

Cornell, Guelph and the Ghana Project: Education, families and social change

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Between 1961–75 Cornell (USA), and Guelph (Canada) Universities assisted the Ghana Ministry of Education in developing a post-secondary curriculum in Home Science. The authoritarian impulses of the Nkrumah Regime, the Cornell-Ghana Project at Winneba Teacher training College, the establishment of a Home Science Department at the University of Ghana, and the role of higher education in nation building, form important aspects of this article. Field research on the Ghanaian Family is also surveyed, as well as its significance for post-secondary Home Science. Archival sources and interviews with project participants inform this research.

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Introduction¹

This article, focusing on the involvement of Cornell University, the University of Guelph, and other agencies in the development of post-secondary Home Science programs in Ghana, reflects historical, political and social forces sweeping Ghana in the 1960s and 1970s. Post-secondary education was a popular government priority after Ghana's independence from Britain in 1957. The development of new institutions and the cultivation of new constituencies for these institutions was part of government policy for promoting national development through modernisation and the expansion of schooling. Cross currents in thinking and planning for post-secondary education, reflected both the colonial past and national aspirations.

With varying results, colonial administrations had sought to remake their colonised peoples in a variety of ways, reflecting the values, aesthetics and politics of the metropolitan power. Subordination of the aspirations and every day realities of colonised peoples were central to the colonial context. In 1960, 60 per cent of Ghana's labour force was employed in

activities related to subsistence food production, 13 per cent were small scale traders, and only 4.5 per cent occupied professional, administrative and clerical roles. This does not include the 1.2 million unemployed out of a labour force of 3.7 million, and a general population of 6.7 million. These figures had direct consequences for the government and future plans for schooling and families.

While leading the way in educational expansion in independent Africa, Ghana's structural development was woefully inadequate for the needs of the population.² With primary education becoming fee-free and compulsory in 1960, just over 500,000 children were at school. Education for boys had progressed beyond basics, with twice as many boys attending school as girls, but this was an improvement over the previous decade when the imbalance had been more than three to one.³ Many children were taught by untrained pupil teachers but expected to go on to post-primary education, thereby intensifying pressures for students to earn high examination scores to secure one of the scarce secondary school places.

The earliest schools developed for girls were schools of domestic economy, introduced by missionaries in the nineteenth century. Girls' schools were based on a British ideology of 'good' marriage and the domestic role for women. In 1921, another beginning was made, within government schools, and by 1931 a 'domestic science' course was available with two examination papers, one for girls and one for boys, both at the middle form four level.

Education for girls and women had been the subject of a far-sighted Colonial Office *Memorandum* by Fred Clarke in 1943.⁴ Wary of tampering with social and family structures in anticipation of the demobilisation of African soldiers, a subsequent Colonial Office memorandum *Mass Education in African Society* (1944), largely ignored women's issues and the increasingly politicised context in which such issues were raised.⁵ Within a few years Kwame Nkrumah would specifically mention the role of women in the Convention People's Party Constitution, in recognition of the awakening power of women in African societies.⁶ By 1959, the collective efforts of women in West Africa led to the convening of a *First Congress of West African Women* in Senegal.

For Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party (CPP), political popularity rested in some measure on increased recognition of women's roles in society. Home Science offered a broad venue for channelling women's aspirations while addressing social concerns and pressing national needs.⁷ Ghana's first stages of national development promised exciting new lives for women, combining traditional culture with the advantages of modernity. The new Home Science programs were formulated with women's aspirations in mind.

The Home Science programs of the 1960s were meant to be more scientific and oriented towards secularised Western values. Increasingly consumer and product oriented, Home Science programs offered a nascent middle class both conceptual tools and practical methods for reordering domestic life, and opening up social space for the pursuit of salaried careers and social advancement, particularly for women. But popular acceptance of home science as a legitimate area of study and research at the teachers' college and university level was another matter, despite initially rosy estimates of the employability of home science graduates.

The Politics of Education and the University of Ghana

Originally established in 1948 as an external college of the University of London as recommended in 1943 by the Colonial Universities Commission (the Asquith Commission), the University College of Ghana became a national university in 1961. Disproportionately staffed by British expatriates, critics, including Prime Minister Nkrumah himself, believed the new University was following a path set decades earlier by the Colonial Office, despite radically changed circumstances. British colonial Africa, in its formal sense, was waning and the plan under which the University College had originally been conceived was no longer viable.⁸ Ghana's national priorities were far different from those envisioned by the Colonial Office.

