
TIVAOUANE

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Intersections between Colonial “Peanut Railways” and Urban Configurations in Colonial West Africa

Abstract

Our lecture will reflect on some of the prominent colonial railway projects in British and French West Africa, which had been associated with the peanut monocrop production and transportation. Namely, Dakar–Saint-Louis/Niger lines (1885/1924); Lagos–Ibadan/Kano lines (1901/1912); and the Lagos Steam Tramway (1902). It will explore the relations between this vast infrastructure projects and the morphogenesis of urban settlements during the colonial area in terms of urban planning, design and architectural forms. The analysis will focus on the political and cultural implications of segregationist urban planning practices in association with railway layouts. A rich corpus of visual data will be incorporated in the presentation, collected from erstwhile colonial archives in the UK, France, Senegal and Nigeria; and from our recent fieldwork in Senegal along parts of the relevant railway line, its urban vicinities and built-up tapestries. A glance on post-colonial developments will be provided as well.

Keywords

Peanut railways, British and French West Africa, Colonial urban planning, Senegal/Nigeria

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[Cover] Tivauoane Railway Station, Senegal (completed by 5 June 1885). Authors' recent photo.

Setting the stage: A note on colonial railway projects in (West) Africa

The profound link between the establishment of modern transport systems, especially railways, and European economic, political, and strategic objectives in Africa's expansive territories from the late nineteenth century onward is widely recognised. Historians specialising in colonial transport in (West) Africa have highlighted the role railways played in solidifying colonial rule and administrative structures.[1] Other scholars have explored their effects on indigenous commerce and currency, as well as on the delineation of territorial boundaries amid European competition.[2] From an economic geography perspective, social scientists have provided descriptive overviews of how transport networks expanded in post-colonial West Africa, showing that colonial-era developments remain highly influential.[3] The primary purpose of colonial railways was to efficiently and securely transport raw materials to ports for export. Regarding colonial urban development, a railway's presence could either bolster a pre-existing local settlement's power and prosperity, accelerate its decline, or lead to the formation of an entirely new settlement, with its success determined by support from the surrounding region.

Though the British government declined to guarantee railroad investments in its West African colonies, leading to significant financial limitations (according to its economic ethos, each colony had to underwrite its own needs); the French emerged as the most ambitious railway developers of the late nineteenth century. Their initial line, the 265 km Dakar–Saint-Louis route, was operational by 1885, well ahead of the British-built Lagos–Ibadan line in Nigeria, which opened in 1901 and spanned 157 km. The Dakar-Saint-Louis line was just one of several costly French railway undertakings. These two key railway lines laid out by the two most prominent European colonial powers will constitute the focus of the lecture (including their by-lines, such as the Lagos Tram, 1902–1933), as macro-engineering projects that acted as regional urban regenerators. Therefore, instead of focusing on a single location, this lecture will conduct a cross-sectional analysis of the physical layout and built environment of diverse urban centres situated along these routes. We intend to scrutinise the complex mosaic at the regional level of the relationship between material infrastructures and socio-political facets and imageries. Our perspective of analysis is detailed in the subsequent section.

The regional scale is important in this context because the Dakar – Saint-Louis Line had been prolonged to the Dakar – Niger Line (that is, reaching to Bamako by 1904, original route 1,287 km); and the Lagos–Ibadan Line had been prolonged to Kano (opened 1912, original route 1,300 km). Both lines were, and still are, intimately involved and identified with the peanut crop production. Under British and French colonialisms in West Africa, the peanut crop became a cornerstone of the regional economy, driven by European industrial demand for vegetable oils. The cultivation of peanuts transformed regional agriculture, shifting production from subsistence farming to a commercial, export-oriented model.[4] These lines had been specifically designed to transport the crop from inland regions to European markets, profoundly reshaping local labour systems, land-use practices and, as we shall see, settlement designs and architectures.

