The Visual Syntax of a Postcolony:
Photographs in Zambia, 1930s – 1980s

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates how photographs and photographic practices have both shaped and have been shaped by the political, cultural and performative demands of the project of postcolonial nation building in Zambia. Drawing on both visual and textual materials from the 1930s to the 1980s, collected from the National Archives of Zambia as well as several private collections, including that of the Fine Art Studios in Lusaka, this dissertation attempts to understand the different ways in which critical attention to the role of the mechanically reproduced images can allow us to reconsider the given boundaries between the colonial and the postcolonial, the public and the private, and the nation and the individual. The first chapter explores the methodological possibilities and the archival limits of writing a social history of photography in Zambia that still remains largely undocumented. The second chapter sifts through thousands of images haphazardly stored in the National Archives of Zambia, reflecting on the shift from the ethnographic mode of observation in the late colonial period to the concerted imaging of developmentalist spectacles in the early postcolonial period. The focus of the third chapter is on the politics of official images of Kenneth Kaunda, the first president of independent Zambia. This dissertation combines uses of photographs, archival documents, semi-structured interviews and brief auto-ethnographic observations.

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Note on figures:

The images used in this dissertation were primarily sourced from two collections.

All of Chapter One's photographs - bar Figure 3 - were sourced from 'Zambia Belonging' - an informal photography archive I helped organise. The informal nature of the archive means that no repository or other archival information exists. These images are at the time of writing not in the public domain; however, they can be accessed via a request to Zambia Belonging. All images in Chapters Two & Three - along with Figure 3, but bar the two images of Nkrumah, namely Figures 53 & 54 - were sourced from the National Archives of Zambia's photographic collection. As will be explained later on, these were accessed on the National Archive's computers, where no information on the repository or archival holdings initially sourced from exists. Further, the digital folders where these were 'held' changed across my research at the archive. Thus, I have chosen to forego information on the specific folders I accessed them from. In-text captions for these images are as they appeared in the index, when and where a caption exists; these are set within quotation marks. These images can be accessed via the National Archives of Zambia's digital collection located in Ridgeway, Lusaka.

Introduction

On 29 September 1984, just three weeks prior to the twentieth anniversary celebrations of Zambia's independence from Britain, Ratubhai Somabhai Patel – owner of the Fine Art Studios at Lusaka*,* one of the oldest photographic studios in the country – sent a letter to the Secretary General of the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP), Humphrey Mulemba.[1] In the letter, Patel expressed his desire to host an exhibition to celebrate the upcoming celebrations, showcasing photographs of the freedom fighters who were, during the struggle for independence, "always warmly received at the studio, much to the chagrin of the colonial settlers at that time." The photographs were hand-tinted by R. S. Patel so as to "render [the] natural colours" lost in monochrome photography commonly in use until the 1980s. The exhibition never took place, although some years later the state institutions would want the same photographs to be added to their own collections. Instead, the images remained in the studio, nestled in its stuffy, dusty attic alongside old photographic equipment, discarded prints and a handful of draft letters.[2]

Of the exhibition that never happened, Patel had a clear idea:

> The purpose of this collection is to present a pictorial depiction of Zambia's early political heritage. I wish to exhibit the collection with short excerpts on the historical role of individuals in the freedom struggle. It is my desire to share this heritage with the people of Zambia and, in a small way, to contribute to preservation of Zambia's early history.[3]

The use of words such as "preservation" and "heritage" was meant to underscore the historical significance of these photographs. To Patel, these were historical documents, worthy of state patronage and national curation, a testimonial to the collective labour of nation building. It is important to remember that in many parts of the twentieth-century world this was still an uncertain

[1] See Appendix A for the full text of the letter.
[2] I discovered these materials along with a colleague, Sana Ginwalla, who has been gracious enough to allow me access to the digital archive of the photographic and documentary material found at the Fine Art Studios. The entire photographic collection – made up of both prints and negatives – has been digitised and is now a part of an online photographic archive known as Zambia Belonging [https://johannesburg.prohelvetia.org/en/2021/08/04/zambia-belonging/]. Accessed on 30 November 2021.
[3] R. S. Patel to Humphrey Mulemba, dated Lusaka, 29 September 1984. See Appendix A.

relationship. The idea that photographs preserve the past, or are documents of heritage, rested upon the ubiquitous practices of image-making that increasingly came to define the twentieth century, and the mass social documentation resulting from it. But more so, this idea results from a history of photography that "elevates the photograph to the legal status of document and testimonial." This, as Allan Sekula points out, is the result of a "folklore" that imagines photographs to have "a primitive core of meaning, devoid of all cultural determination."[4]

Instead, Sekula argues that "any meaningful encounter with a photograph must necessarily occur at the level of connotation."[5]All photographic histories must come to terms with the system of signs that governs its dialogue, one that tends to change at particular political and cultural junctures. And yet, the relationship between semiotic shifts and social changes is never straightforward. One of the primary objectives of this dissertation is to understand the old and new ocular arrangements resulting from these uneven changes and the relative durability of visual forms across political regimes. The historiography of visual culture in Zambia is sparse. In trying to collect and work through the available photographs between the 1930s and the 1980s, I have attempted to understand how certain photographic forms and practices persisted from the colonial to the postcolonial period whilst others did not, and the role that the state played in cultivating an affective relationship with its citizens.

Another primary objective of this dissertation is to recognise the conceptual apparatus informing these visual orders. Divisions between the colonial and the postcolonial, the public and the private, the nation and the individual inform Zambia's ocular arrangements. But these images also let us identify how these frameworks developed in the first place. In doing so, I hope to understand what political power meant in Zambia, and how it operated and was articulated by the state and political elites. This is done by 'taking pictures seriously' – by attempting to distil a history of concepts, emotions and power in Zambia from images. Thus, in many ways, this dissertation is a reflection on how Zambian visual materials are produced, stored and accessed, and even more importantly, what opportunities exist for writing histories with them.