Nationalist sentiments were accompanied by the growing influence of the United States foundations. Two meetings held in 1958 and 1959, collectively entitled 'Conference on Assistance to Tropical African Countries', sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, mapped out new directions for African educational development. In 1960 the Ashby Report, *Investment in Education*, completed on the eve of Nigerian independence, called for United States style universities, with less rigid admission standards, an adaptation of American social science theories and methodologies, and Institutes funded by the prestigious Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

In 1960 the Ghanaian Government organised a National Higher Education Commission to map out directions for Ghana's developing post-secondary institutions. The Commission was Nkrumah's idea and the *prima facie* reason was that Ghana's institutions of higher education were not producing enough skilled professionals, nor were these graduates necessarily equipped with skills or attitudes conducive to national service. Legon in particular, Nkrumah claimed, gave inadequate attention to African problems.⁹ For their part, British expatriates at the University College felt the Commission was largely political; Legon's graduates tended to be critical of the ruling Convention Peoples' Party (CPP).¹⁰

The importation of the Oxbridge Model into a seemingly incongruous African setting left the university an easy target for critics. Dr. Robert July,

the Rockefeller Foundation's Africa Program Officer, visited the University College in 1960. Annoyed by the intellectual pretensions and detachment from everyday life of the institution, he was incensed when only 12 of 65 applicants who could not offer Latin or Greek for the qualifying exams, were absorbed by the Sociology Department.

The others were turned loose ... 43 young people of college caliber in a country hungry for trained people ... when one questions the value of Greek or Latin ... the remark is that ... these are really the only subjects that train the mind properly, and Ghanaians would raise a fearful row if they were eliminated.¹¹

How would an applied discipline like Home Science, with its already low status in teacher training colleges, fit into such a university environment?¹²

Involvement of Cornell University

Building on the momentum of the 1959 Women's Congress in Senegal, in early 1961 the U.S. State Department and Agency for International Development (AID), sponsored workshops in West Africa (Ibadan, Nigeria) on the theme of 'Problems of Education of African Women and Girls'. Thirty-seven African women educators from 14 countries participated. Subsequent visits by 16 African women to the United States (including Ithaca, New York) led to a formal request from Ghana's Ministry of Education in late 1961 for assistance from the faculty of Home Economics, Cornell University, in developing a post-secondary level curriculum for teachers. The Cornell-Ghana Project, as it was to be known, called for several Cornell faculty to undertake short visits in 1962-63 to assess planning, curricular and staffing needs. The Project site, Winneba Teacher Training College, was a small institution 30 miles along the coast from Accra, Ghana's capital.¹³

Acceptance of modern Home Economics and Agriculture as academic fields of study in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa can be attributed in some measure to contacts with U.S. foundations in the early 1960s, USAID policies and exposure to the U.S. Land Grant College system. Through these contacts, and the promise of financial support, Ghanaian political leaders and academics came to recognise that the functions of post-secondary education could be expanded to include more public service, applied research, and extension education. But movement away from the British model of education was controversial and complex. As one Ministry of Education official told Cornell's Dean of Home Economics: 'it is about time we had the States' system of Home Economics ... and I want your staff to forestall the one they [the Ministry of Education] have asked for from the United Kingdom'.¹⁴ She would get her wish but 'States' style Home Economics would not always operate in a friendly environment.

During the summer and early fall of 1962 a master plan was roughed out in Ghana and then refined in Cornell. The plan called for several Cornell faculty, including Professors Kathleen Rhodes and Harold Feldman, to undertake short visits in the initial year of the project. Expatriate staff (from Cornell and elsewhere) would be charged initially with the training and selection of Ghanaian permanent staff. The longer stays required for training were tailor made for the new Fulbright Program, and Ghana's Ministry of Education made formal requests for Fulbright assistance in 1962. Preliminary visits were made by Kathleen Rhodes in late 1962, Feldman in early 1963, and Rhodes again for the 1963-64 academic year.

Rhodes was uniquely qualified for this project. British born and educated, she had earned a Cornell doctorate before joining the faculty. She was ideally suited to work with British expatriates, understanding both the American and British systems of education, as well as British anxieties over the growing American presence in Africa. Rhodes was also a keen observer who returned to the United States to report on political, social and educational conditions which were anything but tranquil.