Some of the French mega-infrastructure projects, such as the proposed trans-Saharan railway, were never completed due to significant environmental and climatic obstacles. This line, envisioned in the Saint-Simonian tradition, was meant to link Algiers and Dakar across the desert, an airline distance of 3,184 km. Such massive undertakings were frequently driven by a sense of national prestige (Riembau 1908; Gautier 1925; Starostina 2010). In West Africa, unfavourable climatic conditions hindered the establishment of large-scale white-settler colonies, which in turn had an impact on the (spatial) relationship between expatriate and local communities, and consequently, on public transport. For example, while official segregation was typically absent on the Nigerian Railway, there were exceptions like the "Governor's Train" in Lagos,

1. Olufemi Omosini, "Railway Projects and British Attitude towards the Development of West Africa, 1872–1903", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5, 4 (1971): 491–507; Olasiji Oshin, "Extending Lagos Commercial Frontiers: The Background to the Nigerian Railway Revisited, 1880–1896," T*ransafrican Journal of History* 18 (1989): 101–116; Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford University Press, 1997); Ana Vaz Milheiro, "Colonial Landscapes in Former Portuguese Southern Africa: A Brief Historiographical Analysis Based on the Colonial Transport Networks," *African Geographical Review* 40, 3 (2021): 214–230.
2. A.E. Durrant, A.A. Jorgensen, and C.P. Lewis, *Steam in Africa* (Struik Publishers, 1981).
3. Edward J. Taaffe, Richard L. Morrill, and Peter R. Gould, "Transport Expansion in Underdeveloped Countries: A Comparative Analysis," *Geographical Review* 53, 4 (1963): 503–529.
4. Bernards, Nick, "'Latent' surplus Populations and Colonial Histories of Drought, Groundnuts, and Finance in Senegal," *Geoforum* 126 (2021): 441–450; Wycliff, Samuel, "Groundnut Production in the Colonial Economy and Society of Kilba District of Adamawa Province in Northern Nigeria, 1904–1960," *African Journal of Management and Business Research* 4, 1 (2022): 65–83.

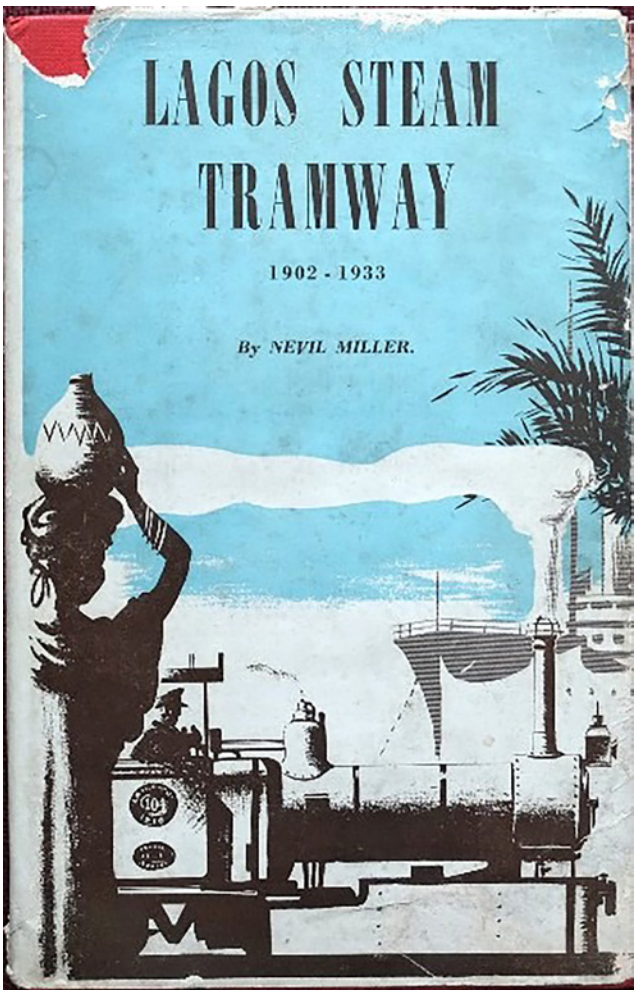

Figure 1. As the only monograph on the Lagos Tram, Miller's book cover (1958) shows locomotive no. 104, which was manufactured in 1910 by Hunslet Engine Company in Leeds, England. This is against the background of the port, softened by a feminine Yoruba presence (image in public domain).

which featured private, well-appointed coaches for dignitaries. The Lagos Tram, a branch of the Lagos–Ibadan line, also had a dedicated boxcar on the rear of its locomotive, likely intended for the governor, other officials, or for transporting valuables (Figure 1).[5] Though the three-coach passenger tramline in Lagos did not enforce formal racial or other forms of segregation, it indirectly contributed to informal residential segregation, a topic we will explore in detail during the lecture. A similar pattern of urban design, as will be shown, emerged in Senegal along the Dakar–Niger Line.