Over the past thirty years, there has been an explosion of academic interest in African visual cultures and visual materials. In part, this was a delayed upshot of the renewed interest in photography and photographic theory in global academic circles since the near-simultaneous

[4] Allan Sekula. "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning" in Victor Burgin (ed.), *Thinking Photography* (Basingstoke: Macmillan International Higher Education, 1982), 87.
[5] Sekula relies on Barthes' distinction between the denotative and the connotative functions of the photograph to make this argument. Unlike Barthes, however, Sekula is more hesitant to neatly separate the purely descriptive denotative function from the culturally determined meaning in its connotative function. *Ibid.*

publication of Susan Sontag's *On Photography* and Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida*.[6] Throughout the 1980s, vigorous interrogations of the indexical nature of photographs by scholars such as John Berger, John Tagg, Allan Sekula, and Victor Burgin, often drawing on as well as renewing critical interest in earlier theorizations by Walter Benjamin, sat well with the increasing social constructionist turn in larger historiography.[7] This constructionist energy was effectively harnessed by the new postcolonial histories which connected the problematic of imperial control with that of the recruitment of photographic meaning in ideological systems.

A pioneering volume in this direction was *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History* (1999) edited by Hartmann, Silvester and Hayes. By focusing on techniques of visual representation resulting in the 'othering' of African subjects, it demonstrated in great historical details how photography became a new method of producing and ordering the colonial knowledge of Africans.[8] In spite of its acknowledgement that the relationship between colonisation and photography was neither instrumental nor predetermined, *The Colonising Camera* chose to focus on the power of colonial image-making practices at the cost of largely overlooking the African-made photography during that period (although it did mention the appropriation of photography by African elites).[9] Understandably, the relative paucity of images taken by common Africans during the colonial period made early historians of African photography focus on elite practices. Some of these studies, like Gwyn Prins' 1990 article "The Battle for Control of the Camera in Late Nineteenth Century Western Zambia", have been quite innovative in their approach. In this article Prins detailed the efforts King Lewanika – the ruler of the Barotse – made in appropriating photographic representations, resulting in a tactful response to the visual designs of missionaries and colonialists.[10]

While these local studies were crucial in understanding the specific contours of some of the first photographic encounters between Africans and Europeans, more synthetic and longue-durée views were offered in volumes like *Images and Empires* and *Colonialist Photography*, both of which

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[6] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977) and Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

[7] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Viking Press, 1972); John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1988); Allan Sekula, *Photography against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works 1973–1983* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984); Burgin, *Thinking Photography*. See also Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility: Second Version" (1935), in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media,* trans. Edmund Jephcott et. al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 19-55.

[8] Wolfram Hartmann, Jeremy Silvester and Patricia Hayes (eds.), *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History* (Cape Town: Juta and Company Ltd, 1999).

[9] Terence Ranger, "Colonialism, Consciousness and the Camera", *Past & Present* 171 (2001), 206.

[10] Gwyn Prins. "The Battle for Control of the Camera in Late Nineteenth Century Western Zambia." *African Affairs* 89: 354 (1990), 97-105.

came out in 2002.[11] *Images and Empires* in particular insisted on understanding the relationship between colonialism and photography as part of a larger set of visual practices on the African continent, including, but not limited to, film, sculpture and painting, some of which were traditions spanning centuries. One of the central insights in *Images and Empires* was that colonial image-making practices mapped onto the bodies of natives the visual differences between the colonised and their masters, thus implicitly justifying colonialism as a moral task, or duty. As in *The Colonising Camera*, here too photography was primarily approached as a new socio-technical tool of the colonial authorities in the management of imperialism.

Although the strength of these studies lay in clarifying the location of photography in the cultures of colonialism, most of them have largely been silent on the mundane bureaucratic use of images by the colonial state and instead focused on ideologically more explicit 'colonial' images. Of late, this has become an area of interest for scholars working within the field of biometric states within Africa. Lorena Rizzo's work is a good example of its application in Southern Africa, which explores the shift in state practice from using images to identify Africans to using thumbprints on their identification documents in early twentieth-century South Africa. Rizzo argues that this was not only to implicitly associate African formal identity to criminality through thumbprints, but also to discredit African image-making practices and visual histories, which was supposedly the purview of Europeans.[12] Rizzo draws from literature dealing with modern bureaucratic methods of control, such as Caplan and Torpey's classic work *Documenting Individuality*, to its more specific application to passports in *Race, Nationality, Mobility*, to their application in the South African context, whose methods of racial control are well documented.[13]

Because the state actively suppressed ideas of African visual practice, Rizzo is also interested in articulating the resistance to colonialism through identificatory photographs, which were usually garnered from studio portraits. Recourse to African studio photography is a common method of evidencing the vitality of local image-making practices somewhat outside of constant state surveillance. Multiple studies have provided empirical evidence on the depth of studio photography during the colonial and postcolonial era. One area that has been particularly fruitful

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[11] Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (eds.), *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (California: University of California Press, 2002); Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson (eds.), *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[12] Lorena Rizzo, "Visual Aperture: Bureaucratic Systems of Identification, Photography and Personhood in Colonial Southern Africa", *History of Photography* 37: 3 (2013), 263-282; Lorena Rizzo, "Gender and Visuality: Identification Photographs, Respectability and Personhood in Colonial Southern Africa in the 1920s and 1930s", *Gender & History* 26: 3 (2014), 688-708.