While schooling was vastly expanded under the Nkrumah regime (1957-1966) little headway was made in reviewing the relevance of primary and secondary education which continued to follow the British model. Secondary school courses were made up of traditional academic subjects—English, Latin, History, Geography, Science, with students sitting for the West African School Certificate Examination and the Overseas Higher School Certificate.¹⁵ Subjects like Agriculture, Health and Housecraft, in which Ghanaian needs, customs and conditions took precedence, held little academic status. Housecraft was taught by the products of the country's teacher training institutions, not university graduates.

In all of Ghana's 31 teacher training colleges in 1960, students were prepared for the 'A' Teaching Certificate for primary school, preceded usually only by a middle school education and experience as a pupil teacher. This training may have been practical for an earlier period but teacher preparation was now moving toward students having passed the 'A' (advanced level) school certificate before entering teacher training. This raising of entrance requirements was to be accompanied by a lengthening of the teacher training curriculum to three, and then to four years. Due to the acute shortage of teachers, the entrance requirement for the Housecraft course were set at 'O' (ordinary level), with the curriculum remaining at two years.

Conditions at teacher training colleges varied, and much depended on the individual qualities of the principal and staff. Common to most were overcrowding of dormitories and shortages of books, equipment, and facilities, especially for instruction in basic science. Ghana's teacher

training institutions were a far cry from the University at Legon, and it was easy to see how Nkrumah could mobilise public sentiment against 'neo-colonial elitism'. The use of English as the medium of instruction was well established, although not without problems. Where teachers and pupils shared a common vernacular, informal conversation outside of the classroom was more likely to be in the vernacular. While teachers might be more effective in helping students retain an active interest in cultural affairs, they did little for their students' proficiency in English. Where students came together from different regions in Ghana, they became far more comfortable and proficient in English, improving their chances for advancement. By the 1960s the use of English was an old issue, going back to colonial language policy in the 1920s. English proficiency, essential for post-secondary advancement in Ghana, would likewise be necessary in the new scheme.

Central to developing a new teacher-training curriculum for Home Science at Winneba, was the need to gain a detailed knowledge of Ghanaian family practices. Relatively little had been written about Ghana's nearly seven million people, of whom only 20 per cent were urbanised. Rapid decolonisation left Ghana with inadequate infrastructure and knowledge of its own inner workings. In the light of pressing social problems in public health, nutrition, housing and infant mortality, the Government's commitment to grass roots education was unequivocal. Family, home and community, remained the central institutions of the society. Home Science was the ideal discipline in which to train teachers who, through teaching, demonstration, and research, could introduce new practices in child development, food preparation, nutrition, and home management, as well as encourage a favourable view toward the concept of change. The question for the Cornell-Ghana Project was how to train teachers for this task, and how to best equip their research site, the Winneba Teacher Training College, to achieve it.

Harold Feldman, of Cornell's Child and Family Studies Department, led the effort to build up a contemporary database on family practices and structure. Feldman's first brief trip to Ghana in March of 1963, convinced him and others of the need for research at several levels. Printed texts in the colleges were often foreign and lacked contextual significance for students. Rapid change in Ghanaian society suggested that emphasis be placed on the continual process of data collection rather than 'received' knowledge. Feldman organised survey work. An early sample of how surveys were combined with course work survives from Feldman's 1963 visit. The project involved a home visit survey assignment for students in the Housecraft Diploma course. With the passage of time, the survey and subsequent autobiographies of the student-surveyors, has gained a historical

significance making the project worthy of further study.

In March 1963 eleven students in the Housecraft Diploma course at Winneba were asked to each undertake two visits to local households, during which they were to survey families on a number of topics. Twenty-two families were surveyed and subsequently grouped by educational level in order to explore differences. Feldman was quick to find that 'family' was a less useful term than the broader, more inclusive, notion of 'household'.¹⁶ Twenty-three percent of the inhabitants of the 22 households were not members of nuclear families. Of the 182 persons accounted for, 87 were children of both parents, 42 were other relatives—including stepchildren, and ten were servants or had no specified relationship. This small survey, carried out by inexperienced students, and not readily amenable to quantification, offered a mine of information. In its broadest interpretation, the survey provided a glimpse of a segment of society in rapid transition, characterised by changing patterns of production, consumption, family size and composition, and the status and aspirations of women. The most affluent households surveyed were rapidly adopting western style conveniences, and a marked preference for western style clothing.¹⁷

When asked what they had learned from the survey assignment, Feldman's diploma student's answered along quite a narrow range, reflecting a top-down conception of the teacher's role. The students gave little evidence of empathising with the daily problems of the survey families, and they were annoyed by the householder's deviance from 'sound household practices' and refusal to accept advice. The students also evinced little grasp of how household issues were related to broader social problems.