In colonial West Africa, the risk of falling victim to crime during a train journey was not as high as it was in South Africa. The system of racially segregated public transport in South African cities, which began organically in the late nineteenth century and faded away a century later, has been extensively studied by Gordon Pirie. Drawing on court petitions and other legal documents, Pirie provides a detailed account of the everyday experience of urban travel by trains, trams, buses, taxis, and ox-wagons.[6] This segregationist policy in South Africa, which was also found in other colonial urban areas though less rigidly, was driven by several key factors. These included the white minority's desire to maintain their authority and status, anxieties about "being mobbed," and especially, sanitary (or pseudo-sanitary) concerns.[7]

South Africa's pre-Apartheid era was already marked by segregationist practices that were not present in West Africa's colonies. For example, early twentieth-century Johannesburg had "native trams" with a unique silver colour and numbering system, as well as separate bus services for different racial groups. There were also distinct floors and seating arrangements for whites and for all other races in public spaces. In contrast, colonial West Africa allowed Africans full access to the means of production, and its long-distance railway system was primarily used for transporting agricultural goods and raw materials, not passengers. Meanwhile, the mine-labour organisations in South Africa's Rand treated their inexpensive, temporary African workers as "labour pools" and managed the mass transport of hundreds of thousands of them. These workers were excluded from cash crop production ownership; and, before the 1920s, were transported to the Rand in cramped train cars typically used for livestock.[8] This "labor pool" approach, doomed "at one stroke of the pen"[9] the non-European urban residents as "foreigners" in the "ideal apartheid city." These residents were confined to peripheral quarters (Townships), and there was typically no direct transportation connecting these

5. Nevil S. Miller, *Lagos Steam Tramway, 1902–1933* (W.J. Fowler & Sons, 1958).

6. Gordon Pirie, "Racial Segregation on Johannesburg Trams: Procedures and Protest, 1904–1927", *African Studies* 48, 1 (1989): 37–54; Gordon Pirie, "Dismantling Bus Apartheid in South Africa, 1975–1990", *Africa Insight* 20, 2 (1990): 111–117; Gordon Pirie, "Law, Lawyers and Racially Segregated Public Transport in South Africa", *African Studies* 51, 2 (1992): 243–260.
7. Maynard Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900–1909," *Journal of African History* 18, 3 (1977): 387–410.
8. Gordon Pirie, "Railways and Labor Migration to the Rand Mines: Constraints and Significance," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19, 4 (1993): 713–730; Charles Van Onselen, *The Night Trains: Moving Mozambican Miners to and from the Witwatersrand Mines, 1902–1955* (Oxford University Press, 2021).
9. Alan Mabin, "'Doom at One Stroke of the Pen': Urban Planning and Group Areas, c. 1935–1955", *Workshop paper*, University of the Witwatersrand (1990).

areas to the "white" city centres.[10]

During the imperial era in sub-Saharan Africa, intense competition among European nations led to the construction of extensive but often disconnected railway networks. These lines typically ran as straight paths from inland resource-rich areas to coastal ports, which also served as the locations for Africa's major and capital cities.[11] Although colonialist narratives often minimised the "dark" realities of these projects – such as the widespread use of forced labour, numerous deaths and injuries, brutal violence and punishments, and on-site technical failures[12] – the railways were consistently portrayed in a glorious light. A notable illustration of this is the "The Rhodes Colossus" caricature published in Punch Magazine on 10 December, 1892. This image, which depicts the British imperialist Cecil John Rhodes with one foot in Cape Town and the other in Cairo, was a direct response to his grand proposal for a transcontinental telegraph and railway line.

Cultural historians have observed the symbolic connection between railway construction and the goals of nation-building. This modernising effort, particularly in Africa, was closely tied to a wider narrative of advancement, cohesion, and exploration. Although this imagery didn't completely ignore the land's rightful inhabitants,[13] the railroad was seen as the primary symbol of the colonial administration's role in "civilising" the African population. The belief was that the material and moral betterment of Africans would be achieved through the economic development of the colony (mise en valeur), which hinged on the creation of modern infrastructure. As Ernest Roume, the first Governor General of French West Africa, declared in 1904, "The necessary condition for achieving this goal [i.e., the mission civilisatrice]" is "the creation of lines of penetration, a perfected means of transportation to make up for the absence of natural communication means that has kept this country in poverty and barbarism."[14]