[13] For example, Deborah Posel, *Influx Control and the Construction of Apartheid* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1987) and Keith Breckenridge, "Lord Milner's Registry: The Origins of South African Exceptionalism." History Department Seminar Papers, University of Kwazulu-Natal, 2004.

is East Africa. Here photography was initially brought by Indian traders who set up photographic studios. Many of these studios traversed the formal colonial/postcolonial distinction, having survived both regimes; instead, a diasporic genealogy has been of greater value for scholars, tracing the movement of photography through itinerant studio owners. Some of these approaches have been quite materialist, such as Prita Meier's discussion on the circulation of photographs on the Swahili Coast during the late nineteenth century, emanating from studio centres such as Zanzibar and Mombasa.[14] Meier suggests that these photographs were an extension of the already-established Indian mercantile networks, and that photographs – mostly *cartes de visites* – were primarily markers of wealth and sophistication for local elites. Others, such as Meg Samuelson's work on Capital Arts Studio, have been more interested in the continued forms of visual production on Zanzibar in the face of new political moments and challenges, and formulates that photographs are means of articulating melancholy for its subjects and users.[15] By locating Capital Arts Studio within the complicated histories of postcolonialism, Samuelson suggests that its photographs are an alternative engagement with the past – one eschewing the commercialisation of Zanzibari space by neoliberal forces and the heritage industry – recalling instead its time as an 'island metropolis' at a centre of the Indian ocean trade network.[16]

The historiography of West African photography has also developed along a parallel path. Jurg Schneider, drawing on scholars such as Poole, Gilroy and Appadurai, has framed West African studio photography within the auspices of the 'Atlantic Visualscape,' a centuries-long 'contact zone' where "a multitude of ideas, artefacts and people circulated" between Europeans, Americas and Africans.[17] By framing photographic practices within larger visual histories, as charted out in *Images and Empires*, these works have been attentive to the process of vernacularisation of photography as a technology and shifted the historians' attention from statist concerns to social image practices. This is of course not to suggest that mediated connections did not exist between the two domains.

[14] Prita Meier, "The Surface of Things: A History of Photography from the Swahili Coast", *The Art Bulletin* 101: 1 (2019), 48-69.

[15] Meg Samuelson, "Producing a World of Remains in Indian Ocean Africa: Discrepant Time, Melancholy Affect and the Subject of Transport in Capital Art Studio, Stone Town, Zanzibar", *African Studies* 75: 2 (2016), 233-256; Meg Samuelson, "'You'll Never Forget What Your Camera Remembers': Image-Things and Changing Times in Capital Art Studio, Zanzibar", *Critical Arts* 32: 1 (2018), 75-91.

[16] On the one hand, made up of returning customers over decades who "re-stage themselves and their offspring against its [the studio's] backdrop." On the other hand, done by creating a "palimpsest-like quality of reappearance" achieved by constantly reinscribing the contemporary Zanzibari visual landscape onto photographs from the period of prosperity, and in a sense, vice versa. Samuelson, "Producing a World of Remains in Indian Ocean Africa: Discrepant Time, Melancholy Affect and the Subject of Transport in Capital Art Studio, Stone Town, Zanzibar", (2016), 246, 253.

[17] Jurg Schneider, "Topography of Early History of African Photography", *History of Photography* 34, no. 2 (2010), 134-5.

Partly as a result of the liberalisation of African economies and political regimes during the 1990s, however, many of these images, especially the West African studio portraits, were repurposed in global north media discourse as art pieces.[18] For example, Seydou Keita's photographs were compared to the portraiture of Rembrandt for the former's "mixture of Western dress and African poses, African dress and Western poses," that supposedly described "people defining themselves at the uneven edge of modernity."[19] Even if useful in acknowledging the distinctive and often visually powerful forms of portraiture in Africa, as Haney and Schneider note, these types of analyses have isolated and valorised "the aesthetic qualities of particular strands of photography, in particular studio portraiture," at the expense of more quotidian, non-studio photography.[20]

In response, many African academics and critics have increasingly come to deploy the concept of "vernacular photography" to describe non-studio African photography. Vernacular photography, however, is a slippery term, imprecisely encapsulating a range of photographs of ordinary people taken by 'unknown' (or little-known) photographers and existing in 'hidden' archives and collections such as family albums. In focusing on marginal subjects, these studies claim to construct a particular visual language that exists within Africa (like the West African studio portraits). Paul Weinberg identifies the framework of vernacular photography in South Africa as one with "strong migrant and urban historical links" that evolved into "a distinct genre and claims a different view of what it means to be African."[21] Geraldine Frieselaar focuses on "those adversely affected by the socio-political context of apartheid South Africa" to whom studies in vernacular photography would confer both 'privilege and power.'[22] There is a palatable desire to grant agency to these marginal figures within the auspices of vernacular photography, both as practitioners and subjects.

While appreciating its focus on marginal figures, some scholars have also questioned the theoretical potency of vernacular photography as an analytical category. John Peffer asks, for example, "whose photography, even in 'the West,' is not touched and beheld by the vernacular?"[23] According to

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[18] The histories of how these individual photographers' work 'found new life' point to haphazard local acquisitions followed by their circulation in North American and European art markets; that is, before being recirculated in Africa at art fairs such as the Bamako Biennale. The relationship here is almost co-conspiratorial: this then feeds back to the Western market, where the importance of these photographs become its 'unique' aesthetic qualities. An interesting essay by Bajorek and Haney on the administrative and organising politics of the Bamako Biennale shows how much of the funding and organising operations of the Bamako Biennale, mostly funded by French departments, seeks to create an African photographic form that can speak on the same level as western aesthetics. This has implications for the shifting of genres by photographs with which we shall deal shortly. See Jennifer Bajorek and Erin Haney, "Eye on Bamako", *Theory, Culture & Society* 27: 7-8 (2010), 263-284.

[19] Michael Rips. "Who Owns Seydou Keïta?" *New York Times*, 22 January 2006.

[20] Erin Haney and Jürg Schneider, "Beyond the 'African' Archive Paradigm", *Visual Anthropology* 27: 4 (2014), 308.

[21] Paul Weinberg, "The Other Camera – An Accidental Archive", *Critical Arts* 32: 1 (2018), 21.

[22] Geraldine Frieslaar. "Picturing Dreams: Visual Representations of the Self in the Van Kalker Studio", *Critical Arts* 32: 1 (2018), 153.