Why did these students want to become teachers, if that was not the case? To learn more about these students, Feldman assigned them short autobiographies and provided guidelines for content. Written at home, these autobiographies survive in a typed, standardised format. They are revealing. Only one woman had lived exclusively with her own parents while growing up. The rest, in varying degrees, had been cared for by extended families because of death, family crises or work related obligations of parents in another part of the country. Many had at least one parent that was a teacher or other type of professional person. The geographic separations of daughters from parents were often substantial. Indeed, one of the unusual qualities of these extended families was the degree to which grandparents, siblings, and aunts and uncles, could be mobilised for active child rearing. A theme that runs through the life histories of these young women involves the collective efforts of the extended family to see to their education.¹⁸ In a rapidly changing society, education was recognised as the key to one's future success. As professional teachers of Home Science, Winneba's students would be advocates of smaller, more egalitarian families, more

efficient use of resources in the home, and by implication, less reliance on traditional kinship networks. Ironically, the new careers for Winneba's women promised to erode the very structures that had nourished them as young girls.

Acquiring housecraft skills was frequently mentioned in the context of one's own [future] marriage and responsibilities as a housewife. In Ghanaian society, as in the rest of Africa, marriage and children were (and remain) central expectations in the lives of young women. It is striking that the concept of teaching as a profession is detached from the acquisition of housecraft skills, the former being a concept fraught with ambivalence for these young women. While the biographies revealed that birth order and academic prowess had brought exemption from household duties, conflicts often arose over the wisdom of these exemptions within traditionally oriented families. Should women be prepared for traditional roles or for the brave new world unfolding in Ghanaian society? This was a persistent and complex question, following these young women into adulthood.

Most students liked their classes and there was universal belief in the practicality of the skills they were being taught. Many had prior experience as teachers in the lower forms, often when still in their teens. Would they as mature women (average age 25.5), mostly unmarried, still want to teach? The answer was 'yes', although the prospect of a teaching career potentially clashed with marriage. Ghana's economic and social 'modernisation' had hardly reached into gender relations. Even among better educated men, accepting western style marriage and monogamy in principle, did not rule out maintaining traditional prerogatives, powers and loyalties in practice.¹⁹ Conflicts between traditional obligations to extended family and obligations to emerging conjugal households were quite real. How were resources, power and status to be allocated?²⁰ A husband's kinship loyalties could seriously disadvantage a spouse and her children. Nor did a husband's professional status necessarily mean a more equitable distribution of resources. In the end, what Feldman had encountered were not disinterested students, but young people facing a complex set of social issues, exacerbated by a rapidly changing society in which both traditionalism and modernity competed for their loyalties.

In his Report to the Ministry of Education in 1963, Feldman recommended course work in social science theory, marriage and family (in monogamous and polygynous settings), and application oriented social science research. In May, 1965 a decision was reached to transfer the Home Science Diploma course from Winneba to Legon (which did not occur), and that a degree course should be established at the University. The committee recommended that a Department of Home Science be established within the 'appropriate' faculty, and begin instruction in a diploma and a B.Sc program

in the 1966-67 academic year. There was general agreement that the existing home science curriculum needed more emphasis on preliminary course work in the physical, biological and social sciences. With a firm grounding in these areas, more in-depth understanding of subject matter could be required from students who were to enter university.

A proposal involving the faculties of Science and Social Science was accepted in 1965. The admission requirements for the B.Sc. were to be the same as that for other B.Sc. candidates with passes in five subjects, one of which was to be mathematics, and two from botany, chemistry, physics or zoology. Regulations and syllabi for a degree program, and a proposed staff of three, were approved by the academic board, facilities designated, and lists for supplies and equipment drawn up. Home science was considered to be *one* subject, and only *one* was to be offered in each of the three years of the approved program of study.

