theoretical model that linked education, the built environment, and development pursued by Koenigsberger—one of the central figures and a founding member of the Department of Tropical Architecture (DTA) established at the Architectural Association (AA) in London in 1954, and which was incorporated into the University College of London as the Development Planning Unit in 1971. Examining this particular critical reasoning and how Koenigsberger enhanced the educational development of the DTA

training programs as both a response to the housing problem and an applied theory of his early consultancy projects, particularly that of the first school of architecture in Ghana, which was founded largely due to his efforts, after his experience in India (1939–1951), offers an insight into discussions on development theories based on the empowerment of the masses through education and a de-Westernization of knowledge systems. The hypothesis is that Koenigsberger sought to engineer a certain kind of expert, following his view of the role, skills, services, and instruments in which this new professional should be trained. His innovative approach underpinned an *ante litteram* political agenda as an educator and adviser on national regional planning, urban development, sustainability, and climate design strategies, where higher education and research played a fundamental role, emphasizing the distinction between education *for* the tropics as opposed to education and research *from, with, and for* the tropics.

In fact, as soon as the UN was formed and the right to adequate housing included in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, education began to be discussed and foreign aid advocated as something beyond material resources and architectural and planning expertise. The UN quickly established itself as an important laboratory and networking hub for Americans, CIAM members worldwide, and experts from emerging nations. In December 1946, the General Assembly called for an international exchange of technical experience and expertise on housing as part of a larger agenda described by Julian Huxley, a founding member of the Political and Economical Planning Group (PEP), as helping the “emergence of a single world culture” (Shoshkes, 2013, p. 97). The task was assigned to the Economic and Social Council and, a year later, pushed by Jacob Crane, assistant to the US Housing and Home Finance Agency, a program on housing, building, and town planning was established within the Department of Social Affairs to create an international exchange of information for housing and planning issues (Harris, 1998, p. 176). The program evolved into the UN’s Expanded Program of Technical Assistance in 1949. The Department of Social Affairs organized a reconnaissance mission of experts on low-cost rural housing in South and South-East Asia, part of earlier efforts to compile knowledge and strengthen networks. The team, led by Crane, included three other international experts: Robert Gardner-Medwin, Jacobus Thijssen, and Antonio Kayanan. Between November 1950 and January 1951, they visited India, Pakistan, Thailand, the Federation of Malaya, and Singapore. The mission revealed many alternative and unknown research stations but also highlighted the lack of skilled personnel and the need for university-trained planners (Chang, 2016, pp. 167–169), a hot topic in the Anglo-American world during the previous three decades. Several chapters of the report were devoted to cooperation, education, and the important role the UN could play in providing technical assistance for the creation of “professional training facilities

to address the widespread shortage of skilled personnel” (Shoshkes, 2018, p. 71; see Gardner-Medwin, 1952, p. 295; Koenigsberger, 1952c, p. 20).

2. Housing as a Problem of Numbers

Koenigsberger, a German trained as an architect at the Technische Hochschule Berlin (1927–1931), at the time of the reconnaissance mission director of housing for the Indian government’s Ministry of Health in New Delhi, was already part of this emergent network crossing the path of a British Empire struggling for new ways to implement its political and economic power. He also kept ties with the American and European avant-garde, and the new machinery of foreign aid (Lee & James-Chakraborty, 2012; Liscombe, 2006). He built on many fronts over time: political, professional, scientific, and academic. During his stay in India, he became acquainted with foreign aid diplomacy and US international relations through actors such as Albert Mayer—who who worked in India as well as in India as well, first as an engineer for the US Army during the Second World War, then as a planner and consultant—and with the ideas of his close associates about the social inadequacies of modern housing. He also exchanged knowledge and expertise with international development agencies: Crane contacted Koenigsberger and others from 22 countries in 1949 before his departure to the first UN housing mission (Harris, 1998, p. 171), and J. Tyrwhitt consulted him ahead of the 1954 Housing Exhibition at the UN Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in Asia and the Far East in New Delhi (Shoshkes, 2013, p. 155; UN Technical Assistance Administration, 1955). Furthermore, Koenigsberger was actively involved in numerous international collaborations, intellectual circles such as MARG, the Indian “Modern Architectural Research Group” (Lee & James-Chakraborty, 2012), and professional institutions. He engaged with academe from his first year in India, lecturing at Bangalore University, Mysore Engineering College, and the J. J. College in Mumbai, where he advocated the importance of scientific research in architecture as the only way to progress (Koenigsberger, 1940). Koenigsberger was a regular contributor to publications, which he used to discuss city planning (Koenigsberger, 1946, 1949, 1953). At the same time, he maintained ties with the avant-garde Swiss and British faction of CIAM through his relations with Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry, and Jane Drew, who were working on the Chandigarh project (Liscombe, 2006, p. 159). He soon began getting international government consultancy commissions, the first in 1950 as a planning adviser to the government of Burma (Koenigsberger, 1952b).

When Koenigsberger moved to the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, in 1952, with a senior research fellowship to prepare a book on tropical architecture, he entered into correspondence with architects, planners, and research stations worldwide

and regularly attended conferences on the subject. At the XXI International Congress for Housing and Town Planning in Lisbon (1952), the first of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning to have housing in tropical countries as a main subject, which brought together prominent figures (da Costa, 1952; Spielvogel, 1953), Koenigsberger used the opportunity to share his research and invite participants with “interesting material to contribute,” to contact him (Koenigsberger, 1952a, p. 1). He acted as an adviser on housing matters to the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene and collaborated with the PEP Group on “underdeveloped countries.”