[23] John Peffer, "Introduction: The Study of Photographic Portraiture in Africa", in John Peffer and Elisabeth L. Cameron (eds.), *Portraiture and Photography in Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 4.

him, 'vernacular photography' begets no new insights about photography within Africa, and seems tasked either with dispelling doubts that Africa has a distinctive photographic history or with implicitly suggesting ("with all the familiar paternalistic connotations") that Africa is a "continent with (visual) folk dialects but no (visual) languages of its own."[24] This debate around West African studio photographs and vernacular photography touches on the debate on the history of genres. Patricia Hayes has rightly raised questions about the nature and function of photographic genres, for example in the designation of anti-apartheid photojournalism as 'documentary' photography, which not only limits the scope and nuances of its actual and intended use, but also helps in creating a gulf between it and post-apartheid photographs, which somehow are imagined to be more aesthetic than political.[25] Genres operate not only to define what something is, but what it is not – it is a relationship implicated in a series of aesthetic and political arrangements. This dissertation similarly deals with the shifting genres of images, especially with the so-called ethnographic images, which in Africa were primarily the result of colonial-era state and anthropological practices, and which have been repurposed in the postcolonial archives to 'explain' colonial visuality.

Ethnographic images have been the subject of continued introspection on the nature and value of photographs by anthropologists within their discipline ever since they were used as 'facts' by the 'armchair ethnographers' from the middle of the nineteenth century. A particularly illuminating study for our purpose is the landmark anthology *Anthropology and Photography* (1992), edited by Elizabeth Edwards, which details the varied use of photographs by British anthropologists during the Victorian and Edwardian eras.[26] The diverse essays in this volume agree that the shift from using photographs as ethnographic 'facts' to them being held at an 'arm's length' was a result Malinowski's influence, which privileged fieldwork over textual knowledge of other societies, a similar conclusion drawn by Banks and Ruby.[27] While this and similar studies are useful for this dissertation in a number of ways – not least for evidencing the manner in which early ethnographic societies obtained photographs of "anthropological interest" from commercial, missionary and official sources,[28] or the importance of colonial exhibitionary series like *The People of India* were in visualising the "imperially imposed order"[29] – there has been little introspection of the use of

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[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Patricia Hayes. "The Uneven Citizenry of Photography: Reading the 'Political Ontology' of Photography from Southern Africa", *Cultural Critique* 89 (2015), 174.

[26] Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1992).

[27] Marcus Banks and Jay Ruby, "Introduction: Made to be Seen", in Marcus Banks and Jay Ruby (eds.), *Made to be Seen: Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 3.

[28] Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 22.

[29] Rosalyn Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection", in Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography*, 47.

photography in anthropology after the Malinowskian moment in the 1920s. Instead, visual anthropologists became increasingly interested in the possibilities of film, even though popular ethnography continued to flourish, as Lutz and Collins argue in relation to the National Geographic case.[30]

The subjects of the first ethnographic images, like those of the early scholarship on colonial photography described above, were African elites. It is thus apposite that recent studies have come full circle and have once again taken elites as an area of academic interest. With the aforementioned liberalisation of African societies during the 1990s, new types of African elites were visible to publics and academics, both through the traditional archive and cultural artefacts. The subjects of these studies, such as Angie Epifano's "The Image of Sekou Touré: Art and the Making of Postcolonial Guinea"*,* are the postcolonial political elites who utilised modern technologies to great effect. "The Image of Sekou Touré" is specifically about the visual techniques of rule by the first Guinean president, who created an authentic national culture centred on himself – one that inspired "nationalist dedication and fervour."[31] Visual media was the most effective way to do this, not only because its medium was easily accessible even to the non-literate public, but also because the nationalists could draw upon a longer ocular tradition. In this formulation, postcolonial political power is a negotiation between the forms and histories of technical opportunities and limitations of new mediums.

This dissertation deals with the archive as both a source and a subject of study. Some of my sources are well-known national institutions, such as the National Archives of Zambia, which is the seat of the state's archiving authority. Others are private, such as the Fine Art Studio collection, or the personal collection of the retired photographer Alick Phiri, which were collections I encountered during the course of my research. It is the first time their materials are coming to light. I have also engaged in limited auto-ethnographic observations and interviews with archivists and photographers. The intention here is to understand the relative location of visual materials in the

[30] One of the most famous examples is *National Geographic,* founded in 1888, which has been criticised for its historical association with colonial conquest and its ongoing ability to 'other' non-Western subjects. In the same vein of these critiques, Lutz and Collins suggest that there are seven 'gazes' that constitute the typical National Geographic photograph: the photographer's gaze, the magazine's gaze, the magazine readers' gaze, the non-Western subject's gaze, the Western gaze, "refracted gaze of the other" and finally the academic spectator. Space does not allow one to go into detail about what constitutes these gazes, but what is most important about this argument is that by de-constituting the photograph through a number of gazes, one is able to imagine a set of motifs and aesthetic conventions that run through the bounded categories of 'scientific' or 'entertainment' or 'ethnography' photographs. Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, "The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of National Geographic", *Visual Anthropology Review* 7: 1 (1991), 134-149.

[31] Angie Epifano, "The Image of Sékou Touré: Art and the Making of Postcolonial Guinea", in Hannah Grayson and Charlotte Baker (eds.), *Fictions of African Dictatorship: Cultural Representations of Postcolonial Power* (New York: Peter Lang, 2018).

archival order of the state, allowing us to extend theories of ocular power further than the level of representation. Given the scattered and uneven nature of my sources, I try to do this in three short steps.

Chapter One argues that the demand for identificatory images by the colonial and postcolonial state resulted in the rise of photographic studios in Zambia. While making new citizens visually legible to the postcolonial state, photography also compelled a process of individualisation among common folk, casting the state's affective relationship to the public in terms of the individual and the nation. This process led to very personal articulations of the medium, such as the 'self-portraits' of Alick Phiri, along with images of family and important life events. There was a palpable pleasure in taking these photographs, albeit one subject to exclusions indicative of broader social structures and tensions in the postcolonial era, such as race and gender. At times this pleasure infringed on the accepted public visual order, such as the pornographic images I found in the attic of Fine Art Studios. By taking these infringements and the pleasures informing them seriously, this chapter questions the received wisdom that photography was primarily a public exercise in postcolonial Africa, in the process calling to attention exactly what was expected in distinctions between the public and the private in a young postcolonial African state.