From the perspective of 1965-66, the years in which the Cornell-Ghana Project was officially completed, much had been accomplished. The overall effect was cumulative; work at Winneba had influenced teaching at lower level teacher training colleges, made for changes in teaching at the secondary level, and helped establish the home science degree and diploma programs and a centre for research at the University of Ghana. Post-secondary colleagues were also working with primary and secondary level teachers, community groups, and various social welfare workers through a newly founded Ghana Home Science Association. A solid and truly collaborative foundation for further development had been built. As Cornell's role faded to an advisory capacity, the University of Guelph in Canada, came forward to further the collaboration. As British power waned in the world, the Carnegie Corporation encouraged the development of Canadian interests in Africa, recommending to Britain that African students be offered places for further study in American and Canadian universities.

Collaboration with the University of Guelph and Other Agencies

Like their American counterparts, Canadians too had to adjust to a university setting with an unfamiliar administrative system and social/professional protocols.²¹ Faculty were assigned as Fellows to one or other of the residence halls (women to Volta Hall), and once a week dinners at 'high table' in academic robes were required. The need for sensitivity in the university's male dominated academic culture was important, as was awareness of the political considerations which sometimes intruded into academic issues. Making contacts with agencies and businesses that might become donors to the department also required skill. Among the projects that received local support was the establishment of a Child Development

Unit accommodating 20 pre-school children (1967), the building of an environmental studies Ashanti style house (1969), and building supporting linkages for research with the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER).

That the B.Sc. in Home Science at the University of Ghana gained a foot in the door in Legon's Oxbridge culture, can be attributed to the powerful and dynamic leadership of the first two women Heads of Department, Dr. Virginia Cutler (1966-69) and Dr. Margaret McCready (1969-71).²² An energetic and persuasive woman, Cutler made contact with all secondary schools with enrolments in the 6th form (advanced 'A' level), to recruit girls taking science subjects, and recruit staff.²³ In addition, she persuaded the Vice-Chancellor, the academic boards and the Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture to allocate and remodel space for one teaching laboratory, a child study centre and three offices around an open courtyard within the larger faculty premises—and have those ready by October, 1967.

Each department head faced the same basic set of questions. Who would enrol in the new program? Who would be their teachers? There were few young women available who had the two or more 'A' level examination passes in science required for university entrance to the B.Sc. By contrast, the Winneba program, geared to teaching and 'O' or ordinary level entrance requirements, had approximately 120 applicants for 15 openings. The degree program eventually began with an enrolment of eight students, five of whom survived to graduate in 1969. A 2-year diploma in Home Science Extension was started in 1967, to meet the needs of the Ministry of Agriculture—but with only two students (up to nine by 1972).

Over time it became apparent that the Home Science Program did not provide in-depth study of Home Science nor did it fit the structure of the science or social science degrees. It was next to impossible at the university level to implement an integration of physical, biological and behavioural sciences and to add Home Science content and research. The sciences and the arts were separated within the secondary school system and students belonged to either one or the other academic stream. Also, chemistry, physics or biology were the recognised 'sciences', and not home science. Nutrition and food science were academically respected and became highly specialised as separate areas of study. The home science students, took the science courses and nutrition courses along with psychology, sociology, and anthropology, thus experiencing demanding timetables and study hours. Students were expected to conceptualise relationships and the application of the science to issues of everyday life in Ghana on their own initiative. The attempt to transfer the American 'applied science' model of home economics and a different academic structure of subjects to Africa was difficult.

Initial interest by senior secondary science students soon dropped. By 1970 there was only one applicant for the B.Sc. degree in home science. The few girls with the required sixth form 'A' level science qualifications preferred to enter programs with established status—a pure science program or medicine. Anticipated jobs in government and in the private sector did not materialise. Only one of the five graduating in 1969 found employment requiring a home science background. The political situation was also unstable and government ministries had no clearly defined policies with respect to budgets and employment of degree holders, and no long-term manpower plans. In fact less well-educated senior administrative staff responsible for some science field programs appeared threatened by young B.Sc. degree holders. Much more liaison work with potential employers was required to clarify the needs and nature of home science. To help solve the problem, two members of the home science department participated in a committee set up by the Ministry of Education to review the levels and content of home science education, and various needs in Ghana. The Ministry of Agriculture also began a review.