He began questioning European housing and town planning teachings while in India as the government architect and planning officer in the Government of Mysore (1939–1948), and then in Delhi (1948–1951) when faced with the realities of rapidly-growing cities and the situation of migrants and squatters, he might have witnessed also during his three-year stay in Egypt (1933–1936; Lee et al., 2015, pp. 9, 17). The connection with professional, educational, and research institutions was deeply rooted in his early experiences that took place almost one decade before the first UN housing mission. He began to address the need to train qualified personnel as a prerequisite for the improvement of housing conditions in the early 1940s, advocating—as part of an immediate plan of action—the foundation of an all-India town planning institute and an institute for tropical housing that would run along similar lines to the Institute for Tropical Medicine and strengthen and expand scientific, professional, and educational organizations (Figure 1; Koenigsberger, 1943, pp. 6, 8). During the series of lectures he delivered from 1940 to 1946, he proposed creating an institute for building research in Mysore, which would produce specific investigation instead of importing knowledge from other countries (Koenigsberger, 1940). It was at this time that he started to construct a narrative on decolonizing architecture from western countries. Forging the development of a new scientific architecture was dependent on the development and expansion of the knowledge and expertise needed, which should incorporate the study of regular people—with implications for the democratization of the discipline—improving knowledge about local raw materials and constructions and sociological studies (including local traditions of government, administration, and methods of running communal affairs, daily traditions, family grouping systems, and ways of living) in connection with micro-climatography to construct new town planning systems—a theme that would become central for him. For Koenigsberger, most of what was being done worldwide was insufficient, since “pilot projects and model villages and housing estates have provided interesting experience” yet “touched only a small fringe of the problem,” with it being “essential to proceed from housing projects to nationwide, comprehensive housing policies” to face unprecedented problems (Koenigsberger, 1952a, p. 2). In one of his lectures he stated:

If someone would ask me whether he should go to the West to study the Architecture of its big cities, I certainly should reply... “Yes, go there and learn how things should *not* be done”...because many mistakes had been done and therefore not worth copying, on the contrary he should learn from their failures, creating a truly “national style,” [i.e.] of their own time and their people. (Koenigsberger, 1941, p. 2)

But it was not until his Burma report a decade later that he expanded his ideas about how research and education were of decisive importance, as the housing problem could not be overcome without solving the issue of skilled personnel (Koenigsberger, 1952b). The chapters devoted to it also focused on the importance of cooperation, particularly in providing technical assistance for the creation of professional training facilities in South and South-East Asia, in line with the recommendations of Crane’s team to the UN “as a cyclostyled pamphlet” (Koenigsberger, 1952c, p. 17). In his words, “planning problems of underdeveloped regions are problems of numbers” (Koenigsberger, 1952d, p. 95).

3. Ghana: The Theoretical Model

It was precisely Koenigsberger’s knowledge of numbers and his extensive contacts that secured him an invitation to join the Volta River Project Preparatory Commission (Sir William Halcrow & Partners & MMICE, 1956) as a housing and town planning consultant (Koenigsberger, 1955c). The projected hydroelectric dam in Southwestern Gold Coast was expected to have a major environmental and social impact and displace many people, a problem similar to that which Koenigsberger experienced following the partition of India and the displacement of around 14 million people. His field survey equipped him with a knowledge of the country and an acquaintance with individuals and government officials (Koenigsberger, 1954), which was very important for the UN Technical Assistance Administration’s housing mission. The country was undergoing other major infrastructure developments, including the port and rail terminals in Tema (Ghana) and the new towns that were required due to foreign investment in the country, which made housing policy critical (D’Auria & de Meulder, 2010; Jackson et al., 2019).

Prior to leaving for Ghana, he noted in a letter sent with the submission of the main outcome of his Halley Stewart fellowship (a handbook on tropical housing with chapters on planning and the construction of houses in tropical countries) that its structure should be expanded to address issues that, although assembled, needed to be worked out: climate, materials, finance, and education (Koenigsberger, 1954, para. 2). This mission was decisive in further elaborating his reasonings on education, which had been left open. Those chapters were never written, and the handbook was never published. Nevertheless, its draft was used by students and staff from the beginning