The postcolonial state was also invested in articulating imagery different to that promulgated by the colonial regime, although this was often a haphazard project, evidenced by the management of visual materials by the National Archives of Zambia. Chapter Two shows that the National Archives was consistently and systematically negligent of its visual materials in favour of textual materials, limiting histories of the nation-state to the authority of written evidence. Recently, there have been efforts to increase the public profile of visual materials in the archives, although images are still taken as paratextual illustrations, rather than as independent sources. The surviving visual materials can be broadly grouped into two modalities: an ethnographic mode dominant in the colonial period and a modernist-developmentalist mode dominant in the postcolonial period. Although the postcolonial regime insisted on an absolute and clear break from the colonial period, my research complicates this assumption. Through my analyses of select images, I try to demonstrate that photographic styles and conventions straddled both worlds in a messier complex. The mixed genealogies of both modes allow us to reflect on the particular histories that produced them, such as the importance of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute to ethnographic inquiry and visual production, and the symbolism of the TAZARA railway for aspirations to African modernity and its eventual failings.

These particular histories are not only important in evidencing the diverse lineages of photography on the African continent, but also useful in alerting us to the uneven relationship between visuality and textuality in a postcolonial African nation. Chapter Three investigates the visual strategies of Kenneth Kaunda, arguing that his ocular performance of power embodied the functions and rhetoric of the newly-independent Zambian state. This was done through a set of easily recognisable gestures and dress with political, material and regional importance. We can identify the effects of these ocular strategies by their reception among the public, whose response varied from emulation to rejection. While direct evidence of their reception and impact is difficult to come by, reading the photographs of Kaunda imaginatively allows us to recreate the strategies of discipline and control employed by the state. These were overwhelmingly focused on the emotional capacity of Kaunda as "the father of the nation", whose ability to protect, provide for, and guide his people was paramount. Overall, by taking visuality seriously, this chapter offers an alternative method of approaching power in Zambia and across postcolonial Africa.

Fragments of A Social History of Photography in Zambia

THE PUBLIC ORDER OF THINGS

In his proposal to the UNIP Secretary General Humphrey Mulemba, R. S. Patel was not only identifying the place of images in Zambia's political history, but also appealing directly to its elites who had been "warmly received" at the studio. Throughout his letter, R. S. Patel recentres the studio as an important site of political action during the anticolonial struggle. He invites Mulemba to Fine Art Studios to "review the historical collection and to discuss my proposal" and asks if President Kaunda would open up the exhibition at Mulingishi Hall, historically the most important conference centre in Zambia.[1] There is more to read than mere opportunism in Patel's letter. Figures 1, 2 and 3 – hand-tinted portraits of three iconic anti-colonial leaders: Kapwepwe, Chona and Kaunda, respectively – may help us elaborate this issue further. Their role in the anti-colonial struggle underscores the increasing importance of portraiture amongst the Zambian political elite.

Figure 1: Simon Kapwepwe

Figure 2: Mainza Chona

Figure 3: Kenneth Kaunda

[1] It was used as an official reception centre by the Zambian government, and the site of several conferences and negotiations of the independence and anti-apartheid movements in southern Africa.

Portraiture has always been a significant political act. It embodies the power, virtue, taste and status – among other qualities – of the sitter. Initially the privilege of the rich, with the rise of a professional and merchant class during the seventeenth century in Europe, it became a standard feature of the new aesthetic sensibilities they cultivated. With the onset of photography, classical portraiture continued, although now constrained by certain technical features, which cultivated new formalistic and compositional elements in portraiture, such as the use of shadows. With colonialism came its technologies of rule, of which photography was one, which extended into the private sphere. Julie Hirsch has noted how the Renaissance family portrait was the precursor of the photographic family portrait.[2] The National Archives of Zambia contains many formal images of colonial leaders. Figure 4 – a portrait of Roy Welensky, the last Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and a staunch defender of the colonial setup – is typical of the sort of photographs in the colonial section, in both style and subject, which produced both full-length and bust images of colonial officials such as governors. But there is nothing particularly different about these images when compared to others of political leaders across the world; and perhaps that is the point – it was a form of portraiture that was instantly recognisable as political. In Figure 4, Welensky, like most formal images of him, is seen in civilian clothing. In contrast, many colonial officials took portraits in their military uniforms, ostensibly to publicly acknowledge their relationship to the British Empire.

Figure 4: Roy Welensky

[2] Julia Hirsch, *Family Photographs: Content, Meaning, and Effect* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 35.

However, the public did not come into contact with these images in a vacuum – they would have seen portraits of these officials in newspapers, the primary medium for photography in Northern Rhodesia during the colonial period. The most common public figures to be viewed in the newspapers during the period from the 1930s to the 1960s were colonial officials, such as Welensky and Ian Smith, or alternatively, the British royal family. However, during the independence struggle, the progressive newspapers – *The Central African Mail* (for Africans) and *The Central African Post* (for Europeans) – often printed images of Kenneth Kaunda and Harry Nkumbula, the leader of Northern Rhodesian African National Congress (ANC) and Kaunda's main African political contender. These newspapers rarely contained photographs of other 'revolutionary' figures.[3]

Because of technological limitations, the range of alternative political portraits available to the non-white public in newspapers was limited.[4] The studio portraits of UNIP leaders stands as an affirmation of their political credentials, and genealogy – ones that could not be fully expressed in the visual media of the day. It is perhaps in this context that we may better understand the hand-tinted portraits of the leading UNIP leaders. It is unclear whether these were tinted before or after independence – but it is more likely that they were done afterwards. More nostalgic than polemic, these hand-printed images demanded additional time, care and skill from the artist, implying a certain labour of love.

It was belatedly recognised as such by the authorities in a letter found alongside the other documents in Fine Art Studios, sent by Alfred K. Mofya, the Director of the National Political Museum of Zambia, to R. S. Patel. Dated 16 January 1986, it was sent about 16 months after the initial letter mailed by Patel to the Secretary General of UNIP. There seems to have been other letters in the intervening period including contact with Dr. Siteke Male, Special Assistant to the President. Mofya's letter – reproduced as Appendix B – is interesting because it affirms the

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[3] A common feature of these newspapers, especially the government-run African newspapers, such as *Mutende* – were 'picture pages'. These took a variety of headings, from editorial pictures such as 'Important Chiefs' and 'Some Familiar Places and Faces' to reader-led submissions such as 'Pictures from our Reader.' This indicates an avenue in which the public actively engaged in photographing themselves. These images mostly consisted of portraits of elders and group photographs of events like sport days. What is interesting was that the use of images in *Mutende*'s editions (which started as a fortnightly, then weekly, then thrice-weekly papers) declined year after year. *Mutende,* 1936-1938, NAZ. Anderson's insights into the relationship between print capitalism and nationalism can perhaps be extended to the colonies to understand the relationship between newspapers and imperial citizenship and subjecthood. Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 1991), especially Chapter 3, "The Origins of National Consciousness."