A revised degree structure for home science was approved in June, 1973. This was a complete reorganisation so that three options could be offered, two for the B.Sc.: home science with agriculture, and home science with emphasis on foods; and one for a B.A. with emphasis on the family. For the B.A. a much larger pool of secondary school graduates was available for university admission. Entrance requirements were a credit pass in English language and a minimum of four other subjects, at least three of which were to be at advanced level. The B.A. became the more accessible and popular program, and one which gave new meaning to home science. It was also a program which moved away from the purely technical science model to a more reflective human action model designed to reach families and contribute to societal 'well-being'. Perhaps Feldman's work on families helped inspire the change. As in many academic disciplines, shifts in conceptual paradigms and meanings often have practical implications.

The Ghana-Guelph Project continued for eight years, supporting the development of the university programs in animal science, crop science, nutrition and food science, home science, and the agricultural extension division at the University of Ghana. Up to nine Guelph faculty members per year, including three in home science, were financed, along with additional supplies and equipment. Up to eight Ghanaian graduate students per year in the five academic fields, two Ghanaian Research fellows per year at the University of Guelph, and up to two Canadian graduate students per year in Ghana, were similarly financed.²⁴ Nine Ghanaian women also obtained their M.Sc. degrees from Guelph during the project.

The Home Science Department and the University of Ghana has survived in spite of major setbacks in the 1980s after the imposition of the IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment policies. The university suffered from the revision of education policies and drastic cutbacks in government funding. When the second author returned for a consultative visit in June, 1986, many University staff had left and facilities had deteriorated. In the Faculty of Agriculture, the dairy herd and milk processing laboratory funded by the Danish government had disappeared. Activities in the food science laboratories were also limited because of the lack of food and other supplies. The flame tree in the Home Science Department courtyard had also gone, but there was no lack of children in the Child Studies Center.

In order to survive, many faculty members had begun gardening and raising sheep, goats and poultry on campus. No new library books had been added for a number of years, as donor support vanished. In the succeeding decade, unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper, conditions gradually began to improve and in July 2000, the Ghana Home Science Association and the Home Science Department are to host the World Congress of the International Federation for Home Economics.

Conclusion

Home Science in its international context, has often been associated with grass roots democratisation. The skills, services and applied research base, have traditionally addressed basic problems of living for both the rural and urban poor.²⁵ Within the university setting, home science traditionally enjoys little power or prestige and its difficult beginnings at Legon are a prime example. The applied, practical nature of home science, has not until recently, allowed it to develop the trappings of hard 'knowledge based' disciplines. Its unique specialities, like the interdisciplinary approach and the commitment to social justice and the family as a societal institution, have either been misunderstood, or appropriated by other disciplines more adept in university politics.

In the case of Ghana, home science has had a transformative effect. It brought women into educational structures as teachers at all levels, with a disciplinary mandate to examination issues that most affected women like family planning, child rearing practices, nutritional issues, consumer awareness, community development, organisation and policy. Home science also encouraged women to organise professionally and within their communities. Farther afield, the founding of the Ghana Home Science Association (1965) established a national body, tying together smaller organisations and serving as a liaison with other national home science organisations. As in other areas associated with women in Africa strength through voluntary association has had a telling effect. The need for

professional home scientists remains strong in Ghanaian society, and indeed throughout Africa.²⁶ Hopefully, improving economic conditions in Ghana will encourage home science to remain close to its original mission and roots.