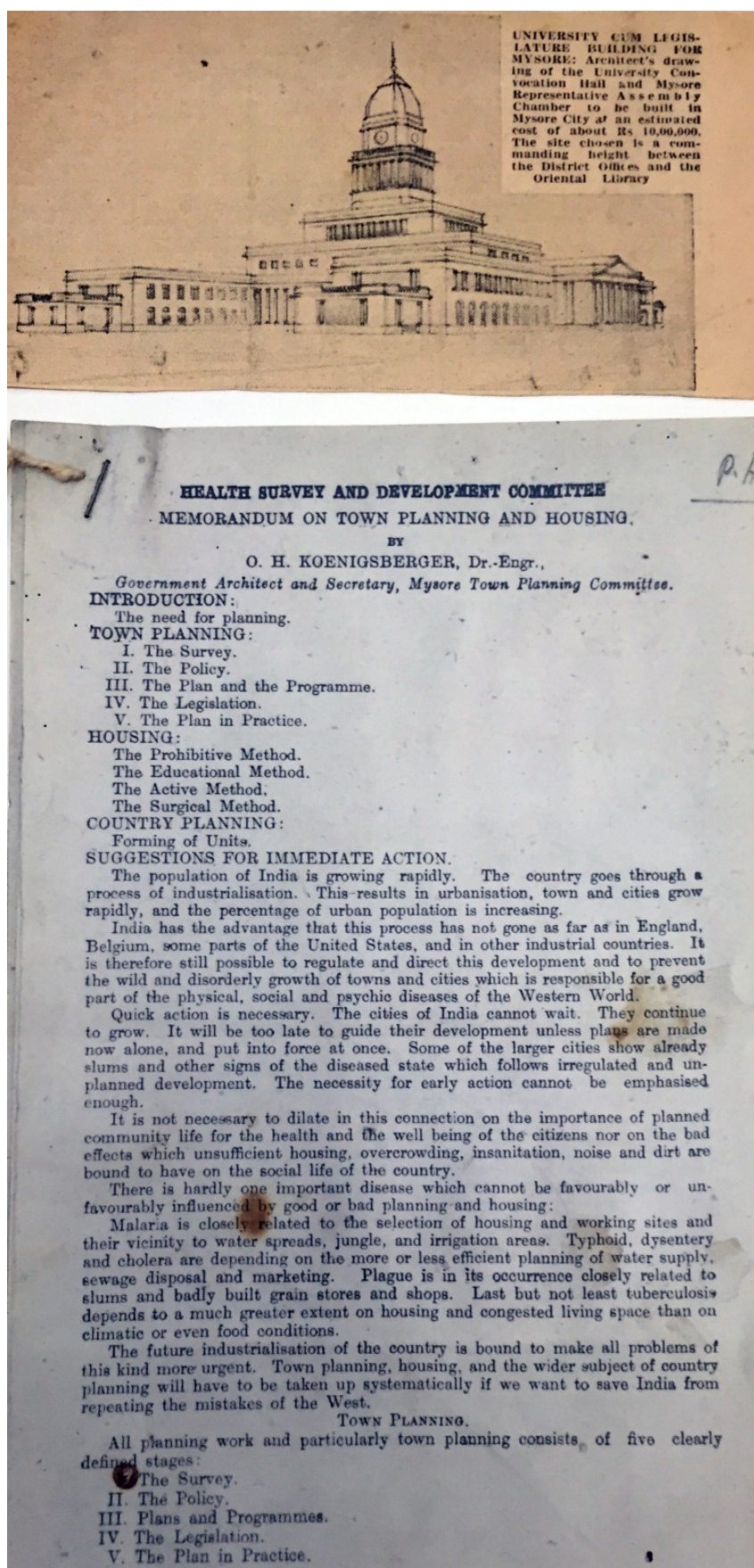


Figure 1. Otto Koenigsberger's Health Survey and Development Committee Memorandum on Town Planning and Housing, with drawing of a university building for Mysore. Source: Koenigsberger (1942).

of the course in tropical architecture in 1953. It was probably, as he himself acknowledged, the use that was made of it that “gradually developed and changed in the ‘give and take’ between teachers and students” over 20 years (Koenigsberger et al., 1973, p. xiii), which is revealing of what became his lifelong pedagogical and political transnational project to address development and the housing problem. The process that resulted from it, a publication with contributions from “some twenty to thirty architects, planners and builders from as many different countries assembled every year for a period of joint studies” (Koenigsberger et al., 1973, p. xiii), highlights the importance given to the production of new local knowledge over the years.

The team of experts gathered by the Yugoslavian architect Ernest Weissmann, who was at the time head of the UN-HTCP in the UN Social Affairs Division (Erdim, 2016, p. 23), included Koenigsberger, Charles Abrams (1902–1970), and Vladimir Bodiansky (1894–1966). Together they embodied the ideal of international cooperation on specific UN tasks. Abrams was a Polish-born American lawyer and one of the leading authorities in housing in the US, having helped draft the first New York City Housing Authority’s housing legislation (Finch, 1975) and taught housing policies at MIT (Vale, 2018, p. 51). Bodiansky was a Russian-French engineer who had worked with the French Government on roads in the Congo, planning and building in Morocco, and dealt with mass migration issues from rural areas. In 1945, alongside Le Corbusier, he helped found ATBAT-Afrique, the African branch of an interdisciplinary research group of architects and engineers engaged in post-war reconstruction in Europe (Frapier, 2012).

The mission began in October 1954, and they visited almost every district in the territory. The report was submitted in 1956, complete with introductory studies into the country’s rural and urban growth and the impact of the transitional political, economic, social, and land context. It defined targets and needs and covered various topics upon which housing policies were dependent; all expanded on in appendices covering administration, finance, education, and construction. Appendix E was devoted to technical education and contained the main underlying strategy for the success of all the others in the mid- to long-term: “The best housing policy and the most careful construction program” could not be “put into effect unless the country had the necessary technical personnel” (Abrams et al., 1956, p. 83). However, the mission called for a new profession of competent “general practitioners” along the lines of medicine, with generalists and specialists that were justified due to the shortage of qualified personnel. They should be professionals—people who know enough about planning, architecture, quantity surveying and accounting, municipal engineering, administration, and law—able to put their projects into practice. They should have the knowledge of an entire western team in the field of housing in a country in which it would

take years to train the first professionals (Koenigsberger, 1955b, p. 29). The Appendix recommended the immediate establishment of a School of Community Planners and the appointment of an expert committee to develop a detailed syllabus and make the necessary arrangements to create a course as quickly as possible since there were none in the country.

While a housing adviser in Ghana, and before the publication of the first report, Koenigsberger began lobbying for the new school (Koenigsberger, 1955a). By November 1955, he had put together a team to define the course content and structure—Professor J. A. L. Matheson from Manchester and Gardner-Medwin, who was a former member of the first UN Mission of Experts and at the time professor of architecture and civic design at Liverpool University (Koenigsberger, 1955b)—and have the principal of the Kumasi College of Technology (later Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology at Kumasi [KNUST]) interested in opening it in their campus (Duncanson, 1955). The committee met in Kumasi and produced the proposal included in Koenigsberger’s second report, *Housing in Ghana Part 2* (Koenigsberger, 1956), who had returned to the country as housing coordinator for seven months following the recommendations of the original mission.

There was resistance to the “general practitioner” concept at the institutional level. It was considered over-optimistic regarding the time factor and the proposed “common ground” (Chitty, 1957). It soon became clear that establishing a new school would be determined politically by UK professional standards, retaining a dependency on the Royal Institute of British Architects. Consequently, they proposed a composite four-year course split in the last three years, leading to different degrees: architecture, town planning, and building technologies (Gardner-Medwin & Matheson, 1956, p. 26). The School of Architecture, Town Planning and Building opened at KNUST in 1958 (Figure 2) and the following year the Building Research Group was established in cooperation with the Buildings and Roads Research Institute under a mutual technical assistance scheme between the governments of Ghana and the UK. The agreement was based on the assumption that the latter would provide the former with experts to fill specialist, technical, and professional roles of a temporary or advisory nature, while the former would provide local research. Funded scientific research had been common practice within the British Empire since the 19th century and was regarded to be an instrument of “economic development.” Consequently, it was perpetuated by international agencies in the post-Second World War period (Chang, 2016, pp. 174–175). Nevertheless, the ideological agenda of offering technical assistance to recently independent countries shifting from exporting experts to advising existing agencies in tackling the education problem by establishing local higher education courses and addressing the housing issues over a longer term was already underway, albeit to a different standard.