Although practical considerations motivated grand architectural and mega-engineering projects to serve modern colonialist interests, Roume's quotation implies that in the subcontinent, these projects tended to encapsulate a symbolic value (sometimes on the expense of their functional or economic value). The salient technological gap between both sides of the Atlantic often sustained the colonial authorities' power and ambitions. Because of the high cost of these projects, the required level of cooperation between state and other actors, professional knowledge, and recruitment of labour force, these projects strived to be recognised as a landmark and as a reasoning for the colonial presence itself. Large-scale modern infrastructure projects such as rail systems, often bore thus socio-political messages aside from the instrumental functions. "Their messages match the statements of civic pride, heroism, and majesty",[15] constituting a symbolic showcase of the colonial government's ability to transcend the limitations imposed by "exotic", "wild" nature, to control nature, and to state its power over the colonised societies. Under the colonial equation, after project completion, the material return to the space-user majority was limited, to say the least. This inherent economic-cum-moral paradox had been reasoned by the symbolic aspect of the macro-project, its desired promise, and fantasy necessity.

Visual artifacts were used to promote an image of imperial glory through colonial railways, a theme we will explore in our lecture. For example, the famous 511-meter-long iron bridge in Saint Louis, still named after General Faidherbe, was often shown in stark contrast to indigenous figures or simple canoes on the Senegal River it crosses. This can be seen on stamps and postcards from that period. When the Minister

10. Alan Mabin, "Comprehensive Segregation: The Origins of the Group Areas Act and its Planning Apparatuses," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, 2 (1992), 405–429; Anthony Lemon, Ronnie Donaldson, and Gustav Visser (eds). *South African Urban Change three Decades after Apartheid: Homes Still Apart?* (Springer, 2021).
11. A. J. Christopher, "Urbanization and National Capitals in Africa," in *Urbanization in Africa: A Handbook*, ed. by James Traver (Greenwood Press, 1994).
12. Hunt Hawkins, "Conrad and Congolese Exploitation," *Conradiana* 13, 2 (1981): 94–100; Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "Colonial Forced Labor Policies for Road-Building in Southern Ghana and International Anti-Forced Labor Pressures, 1900–1940," *African Economic History* 28, 1 (2000): 1–25; Jean-Louis Chaléard, Chantal Chanson-Jabeur, and Chantal Béranger (eds), *Le chemin de fer en Afrique* (Éditions Karthala, 2006).
13. e.g., Jeremy Foster, "Capturing and Losing the 'Lie of the Land': Railway Photography and Colonial Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa," in *Picturing Place: Photography and Geographical Imagination*, ed. by Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (Routledge, 2021).
14. In Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 45. See also Vivier de Streel, E., "Introduction," in *L'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux*, ed. by Jean Royer, vol. 2 (2 vols) (La Charité Sur Loire, 1932): 111–114.
15. Ben Marsh and Jones Janet, "Building the Next Seven Wonders: The Landscape Rhetoric of Large Engineering Projects," in *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects*, ed. by Stanley Brunn, vol. 1 (3 vols), (Springer, 2011s), 16.

of Colonies, André Lebon, travelled to inaugurate the newly reconstructed Pont Faidherbe in late 1897, he stopped at the railway station in the Senegalese town of Tivaouane. In his speech at the bridge, Lebon described it as a symbol of "the new race" arriving in Africa. At the station, with a procession of colonial infantry (tirailleurs Sénégalais) in the background, the minister met the mayor on the platform. The crowd of subjects celebrated the "magnificent monument to national industry" with shouts of "Vive la République!."[16] This display of technological advancement and nationalist, republican imagery, characteristic of the Eiffel Tower era and presented in colonial towns in Africa and beyond, directly supported the triumphant narrative that justified the colonial project. This discourse was aimed at both citizens in the home country and disenfranchised colonial subjects.[17]

Today, most of the major historical railway lines built by the erstwhile colonial European regimes still undergird the spatial, administrative, and urban configurations in many of the subcontinent's states. Some of these lines (such as the ones examined in the lecture) or in-state parts of them were recently renovated under foreign global contractors. Other lines become however, outdated and no longer correspond to post-colonial developments and needs. Over the past two decades, the traditional dominance of Western nations in major infrastructure and construction projects has faced growing competition from new benefactors to African countries, most notably China. This shift has sparked a debate among both African and international organisations regarding the true impact of China's presence on issues like good governance, the structure of development assistance, and labour practices.[18] While China's state-owned enterprises have become leading foreign financiers for Africa's railway networks, many believe Beijing's ultimate objective is more geopolitical and strategic than purely charitable.[19] This the notion that throughout history, large-scale engineering projects have consistently served as symbols of state authority, political clout, and ambition. Concurrently, a sense of decline and outdatedness is also evident in these projects: some of China's new rail lines have been described as "leading to nowhere,"[20] are considered "vanity projects" that leave African nations with mounting debt,[21] and significant maintenance challenges.