NOTES

1. Early drafts of this paper were presented at the annual meetings of the Canadian Association for African Studies, Sherbrooke, Quebec, May, 1999, and the Midwest Alliance for African Studies, University of Kansas at Lawrence, October, 1999. Grants from the Rockefeller Archives Center, North Tarrytown, N.Y. to the first author in 1996, 1997, for a larger project on Anglo-American relations in post-war Africa, supported portions of this research. Research at Cornell was supported by the University of Nebraska at Kearney, Research Services Council. The Cornell-Ghana Project Archives (CGPA) were organised by Dr. Kathleen Rhodes, Emeritus, Cornell University, and scholars owe her a debt of gratitude for preserving this record.
2. Geoffrey Kay, *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana: A Collection of Documents and Statistics 1900-1960*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972, 298-304, 407-408.
3. *Ibid.*, 407-408.
4. Richard Glotzer, 'Sir Fred Clarke: South Africa and Canada. Carnegie Philanthropy and the Transition from Empire into Commonwealth', *Education Research and Perspectives*, Vol.22, No.1, 1995, 1-21.
5. The Ghana Ministry of Education was responsible for three co-educational polytechnic schools, established in Takoradi, Kumasi and Accra in 1953, 1958 and 1964 respectively; the Ministry of Agriculture, for two Farm Institutes (Kwadaso in Kumasi, Ashanti Region, 1963; and Ohawu, in Volta Region, 1967); and the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, for ten vocational training centres for girls, the earliest and largest with an enrolment of 250 having been established in Ashanti Region in 1942. The colonial government had also established a Department of Social Welfare and Housing in 1946, implemented a mass literacy program in 1948, and a homecraft program in 1949.
6. Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana, The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, New York, 1957, 301-302.
7. Lila L. E. Engberg, 'Toward Reflective Problem Solving: A Promise for Home Economics', in Vincent D'Oyley, Adrian Blunt and Ray Barnhardt (eds.) *Education and Development: Lessons From the Third World*, Calgary, Detsling Enterprises, 1994, 215-235.
8. In the 1940s the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa recommended the establishment of *one* English speaking University for the whole of British West Africa—to serve Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. By the 1950s popular sentiments, symbolised by the 1958 *All Africa People's Party Conference* in Accra, dashed plans for a single university (to be based in Ibadan, Nigeria) in favour of national institutions. See Clive Whitehead, 'The "Two-way Pull" and the Establishment of University Education in British West Africa', *History of Education*, Vol. 16. No.2. 1987, 119-133, and Dowuona, 3.

9. In fact, Legon had faculty with close ties to important centres for the developing field of African Studies in Britain and the United States. African history, prehistory, archaeology, linguistics, musicology/dance, sociology, and interest in training African scholars as replacements for expatriate staff, were important priorities. An Institute of African Studies was established at the University in 1961 and African studies was a mandatory subject for examination for all first-year students.
10. Focused initially on the University College and the growing technical university at Kumasi, the Commission's recommendations for curriculum, administrative policies, financing, and Africanisation of staff, would effect all post-secondary institutions. The Commission's composition and mandate made it a highly politicised affair. See R. July to N. Nketsia, November 1, 1960, Box 2, Folder 16, RG 1.2, 496; Ghana; *Summary of Questions Relating to the Future University of Ghana*, (stamped Nov. 16, 1960), Box 2, Folder 16, RG 1.2, 496, Ghana; and R. July, Diary Account of Meetings and telephone conversations with Thomas Hodgkin and Gray Cowan, September 5, 6, 15; October 5, 24, Box 2, Folder 16, RG 1.2, 496R, Ghana. All sources located in Rockefeller Archives Center, North Tarrytown, New York. (Hereafter RAC)
11. Robert July Diary. February 15, 1960, p.11, Box 2, Folder 12, RG 1.2 Series 475R, RAC.
12. Modjaben Douwuona, the University's first academic Registrar, provides a more sympathetic view of the Oxbridge model and the problems of building up a coherent campus culture. Roland Oliver, while acknowledging the excesses of Legon during this period, noted that Legon provided an atmosphere conducive to sustained, intensive academic work. Dowuona, *op.cit.* Roland Oliver, in the *Realms of Gold*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997, 170-75. See also Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism Academe and Nationalism*, London, Frank Cass, 1996, 171-200.
13. Kathleen Rhodes, 'Ghana' in *The International Heritage of Home Economics in the United States*, New York, American Home Economics Association, 1988, 91-96; Lila E. Engberg, Report on the Development of Home Science at University Level in Ghana, November, 1973, unpublished paper, Lila E. Engberg, Personal Files.
14. Alberta Addo quoted by Helen Canoyer to Victor Hill (Ford Foundation). May 1, 1962. Box 1, Folder 23, CGPA.
15. In an environment of rapidly expanding schooling and uncertain quality, there was popular resistance to discarding colonial era examinations and standards, even if the system was ultimately not in the best interests of the majority of pupils and their parents.
16. J. Smith and I. Wallerstein, 'Households as an Institution of the World Economy', in Joan Smith and Immanuel Wallerstein (Eds.), *Creating and Transforming Households*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-27.
17. Cf. Arthur Philips (Ed.) *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953, 147-151; John C. Caldwell, *Population Growth and Family Change in Africa. The New Urban Elite in Ghana*, Canberra, Australian University Press, 1968, 52-72.
18. Christine Oppong, *Marriage Among a Matrilineal Elite: A Family Study of Ghanaian Senior Civil Servants*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974):144-160.