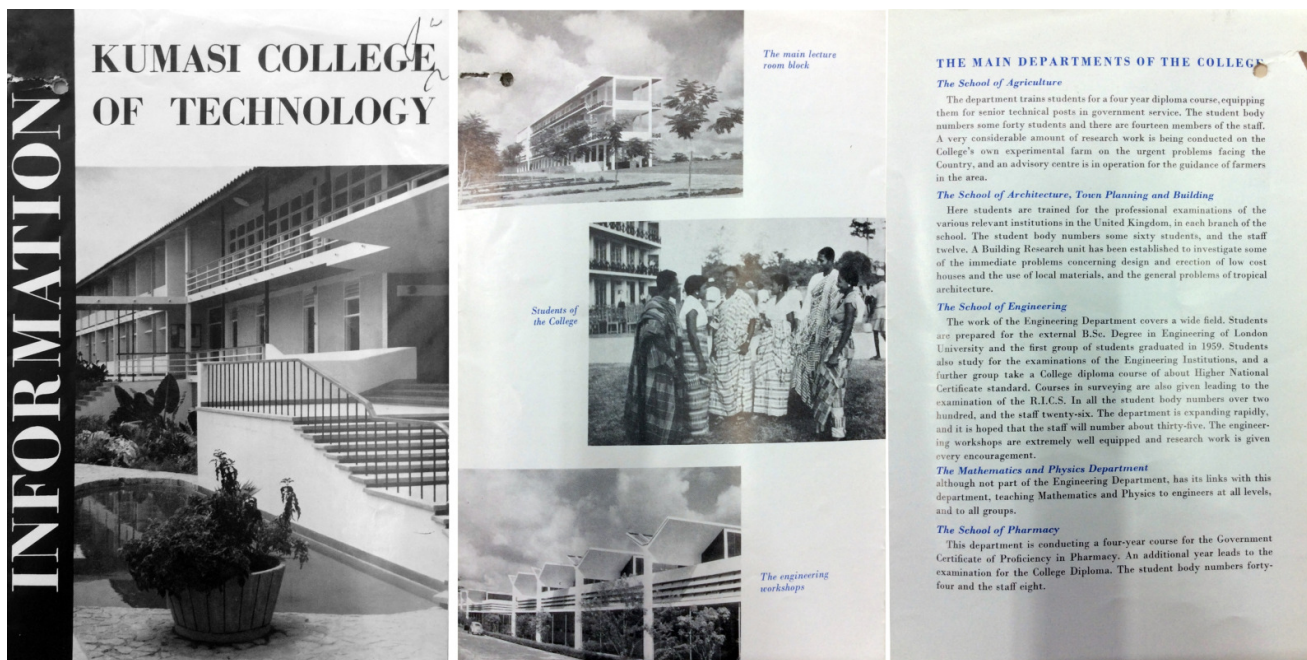


Figure 2. Kumasi College of Technology leaflet. Source: "Information: Kumasi College of Technology" [ca. 1959].

4. Department of Tropical Architecture: Applied Research

Just before the UN mission in Ghana, and following the 1953 London conference on tropical architecture, where the subject of proper education for those working in the tropics acquired special prominence, Koenigsberger, together with George Atkinson, the colonial liaison officer of the building research station, and Leo de Syllas, who had worked with Gardner Medwin in the West Indies (Jackson, 2013, p. 177), got involved in establishing a tropical architecture course with the negotiations for setting it up going on for almost a year until it opened at the AA in 1954–1955. Led by Maxwell Fry during its first three years, Koenigsberger took over on his return to London in 1957 (Wakely, 1983, p. 338). The history of the department has been portrayed as a direct translation of its name, underlying a techno-scientific approach to the architect working in the "tropics," which is paradigmatic of 20th-century scholarship on architecture and urbanism in the "Global South": a western byproduct and discourse with a global impact adapted to its local conditions. However, for over a decade, he used the AA as his headquarters for pedagogical experiences, deviating from mainstream architectural culture, discourses, and agendas at the time. Koenigsberger's critical thinking expanded the focus of the curriculum to incorporate the subjects he had been advocating as essential: sociology, geography, economics, transport and communication, land, and housing policies (Figure 3).

As expressed in Koenigsberger's lectures in India, the aim was to function almost like a regional, collaborative, interdisciplinary research laboratory, working on each country's specificities. This was possible because, for two



Figure 3. Press cutting emphasizing the expanded aim and scope of the course. Source: Koenigsberger [ca. 1959].

decades, through his diplomatic relationships and efforts, the DTA attracted students from more than 80 countries, each with different backgrounds and experiences, many of them mid-career professionals ("Architectural Association Students Register Book", n.d.), with it becoming a space of encounter for many geographies and professionals (Figure 4). This encouraged dialectic discussions and enabled the construction of theoretical bridges between otherwise disconnected geopolitical territories, over time constructing a sophisticated body of knowledge and turning the department into a favored partner for international cooperation programs. The department's brochures from 1961 to 1968 indicated the construction of a narrative not bound to a codified world view of unidirectional knowledge flows (Figure 5). Its changing name over the years (DTA from 1954 to 1961, Department of Tropical Studies from 1961 to 1968, and Department of Development and Tropical Studies from 1968 to 1971), dropping the word "architecture" in favour of "studies," reflected an evolving view of the discipline, the profession, and the professional.