Tracking the route of the lecture: Some conceptual stations

Inspired by these issues of grandeur and splendour versus decline and decay that are often rooted in infrastructure projects, and by the political and societal implications that railway projects in colonial West Africa involve, the lecture will tie together railway and urban configurations. It will examine intimate entanglement between such seemingly objective and technical railway projects and the variety of settlement layouts and urban forms, dictated by the colonial situation. Political and socio-cultural dimensions of this entanglement will be highlighted through text and image, bringing together the tangible and intangible aspects of railway urbanities. Based on an especially rich corpus of secondary and primary materials gained from multilateral sources, the lecture will incorporate photographic evidence from a recent fieldwork in Senegal along parts of the Dakar – Niger line (Figure 2). A special highlight will be put on settlement forms and imageries that originate in the involved indigenous societies whose life routines were designed vis-a-vis the railway (Figure 3).

Reading against grain of the colonial evidence and exploring the meta-economic aspects of colonial railways is important in two main research contexts.

The first is within historical and anthropological studies, as well as in literature, which have shown the diverse ways indigenous populations responded to the construction of railways and other colonial communication networks like roads and ports. These reactions ranged from adapting and repurposing

16. Natalia Starostina, "Ambiguous Modernity: Representations of French Colonial Railways in the Third Republic", *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 38 (2010): 184.
17. Liora Bigon, *French Colonial Dakar: The Morphogenesis of an African Regional Capital* (Manchester University Press, 2016a); Liora Bigon and Eric Ross, *Grid Planning in the Urban Design Practices of Senegal* (Springer, 2020).
18. Marta Marson, Elena Maggi and Matteo Scacchi, "Financing African Infrastructure: The Role of China in African Railways," *Research in Transportation Economics* 88 (2021): 101–111; Oscar Otele, "China's Approach to Development in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya's Standard Gauge Railway," *Council on Foreign Relations* (2021).
19. Jonathan Kaiman and Noah Fowler, "China Says It Built a Railway in Africa out of Altruism, but It's More Strategic than That," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 August, 2017.
20. David Herbling and Dandan Li, "China's Built a Railroad to Nowhere in Kenya," *Bloomberg*, 19 July, 2019.
21. David Pilling and Emily Feng, "Chinese Investments in Africa Go Off the Rails," *Financial Times*, 6 December, 2018, https://www.ft.com/content/82e77d8a-e716-11e8-8a85-04b8afea6ea3; Yunnan Chen, "Ethiopia and Kenya are Struggling to Manage Debt for Their Chinese-built Railways," *Quartz Africa*, 5 June 2019.

Figure 2. A view from the tracks of the train station of Thiès in Senegal (on the Dakar – Niger line), which divided the colonial escale ([commercial] expatriate settlement) between North and South. Today, the escale still constitutes the commercial hub of the city, but it expands on a very small area of the total urban area. Authors' photo.

the systems to offering passive or even violent opposition.[22]

In fiction, the remarkable railway novel by Ousmane Sembène (1970),[23] drawing from his own experiences as a docker and trade unionist, is a prime example. It highlights the conflicts not only between the colonial authorities and the African people on the Dakar–Niger line following World War II, but also among those who relied on the line and the striking workers. These works undermine the assumption that railways and other communication systems were created by Europeans solely for their own purposes, with African needs being met only incidentally and without local involvement in what appeared to be a unidirectional process of development. In fact, both British and French colonial administrations in West Africa often depended heavily on African support and labour, as their conquest and governance were supported by limited resources and consistently suffered from underfunding and a shortage of personnel.

The second context, to which the lecture strives to actively contribute, is urban studies research. Since the 1960s, scholars have argued that modern colonialism is best viewed as an aspect of the global spread of capitalist production methods, and that colonial cities were tools for this expansion.[24] Following this, a historiographical change occurred, moving from theories rooted in economic, political, and human geography toward post-modern and postcolonial perspectives. These newer viewpoints highlight the crucial part that culture plays in the processes of colonisation and urbanisation. Colonial cities are now more often seen as cultural artifacts, with their development resulting from dynamic negotiations among various social and political actors – some autochthonous, others metropolitan. These actors operated at different levels but all within a given territory.[25]