19. For a [then] contemporary discussion of gender relations see Kenneth Little, *African Women in Towns*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971, 145-165.
20. John Caldwell, 'The Erosion of the Family: A Study of the Fate of the Family in Ghana', *Population Studies*, Vol.20, 1966, 5-20; Lila E. Engberg, 'Household Differentiation and Integration as Predictors of Child Welfare in a Ghanaian Community', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 6, 1974, 389-399; Cynthia B. Lloyd and Anastasia J. Gage-Brandon, 'Women's Role in Maintaining Households: Family Welfare and Sexual Inequality in Ghana', *Population Studies*, Vol.47, 1993, 115-131.
21. The Canadian involvement in Home Sciences at Legon began in 1964 and lasted nine years. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) supported the construction and equipping of a Nutrition and Food Science Building. Canadian expertise also brought UNICEF involvement in the development of extension programs in Home Science, Nutrition and Agriculture. E. V. Evans of the University of Guelph, the first acting head of the Home Science Department, also chaired a subcommittee with Kathleen Rhodes and Gwendolyn Newkirk (representing Cornell), Prof. W. F. Flemming from the Ghana Institute of Education, and representatives from the Faculties of Agriculture, Science, and Social Science. This committee steered the department through its first years. The University of Guelph's McDonald Institute, specialising in Home Science, also provided technical expertise and staff for various projects. See Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Home Science Degree Program, University of Ghana, Legon 30 June, 1965, Lila E. Engberg, Personal Files.
22. Dr. McCready was replaced by Dr. Lila Engberg (1972-75), who, while academically less senior than her predecessors, had had five years of experience with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Malawi and an active research program. (Mrs. Joanna Nsarkoh, became the first Ghanaian head of Department in 1975 after completing a research fellowship at the University of Guelph.)
23. Staffing was difficult. Margaret Ripley, an experienced Canadian Home Economics teacher, already in Ghana with her husband, and one Ghanaian staff member, Nabilla Williams (B.Sc. Stout State University, USA) were recruited to begin teaching in 1967. Williams was the only degree holder to be found until Joanna Nsarkoh completed her M.Sc. in Foods and Nutrition at Cornell in 1968. Dr. Cutler was expected to spend 2/3 of her time at the University and 1/3 at the Teacher Training College in Winneba. Not until August, 1973 was there a staff member from Winneba able to depart to begin degree work in the USA (financed by UNICEF). Drid Williams, 'Home Science: New Horizons for Ghana', *The Gate Page to Better Study and Teaching*, 1970, Ghana.
24. The second author of this paper was among those supported, first as a research associate (1970-71), before completing a Cornell Ph.D. under Dr. K. Rhodes, then as Head of the Home Science Department from January, 1972 to September, 1975. The program could not have been implemented without continuity of Canadian staff and over-lap with returning Ghanaians who completed advanced degrees. One of the Canadians, a specialist in Adult Education and Extension, and Housing (Marie Dunn), was on staff for six years (1972-1978), and is involved again, in a Ghana-Saskatoon Professional Association Partnership Project.

25. Historically this has also been true for North America. In the 1920s the adaptation of American home economics to the Carnegie Corporation's study of 'poor whiteness' helped promote home economics in South Africa. Organised primarily in Afrikaans language institutions, 'Domestic Science' became an effective vehicle for the mobilisation of ethnic nationalism. By the early 1960s 'Domestic Science' was well established. A logical source of help for program development, *Apartheid* made connections impossible for the University of Ghana. Not surprisingly, one of Nkrumah's early purges at Legon brought the expulsion of its South African faculty members. Richard Glotzer, 'The Career of Mabel Carney: The Study of Race and Rural Development in the United States and South Africa', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.29, No.2, 1996, 309-336.
26. Joyce Avoti and Vivien Walters, 'You just look at our work and see if you have any freedom on Earth: Ghanaian Women's Accounts of their work and their Health', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 48, No. 9, 1999, 1123-1133. See also Jane R. Njue and Dorothy Rombo-Odero, Reconceptualizing Home Economics in Africa: Meaning and Process, in Olive M. Mugeodi (ed) *The Role of Home Economics in Kenya: Strategies for Change*, Nairobi, Ngathi Publications, 1995, 145-146.