[4] See Rouven Kunstmann, "The Politics of Portrait Photographs in Southern Nigerian Newspapers, 1945–1954", *Social Dynamics* 40: 3 (2014), 514-537 for a detailed narrative of how the limitation of ebonoid blocks – engraved plates used in printing images in newspapers – largely determined what could and could not be printed in Nigeria. The technology to produce ebonoid blocks only became available locally during the 1950s, and before then Nigerian newspapers had to use blocks available from the information department – which were overwhelmingly pro-colonial – and use subversive captions. We can draw parallels with this to Zambia, where newspaper market was decidedly smaller and had been active for shorter periods of time.

importance of these 'historical photographs' to the political establishment. This was possibly why Patel filed this letter, unlike the others. The tone of this letter was comparatively transactional. "I would appreciate if you could spare some few minutes to sort out all the photographs which are historical so that we could decide which ones I would take." Entering the archive of the state came with a downsizing of the affective. Satish Patel, the current owner of Fine Art Studios, recalled that members of the National Archives had taken some of FAS's historical political portraits without ever returning them, as they had promised. Is it too difficult to imagine that this was also the fate that befell R. S. Patel when Mofya came to visit him?

THE STATE, DIASPORIC CIRCUITS AND IDENTIFICATORY PHOTOGRAPHS

R. S. Patel's photographs can be read as a contestation of colonial public visuality. However, even if the postcolonial elite was the direct addressee of his letter, his clientele was certainly larger. In Zambia, the largest and oldest photography studios have traditionally been Indian-owned. This seems to follow a broader regional trend: in East Africa, from Zanzibar to Mombasa, photography studios were mostly Goan-owned. As Meier suggests, this formed part of a long established, albeit rapidly growing, Indian Ocean mercantile network where members of the Punjabi, Goan and Gujarati diaspora moved across the East African coast establishing small businesses.[5] These small businesses, which were providers of cheap imports, "introduced new fashions and cultural practices to both rich and poor communities, helping to shape new consumer societies, whose tastes also became increasingly interlinked."[6] One of these new practices was photography.

Indian immigrants similarly settled in Northern Rhodesia as traders, opening businesses that catered for a rapidly urbanised African population. Colonial penetration in Northern Rhodesia was late compared to the rest of the region, and there was little trace of precolonial trading, at least not in the same way commodity markets worked in the port cities of East Africa. The first record of Indians entering Northern Rhodesia was in 1905, and most of these migrants were Hindu Gujarati 'passengers' – a better-educated and relatively affluent mercantile class.[7] They entered Northern Rhodesia either through the southern corridor, from South Africa to Bulawayo to Livingstone, or through the east – from Mombasa and Beira to Fort Jameson.[8] Like East Africa, Central Africa too had no pre-existing picture making practices; thus, the advent of photographic studios in

[5] Meier, "The Surface of Things", 51-2.
[6] *Ibid,* 52.
[7] Joan M. Haig, "From Kings Cross to Kew: Following the History of Zambia's Indian Community through British Imperial Archives", *History in Africa* 34 (2007), 57.
[8] *Ibid.*

Northern Rhodesia acted in similar fashion to photo studios in East Africa, namely as sites of new commodities, facilitating new cultural expressions.

However, the photographic practices of East Asian port cities were also different to Northern Rhodesia. As Meier suggests, photography in East Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a practice intimately associated with its commodity use across the Indian Ocean region. During this period, photographs were less about individualised expressions of self (or the sanctified 'concreteness' of the subject), and more about their function as material objects. *Cartes de visite* – along with other 'generic' photographs – were the most popular photographs to circulate during this period and were used as ornamentation in homes, what Meir suggests was a method of engaging with the cultures of others in a "theatre of play."[9] In broader terms, these photographs were used as markers of status, knowledge, and power instead of individual self-expression.[10] In Northern Rhodesia, on the other hand, the rise of photography in urban centres was linked to institutional arrangements by the colonial and postcolonial state. Here the demand for photographs by the state for a number of different identificatory practices developed the social need for images on a broad basis. The identification photographs found in the Fine Art Studios collection – a major source of visual materials for this dissertation – contain a substantive collection of monochrome ID photographs, known colloquially as 'passport photos'. They share the same aesthetic qualities as other identificatory photographs: not much bigger than the size of a thumb, the subject unsmiling, with all facial attributes visible. The collection represents a broad cross-section of society: Africans, Indians, men and women, young and old; only Europeans are conspicuously missing. We even come to recognise a young Hirabhai Lalbhai Patel, relative of R. S. Patel, and also manager of Fine Art Studios, in one of these photographs [Figure 5], his face sharing the same round shape, penetrating dark eyes and wavy black hair as his passport photograph.

These physical attributes were given alongside his photograph, a standard part of British passports at the time [see Figure 6]. As citizens of the British Empire, R. S. Patel and H. L. Patel were technically allowed entry into Northern Rhodesia unabated – it was a guarantee of Britain's

[9] Meier, "The Surface of Things", 60-2.