The awareness of the need for mass training to respond to the demands for mass housing, first expressed in the Burma report and then more consistently in the UN report for Ghana, along with a recogni-



Figure 4. Photograph of a group of students from the fourth session of the tropical architecture course. Source: "A group of students from the fourth session of the tropical architecture course" [ca. 1957–1958].

tion of the inadequacy of the western pyramid model of professions in the face of "the immediate and urgent needs of fast-growing cities" and the need for "professional armies with plenty of men," also had an impact on the department's goals, with a different approach to matters "of technical training for mass housing," which should be split into "training small housebuilders and the provision of an elite of architects to specialize in the provision of good patterns for use by house builders" (Koenigsberger, 1959, p. 6). Evolving with the needs of non-governmental and governmental organizations, Koenigsberger defined a non-Eurocentric agenda of transnational knowledge dissemination, relating public higher education in architecture and urban planning with development studies as an alternative to those for training decision-making elites in the US and Europe. The creation of experimental short or parallel courses, which resulted later in 1966 in the splitting of the course into different and autonomous specializations, among the most resilient being housing, teaching methods, and educational building, was consistent with an overall strategy of preparing future housing consultants, delivering proper training of future educators in their home countries, and designing the educational buildings almost as a metaphorical corollary of the development strategies.

5. KNUST: Research "From, With, and For" the Tropics

Meanwhile, the housing shortage in Ghana was getting worse. In 1960, the Government requested advice through the UN Technical Assistance Administration on relating the need for qualified planners with other workforce requirements in its development process.

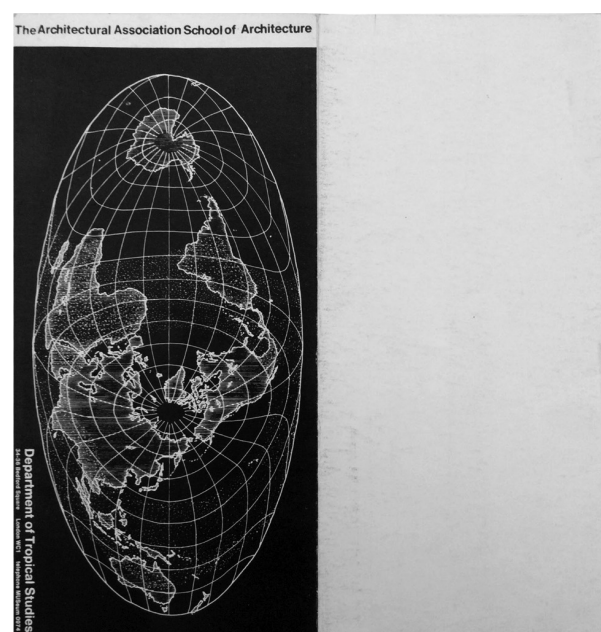


Figure 5. Department of Tropical Studies brochure. Source: "Department of Tropical Studies brochure" [ca. 1961–1968].

Professor Peter Oberlander from the University of British Columbia, on behalf of the Center for Housing, Building and Planning, recommended the establishment of an Institute of Community Planning attached to KNUST—an alternative to the existing Department of Town and Country Planning (Oberlander, 1962, p. 122), according to Weisseman's recommendations the year before for the establishment of special training centers for planning assistants in local development projects. In 1962, a UN mission on physical planning arrived in Ghana to work with the government to prepare a national development plan and found there were only 10 planning officers in the country—clearly not enough. A two-year postgraduate course in regional planning was proposed for the School of Architecture, Town Planning and Building in Kumasi, open only to selected graduates in economics, geography, civil and agricultural engineering, and architecture (Koenigsberger, 1979, pp. 149–154).

In 1963, the school situation was critical following an accreditation visit, and the university council considered closing it down. Koenigsberger persuaded them to give it another chance with support from the AA and the recently appointed director, William Allen—who was imprinting the recent architectural education policies in the school such as environmental studies and building science (Crimson & Lubbock, 1994, pp. 144–153; Zamarian, 2020, p. 123)—leading to an agreement being established between both schools. Koenigsberger personally challenged John Lloyd, a former AA first-year master, to accept the dean's position and reorganize the course (le Roux, 2015, p. 139; J. [Michael] Lloyd, personal communication, November 24, 2016; M. Lloyd, 1999). They shared the vision that schools should become important research centers instead of just preparing students to be architects waiting for important commissions. Koenigsberger coached Lloyd in his ideas and those of Kwame Nkrumah (J. [Michael] Lloyd, personal communication, November 24, 2016). In Ghana, there was a pressing

need for the school to become involved with social problems given their magnitude and the shortage of available labor. Therefore, it was possible to turn most programs into live programs (Figures 6 and 8), particularly in the Volta River resettlement projects. This implied the revision and restructuring of the English-based curricula, which Lloyd found “tragi-comic in their irrelevance” and detachment from the “Ghanaian reality,” with a completely new approach, since he thought “vital areas such as housing had little to do with architecture as conventionally understood but a great deal to do with politics, economics, population, and social studies” (M. Lloyd, 1985, pp. 367–368, 371).

During this period, the work involved students, staff, and the Department of Housing and Planning Research—the former Building Research Group established in 1959—in close contact with local communities, facilitated by diverse government departments and officers, such as the Department of Social Welfare, the Community Development Office, and the Principal Medical Officer. The Building Research Group, which acted as a consultant on resettlement for the government, supported by the school staff, worked with Tema Development Corporation, a public entity set up in 1952 and led by the first certified Ghanaian architect, whose housing and planning consultant was the Greek company Doxiadis Associates, which promoted a holistic understanding of human settlements through “ekistiks” and the 10 symposia Doxiadis hosted from 1963 onwards. This was a partnership that ensured a particular commitment to housing construction. The triangulation, together with the interdisciplinary seminars promoted with specialists from other departments (e.g., Kofi Asamoah-Darko from geography, C. Kwesi Graham from sociology) and international visiting teachers, focused on technologies (e.g., Buckminster Fuller, Sylvia Crowe, Eustaquio Toledo), and the proximity to officers who provided valuable field information, allowed it to cover



Figure 6. John Lloyd at the chief's compound in Maluwe, Northwest Ghana, 1964. Source: Courtesy of John [Michael] and Catherine Lloyd.

such subjects as rural resettlement, low-cost housing and building techniques, social building organization, etc. The close contact with the international aid machine also exposed students to very specialized knowledge techniques, such as “Project Evaluation and Review Technique,” which was taught by Canadian experts (J. Lloyd et al., 1965) and provided different approaches to architecture and planning from the Eastern Europe teaching staff working there at the time (Stanek, 2020, p. 52) as well as access to occasional financial support (Figure 7).