In shedding light on the spatialities of dynamic negotiations as designed by the crisscrossing between peanut railways, human settlements, and political realities, the lecture will add another layer towards a richer, more nuanced and variegated understanding of colonial urbanities. In sub-Saharan Africa, as several scholars have recently pointed out, both British and French "colonialisms" were primarily established through various hegemonic initiatives. However, these projects' transformative effects were necessarily incomplete, for [they] "needed to preserve social and cultural difference to constitute and justify external rule, and it therefore left a realm of subaltern

22. For examples of this in historical and anthropological scholarship, see: A.G., Hopkins, "The Lagos Strike of 1897: An Exploration in Nigerian Labour History," *Past and Present* 35 (1966): 133–155; P. E. Pheffer, "African Influence in French Colonial Railroads in Senegal," in *Double Impact: France and Africa in the Age of Imperialism*, ed. by Wesley Johnson (Oxford University Press, 1985); Frederick Cooper, *On the African Waterfront: Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombassa* (Yale University Press, 1987); Aidan Southall, "Review Article: The African Port City: Docks and Suburbs," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 38, 1 (1989): 167–190.
23. Ousmane Sembène, *God's Bits of Wood*, trans. Francis Price (Heinemann, 1970 [1960]).
24. Terence Gary McGee, *The South East Asian City* (Bell, 1967); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Academic Press, 1976); Anthony King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London and New York, 1990); Neeraj Baruah, Vernon Henderson and Cong Peng, "Colonial Legacies: Shaping African Cities," *Journal of Economic Geography* 21, 1 (2021): 29–65.
25. i.e., Anthony King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (Routledge, 1976); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (MIT Press, 1989); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (The University of Chicago Press, 1991); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (University of California Press, 1997); Liora Bigon, "Introduction: Garden Cities and Colonial Planning: Transnationality and Urban Ideas in Africa and Palestine," in *Garden Cities and Colonial Planning*, ed. by Liora Bigon and Yossi Katz (Manchester University Press, 2016b); Tania Sengupta and Stuart King (eds), *Reclaiming Colonial Architecture* (Routledge, 2024).

Figure 3. A present-day postal stamp of Senegal, commemorating the ruler-hero Lat Dior (1842–1886), who, during colonial times, became renowned by his attacks on the Dakar – Saint Louis line. Image in public domain.

'autonomy'".[26] Even under South Africa's apartheid regime, a flawless system of control wasn't established through its planning practices. This is because the realities of colonial urban life were constantly challenged and circumvented by the majority of urban dwellers. The specific buildings and infrastructure projects discussed were influenced by numerous and shifting forces, resulting in a significant "bottom-up" variety, even along a single railway line.

At the same time, as we shall exemplify, aside from the great bottom-up variety that originated in the physical character of each locality, the nature of external and internal regimes, history, ethnicity, religion and cultural identity – modern colonial urban settlements globally shared some "top-down" morphologic features. An example of such non-unique morphological feature was their crossing segregationist logic.[27] To conclude this short paper by tying it with another global experience of colonial railway, we borrowed a contemporary comment of socio-geographic significance due to its segregationist logic. The quote was taken from a semi-autobiographical work of the French writer Marguerite Duras, regarding her childhood in Indo-China:

> *Through these crowded trams, which were white of dust, and operated under the burning sun in a morbid tempo, like a thunder of iron, one could get an impression of the other town, the one which was not a white town [...] [I]n fact, it was the course of these tramways which strictly delimited the paradise of the upper quarter [that is, the European quarter]. The latter was encircled in an hygienic manner by a concentric line, with all the stations situated at least two kilometres from its centre.*[28]

To what degree did the expansion of modern infrastructure and transportation systems in the West African territories truly secure the material and moral betterment of Africans, as claimed by Ernest Roume? The presumed linear progression leading to the adoption of Western-style planning, which Africa was supposedly destined for, was in reality little more than a historicist and Eurocentric delusion. This perspective left Africans, in the words of Chakrabarty, "in the 'imaginary waiting room of history'".[29] As we shall see, African urban designs have been actively and meaningfully developed vis-à-vis the colonial infrastructure of peanut railways.

26. Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 9. See also: Brenda Yeoh, *Contesting Space: Power and the Built Environment in Colonial Singapore* (Oxford University Press, 1996); Frederick Cooper, "The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa," in *Tensions of Empire*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler, (University of California Press, 1997).
27. Liora Bigon and Oyewale Oyeleye, "Revisiting Transnational Garden City Histories: From the North-West to the South-East," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (2025).
28. Marguerite Duras, U*n Barrage Contre le Pacifique* (Gallimard, 1958), 147–148.
29. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 8.