[10] The lessons to be taken from this, as Meier points out, is that the "study of early photography in Africa and the Indian Ocean world also suggest that non-Western photography was not always about "countering" the colonizer's gaze or that it should be frames as a story of "localization" of the "global." To frame photographic practices in these terms is to, "inadvertently present local histories of photography on the colonizer's terms," by "naturalizing the overarching rationality of the colonial project, which set in place such binaries as colonizer versus colonized or local versus global in the first place." It is difficult to escape this binary, especially in Zambia, where the colonial project is so deeply tied with the notion of photography.

imperial citizenship.[11] No doubt, they would have found measures in place attempting to stem the flow of Asian migrants into the region. However, as Dotson and Dotson point out, during the post-war era, these restrictions would also largely fall to the wayside as there was a need for small

Figure 5: A young H. L. Patel

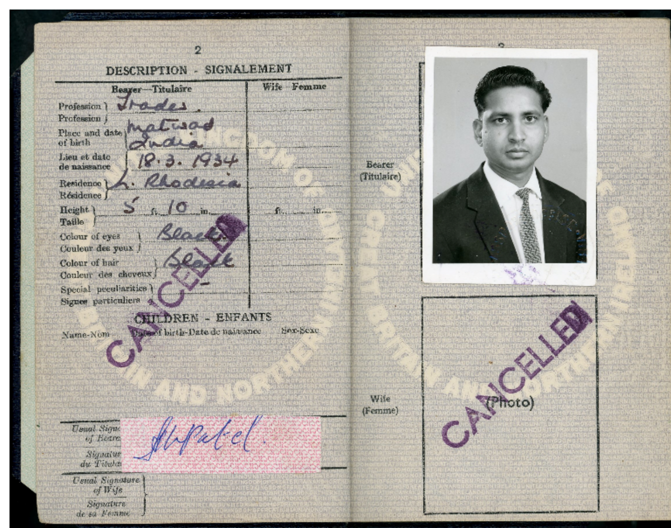

Figure 6: H. L. Patel's passport

businesses to cater for the growing African urban class.[12] This idiom of imperial citizenship was reflected in the standardised documents they had to carry: every traveller within the empire was expected to hold a passport with an identificatory photograph. Identificatory photographs in passports emerged during the interwar era in Europe and America, following the mass movement of people across the world and the heightened need to contain citizenship, and were subsequently extended to their colonial possessions.[13] This, Sara Kalm indicates, was mostly the result of the 'International Passport Conferences' held by the League of Nations during the 1920s.[14]

> At the time, passports differed widely between different countries. The resolution from the 1920 conference regulates how the internationally standardized passport should function and look like. It

[11] Thomas Metcalf explains how Indians who settled overseas or stayed behind "conceived of the British Empire as an arena open to talents, where all, Indian and British alike, might flourish. They envisaged an empire that, as V. S. Srinivasa Sastri wrote, upheld "equality not discrimination" as its principle, "brotherhood not domination" as its motto, and "uplift not exploitation" as its aim." This concept of 'imperial citizenship' founded on "the promised ideals, and expectations of equal treatment," as Metcalfe notes, "all too frequently evaporated in the reality of lived experience." Thomas R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920* (California: University of California Press, 2007), 2-3.

[12] Floyd Dotson and Lillian O. Dotson, *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 29; 32-3. The restrictions concerning Indian migration in South Africa and South African-governed Namibia were substantially more stringent. Cf. Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, "The Form, the Permit and the Photograph: An Archive of Mobility Between South Africa and India", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 46: 6 (2011), 650-662.

[13] Martin Lloyd, *The Passport: The History of Man's Most Travelled Document* (Stroud: Sutton, 2008), 75-94.

[14] Many specific immigration laws in European states were in effect the result of wartime measures that continued into the post-WWI era. The passport was one of those measures, along with heightened sensitivity towards migration. John Torpey, "The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Passport System", in Jane Caplan, John Torpey, and John C. Torpey (eds.), *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

> should be issued for a single journey or for two years, and the fee should not be fiscal in character. It should be bound in cardboard, contain 32 pages, and be drawn in French as well as the national language. It should include a photograph of the holder and his wife and contain detailed physical descriptions and information about children.[15]

Although varying from place to place, this would remain the standard for passports the world over for at least the next half-century. Drawing on Scott and Foucault, Kalm posits standardisation as a 'technology of government', where passports are an iteration of the state's desire to make 'legible' its citizens – which, during the early twentieth century, was still made up of large swathes of unclassified communities and individuals.[16] Although mostly targeting the populations of Western Europe, this passport standardisation was not only attempting to make legible the new categories of 'citizen' (and by extension, various categories of non-citizenship) to the domestic state for internal policy, but also to make legible that citizenship to the international world. It was during this time, as Sara Cosemans explains, that the quandary of the 'stateless' would become a legally technical issue.[17]

While the new legibility of citizens allowed individuals – like R. S. Patel and H. L. Patel – access to migration across the British Empire, there were mixed practices with identification documents in local contexts. The documentation regime that the Patels encountered in Northern Rhodesia during the 1940s focused mainly on regulating the movement and labour flows of Africans. This followed a regional trend, radiating from South Africa, whose policy towards Africans, as Lorena Rizzo notes, "materialised in an array of travelling passes, residential permits, service contracts, tax receipts, exemption certificates" scattered "throughout the files produced by different departments of the South African state bureaucracy."[18] However, the increasingly racist state would not turn to photography to furnish these scattered documents, instead relying on thumbprints, with its understood connotations of criminality, to became the 'sole acceptable form' of indexing Africans, expanding across the subcontinent to establish itself as "the symbolic item of South African imperialist hegemony in the region."[19] This was justified by the recourse to a "racialised understanding of visual literacy" which operated on the assumption that natives had little to no visual literacy.[20] In the process, existing photographic practices amongst Africans were glossed

[15] Sara Kalm, "Standardizing Movements: The International Passport Conferences of the 1920s", STANCE Working Papers Series, no. 8 (2017), 27.
[16] Kalm, "Standardizing Movements", 17 and 30.
[17] Sara Cosemans. "Modern Statelessness and the British Imperial Perspective. A Comment on Mira Siegelberg's *Statelessness: A Modern History*", *History of European Ideas* 47: 5 (2021), 1-8.
[18] Rizzo, "Visual Aperture", 279.
[19] *Ibid,* 280.
[20] *Ibid,* 279.

over, thus resulting in what Rizzo terms a "visual reduction of the native."[21] Photography, and portraiture in particular, was only available to visualise white subjectivity.