Figure 7. John Lloyd with KNUST students on a field trip to London sponsored by British Technical Aid, June 1964. Source: Courtesy of John [Michael] and Catherine Lloyd.

The modus operandi followed the pattern of international aid reports, getting involved with specific social problems—sometimes apparently disconnected from architecture—such as malaria or river blindness. It began with a reconnaissance survey followed by topographical surveys; planning and measuring compounds; historical background; extensive statistics; interviews; and photos of spaces within compounds, of services, livestock, soil fertility, etc. (Figure 8). This was what Lloyd described as the need to develop “not only the ability to devise solutions but also the ability to diagnose and to prognosticate” (J. Lloyd, 1967, p. 142). The solution would not rely solely on on-site surveys but also on ongoing research conducted during “visual surveys of Africa”—which replaced the more orthodox (western) “history of architecture” program. The course envisioned by Lloyd was supported by Labelle Prussin, who wrote the first book on architecture in Ghana, which through extensive photographic surveys looked for the “essence of African space,” and, occasionally, by Paul Oliver, who went on to publish the *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture*. This was followed by courses on the effects of climate, social organization, and technology on architectural and urban forms, which became central to the design process.

These resulted in the production of original material and data by students and staff, which was shared as being something more than “just teaching architecture (in the traditional sense of it)” (J. [Michael] Lloyd, personal communication, November 24, 2016). The support used—the report—resulted from a statement about world challenges and what a non-Eurocentric education should convey in face of the complexity of housing problems. Even its title, *Kumasi Occasional Reports*, aimed to place the professional beyond the sphere of vocational training. The original scientific research produced was eventually instrumental for future work and the report sometimes turned into a manual. This happened both because of the theoretical essays and some drawings when they took the form of “theoretical housing

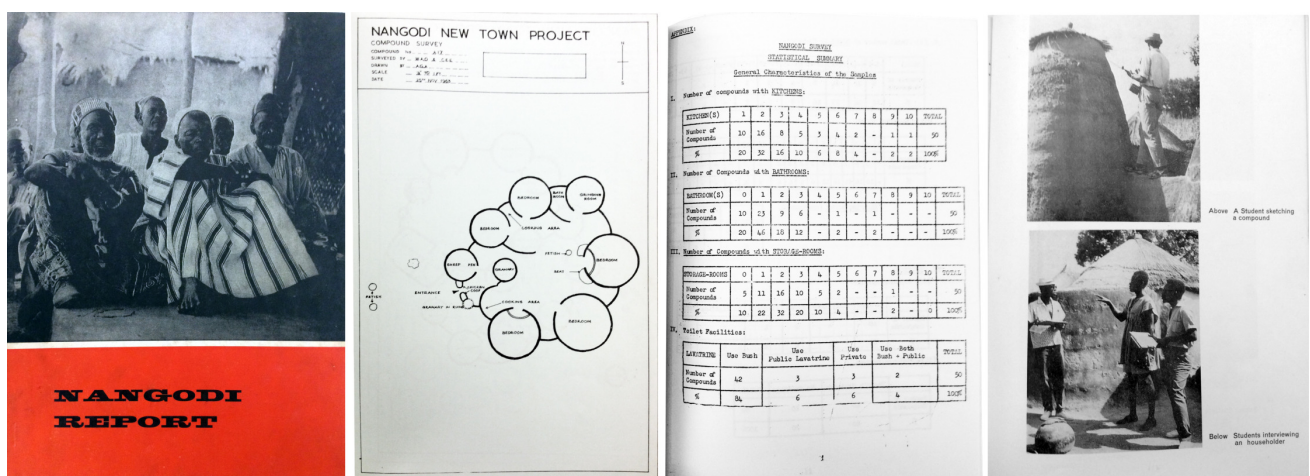


Figure 8. Nangodi Report: Occasional Report 2. From left to right: Compound drawing; statistical summary; students sketching a compound and interviewing a householder. Source: Lloyd et al. (1965).

schemes”: that is, more of a manual of good practice to be adapted rather than as a design itself. This is the example of the work developed to respond to a complete plan for the work started two years earlier through the Nangodi project (*Occasional Report 2*), “investigating the possibilities of producing a habitable unit of any shape capable of repetition and combination...to be constructed of local soil,” with the first parabolic vault, models of the parabolic houses recommended in the report and prototypes erected at Labun and Nangodi (Fullerton, 1968, p. iv). The research developed in the process and reports were largely a reflection of much of the training of former DTA students who were now involved in teaching the course and developing a method for approaching real environmental problems together with students. These included the Ghanaian graduate John Owusu-Addo (1963–1964), Anglo-Jamaican Patrick Wakely, and Kamil Mumtaz from Pakistan (1962–1963). Kamil’s brother, Babar, a member of the teaching staff responsible for the 9th Occasional Report, *Transition: A Study for the Development of a Community in the North of Ghana*, had an interestingly different school path. He completed his first year at Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey, which could be compared in its beginnings with KNUST, as it resulted from a UN mission just before the one in Ghana, where Abrams recommended that a second UN mission should be arranged to set up the administrative and curricular structure of a school (Erdim, 2016; Taper, 1980). Babar Mumtaz then moved to Ghana before finishing his studies in KNUST in 1967, where he immediately joined the staff. The following year he brought all that experience to the recently renamed Department of Development and Tropical Studies as a student together with the Ghanaian students Eve Adebayo and Clement

Berbu Karikari (1968–1969). However, the extent of their research, because it was produced locally using the available resources, went far deeper and allowed its direct applicability.

6. Conclusion

The experience of KNUST was, in many ways, what Koenigsberger envisioned from his early days in India. It took shape throughout his life, particularly through the DTA project and the chain it was intended to constitute with its former students, such as Wakely in Ghana (Figure 9), albeit in different ways and formats with a critical approach to western models of the profession. It was a school that was based in its own country, training those who were to become its professionals, studying and producing original research about the peculiarities of their housing and planning problems. The skills taught to professionals, who were first thought of as “general practitioners,” were expanded to cover various topics in which the social sciences played a significant role. The “housing specialist” was to produce expertise, conveyed through consultancy reports and translated through surveys and general schemes, policy, design, and techno-scientific oriented technical assistance. The intention was for it to be quickly instrumentalized as manuals for self-help housing and developers.

After the coup d’état, John Lloyd returned to London, taking up the position of principal at the AA in 1967. During his inaugural address he expressed the importance of academic research if schools were to have an active role in society:

There are very many areas within the field that the profession is called upon to tackle which urgently

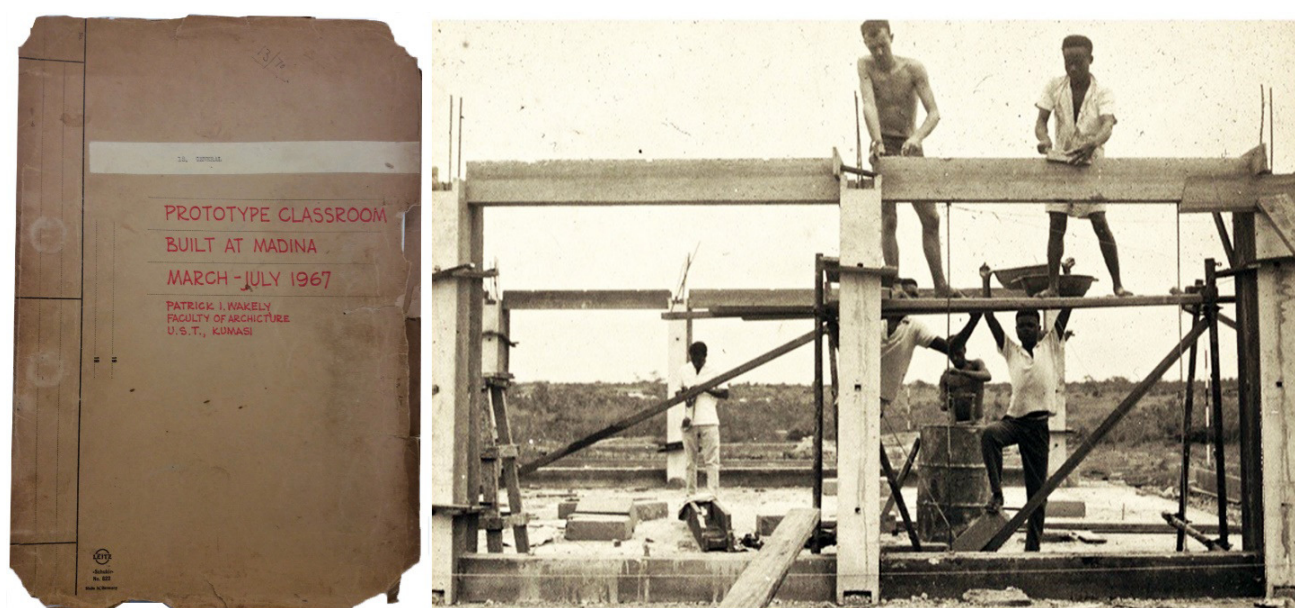


Figure 9. Patrick Wakely’s prototype of a classroom built at Madina and Ghana School Building prototype, 1967. Source: Wakely (1967).

need very deep research and development, and this task should largely be carried out by schools of architecture. If they do this, then I see one of the most important roles of the schools of Architecture in the future being the research development and ideas branch of the professional as a whole. They should be able to offer to the profession expertise and consultative services in specialized fields within which the profession itself is unlikely to be able to concentrate. (J. Lloyd, 1967, p. 141)

Great emphasis was also given to the world social, economic, and health crisis, and Lloyd redesigned the curriculum to allow an entire constellation of disciplines, shifting into a much clearer “focus on the design process so as to prepare students for a range of definitions of the architect’s role” (J. Lloyd, 1968, p. 1). He decided to “involve students with real problems and urgent areas of crises” (J. Lloyd, 1967, p. 142), absorbing live tasks, and therefore making a contribution to the advancement of the society as a whole, as he had done with his students in Ghana. As described by Lloyd in the “Principal’s Comments” in the school handbook, “the school aims, in its educational policy, to produce generalists” (J. Lloyd, 1968, p. 2). Lloyd’s “generalist” meant a number of modes of operation (that he called attitude field) in diverse contexts (application field) translated into a three-dimensional curricular model. While the attitude field was that of the original “general practitioner,” the application field was considerably expanded, questioning the general trend towards the compartmentalization of knowledge within physical disciplines.

Wakely resigned one year later and accepted a position as a visiting lecturer at the Department of Architecture in the National College of Arts in Lahore, Pakistan, which Kamil Mumtaz had been appointed to lead. Later, on Koenigsberger’s invitation, he joined the Department of Tropical Studies staff to run the new specialist course on educational building, which had for three years been tested on a part-time basis, according to his own experience as advisor to the Ministry of Education in Ghana (Figure 9). Lloyd immediately established a research board, while Koenigsberger’s consultancy commissions started to appear with the stamp of the Department, assuming itself as a collective body with wider geographical knowledge—consistent with his own view of the importance of local experts—and with some institutional weight. He envisioned a three-fold instrumentalization of the department’s expertise. First, its ethos would be translated into practice through consultancy in housing and planning programs contributing with applied scientific research and knowledge beyond the dominant canon in “developing countries.” Second, it would empower a flow of key actors in decision-making and practice as abstract agents of global development and their modus operandi as a techno-cultural apparatus. Finally, it was hoped that an interchange of staff and students could be arranged (Koenigsberger, 1964, p. 8). From there it was a small step to the creation of the Tropical Advisory Service (TAS; Figure 10). The acronym TAS would remain, but its name would later change to Training & Advisory Service, when it formally came into legal existence, getting the name right with the intentions and scope of the technical cooperation it intended

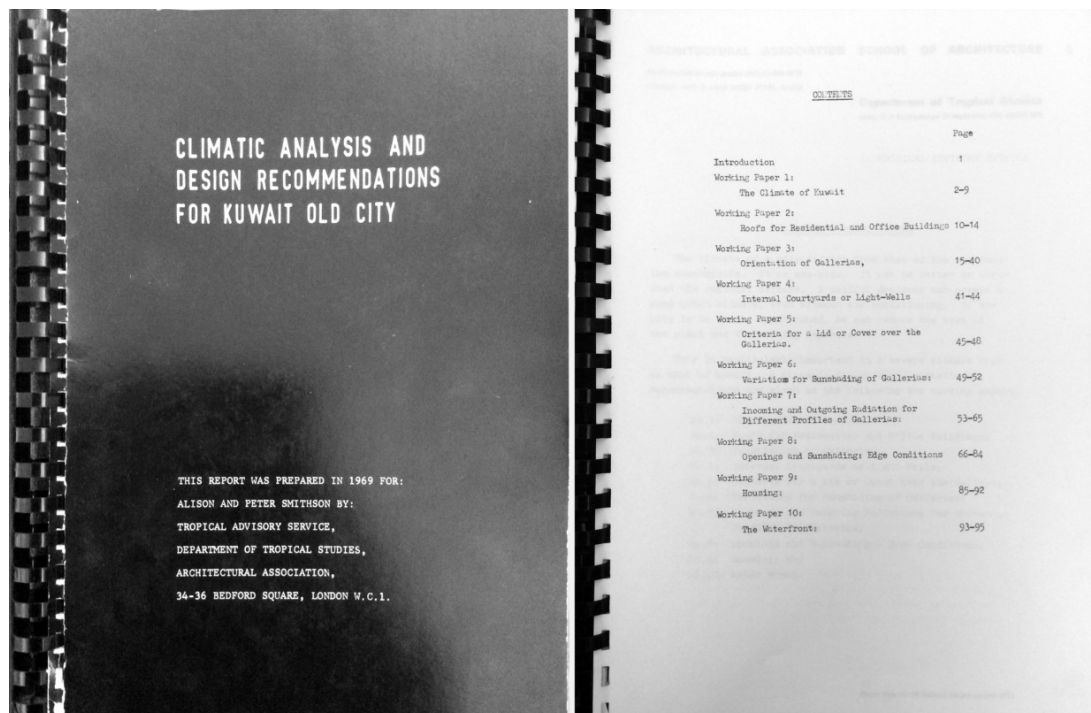


Figure 10. *Climatic Analysis and Design Recommendations for Kuwait Old City*: Report prepared in 1969 for Alison and Peter Smithson by the TAS. Source: Koenigsberger (1969).

to provide: a body of experts sharing knowledge, based in different parts of the world, able to do proper field work, as it would be later advertised. Babar Mumtaz worked for the British Foreign Office for some time, rejoining the staff in 1974 and conducting courses in urban housing in Iraq, Thailand, Pakistan, and Kenya, before becoming the first director of the unit's TAS for which he undertook more than 30 assignments in some 20 countries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (Wakely, 2007, p. 6).

Koenigsberger's efforts to introduce the theme of education and shaping a professional particularly suited to the problems of housing continued throughout his life through his consultancy work. That is the case, for instance, of the 1970 UN mission in Malaysia. Koenigsberger and professor Thomas Markus proposed that the existing bachelor's course in housing, building, and planning of the University of Science in Penang would focus on practical project-oriented subjects to "produce a general service practitioner in Malaysian administration" to be called 'development officers,' with the recommendation "that they should be accepted on a par with the junior members of the Malaysian Administrative Service" (Koenigsberger, 1979, p. 150). It was hoped it "would fill a need which exists in countries where the traditional administrative services are not trained or equipped to cope with the many new tasks that confront them in the implementation of regional and development plans" (Koenigsberger, 1979, p. 151). Although the suggestion was not completely welcomed, from 1976 graduate development officers were being employed by many Malaysian states and cities (Koenigsberger, 1979, pp. 150–151). However, Koenigsberger's influence through his "disciples" remained through a transnational network, responding simultaneously to shifting demands for development expertise and paradigm changes in development theory towards mass training in response to demands for mass housing.

The Truman doctrine and the whole machinery underlying foreign aid, which emerged in the second half of the 20th century, inaugurated a new understanding of the world based on the construction of a narrative about the expectation of progress for the so-called "third world countries" as a means to achieve global peace and prosperity. The word "development" defined the mode of problematization and reasoning about the most varied fields of knowledge, thus conditioning its production and circulation. Consequently, there was a cultural change in the approach to the built environment and, in particular, to housing, previously understood as belonging to the sphere of architecture, which was re-contextualized within the broader theme of community planning. Progressively at the confluence of a series of disciplines within development studies, the housing issue started to bring together economic, political, social, administrative, and geographical issues, among others, besides the constructive and design ones. The termino-

logical dispersion of the theoretical framework of housing also led to the need to rethink the professional and the profession, oscillating paradoxically between the idea of a specialist and that of a generalist, who could cover the many themes on which housing depended. Half a century on, the concept of "development" has been questioned by many academics as a social representation of reality. However, the discourse on housing seems far from being reconciled with the issues of the object, continuing to challenge the teaching and practice of architects and urban planners, and their cultural place, which has been indelibly marked by that post-war ambition.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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