Like in South Africa, Africans in Northern Rhodesia were subject to thumbprint identification, which from 1941 became a standard feature on forms.[22] However, by the early 1960s, legislation indicated that either thumbprints or photographs could be used on these documents, signalling a change in policy.[23] These photographs were taken by the in-house registrar, in effect limiting the control over the final image that African subjects would have, as opposed to the time when specifications of identification photographs were not standardised.[24] This practice continued into the postcolonial era, where photographs for the newly mandated National Registration Cards (NRCs) – compulsory for to all citizens and permanent residents of Zambia – had to be taken by the registrar.[25]

As the patchwork of documents seeking to control Africans gave way to standardised documents during the postcolonial period, new political imaginings of citizenship took place. The NRC replaced the documentation practice based on racial categories with the two legal designations of citizen and non-citizen (although in providing a space for place of birth and 'tribe', the NRC indirectly signalled the recognition of an element of ethnicity).[26] On the most explicit surface, however, the vision of the postcolonial state was intended as a non-racial one, where Europeans, Asians and Africans were envisaged to be living peacefully, and prosperously, side by side. Thus, legally the postcolonial Zambian state saw as equal all its citizens (even if many Europeans and Asians chose to keep the passports of their family origins). However, not all members of Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) – nor all members of society – shared this vision.[27]

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[21] *Ibid,* 280 and 278.

[22] Specifically, these were forms relating to travel between administrative districts, differing colonial entities – such as between Barotseland and Southern Rhodesia, for example – and so on. Northern Rhodesia, CAP 169 of the laws of Northern Rhodesia (as amended by No 202 of 1941), National Archives of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia Government Printers).

[23] As can be seen in: Northern Rhodesia, Forms A & B of No. 2020 of 194, CAP 169 of the laws of Northern Rhodesia (as amended by No 202 of 1941), National Archives of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia Government Printers).

[24] Rizzo, "Visual Aperture", identifies these rare instances in the Namibian archives. Cf. Northern Rhodesia, CAP 169 of the laws of Northern Rhodesia (as amended by No 202 of 1941).

[25] Republic of Zambia, National Registration Regulations, 14 March, 1965; National Registration Act, Chapter 126 of the Laws of Zambia, 3 July 1964 (Ministry of Legal Affairs). However, for the new NRCs, both photographs and thumbprints had to be included on the card. The thumbprint was supposed to be for those could not sign, but now by practice has become a standard part of the NRC.

[26] Even this designation was articulated through the particular institutional history of Zambia – the NRC required (and still requires) one's place of birth, village and chief. Further, the binary designation of sex – as Kalm notes – by its nature forces into the grey areas of the laws all those who do not neatly fit into sexual categories.

[27] Sishuwa Sishuwa, detailing an incident in 1969 where a white High Court judge – Justice James Skinner – was harangued, and subsequently forced to resign, notes how the postcolonial vision of a non-racial society was held together in part by a legal fiction. Kaunda, who had close relations with a number of white settlers, was forced to publicly distance himself and his government from white officials still working in the government. After the Skinner incident, several prominent white judges resigned from the judiciary. Sishuwa Sishuwa. "'A White Man Will Never Be

Figure 7

Figure 8

The rise of identificatory documents, apart from imagining citizenship in new ways, incubated an image space. The NRC was not an abstracted card that simply kept one's record. It was a form of identification that made an individual legible on an everyday basis – needed for opening a bank account to applying for government grants to seeking a job. Many relationships to the state and formal institutions required an NRC.[28] Furthermore, along with the presentation of an NRC, some activities, like opening a bank account, required – either through 'good practice' or institutional requirements – additional identificatory photographs.[29] Thus, for example, driving licenses, union or other association membership cards, visas – all of these required identity photographs (some of these cards were found at the Fine Art Studios). And although not legally standardised across these varied institutional practices, they gradually took on a standardised form.[30]

This process resonates across the continent. Jean-Francois Werner, drawing on evidence from Ivory Coast, suggests that the introduction of identification photographs into African societies had three interrelated effects: firstly, it helped to further the spread of photography; secondly, it influenced the way photographs had "been perceived by African people as a form of evidence";

a Zambian': Racialised Nationalism, the Rule of Law, and Competing Visions of Independent Zambia in the Case of Justice James Skinner, 1964–1969", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 45: 3 (2019), 505.

[28] Republic of Zambia, National Registration Regulations, 14 March 1965; National Registration Act, Chapter 126 of the Laws of Zambia, 3 July 1964 (Ministry of Legal Affairs)

[29] Legislation does not require a passport-sized photograph, but it became good practice across banking institutions.

[30] Why a standard was adopted across various institutions without any legal or formal pressure is perhaps to be explained by the Weberin "'leveling' effect of the great bureaucratic machines of modern life." Stefan Timmermans and Steven Epstein. "A World of Standards But Not a Standard World: Toward a Sociology of Standards and Standardization", *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010), 72. The NRC photographs not only became a a standard for identification photographs across various local institutions, they also naturalized the assumption that without a photograph one's legal identity was incomplete and at risk.

and finally, it played a 'catalytic' role in the development of individualisation in Africa.[31] For many in Zambia, particularly in the rural areas, photographs for ID documents were the first occasion of exposure to a camera. This added to the primarily indexical and evidentiary approach of the public to photography.

The rising institutional demand for identificatory photographs accounts for the growth of photographic studios across the urban centres of Zambia. The older, larger and eventually more prestigious studios were almost all Indian-owned and dotted around the CBD – such as Royal Arts Studios and Photo Art Centre, both on Cairo Road; and Fine Art Studios on Chachacha Road. Like most small businesses, all of them worked on an apprenticeship model:

> If he [a shop assistant] came to Africa as a young man without capital, as in most cases he did, the Indian pioneer served an apprenticeship of about five years behind the counter of a shop belonging to his patron... He then acquired, with his patron's help, a shop of his own. His next step - and relatively few advanced so far - was to acquire a chain of several small shops which he in turn operated with the help of young assistants recruited from India. Income from any one shop was small, but that from several combined might be quite substantial. An operation of this kind however, was possible only as long as a continuous supply could be had from India.[32]

In his interview, veteran photographer Alick Phiri, who used to work as an assistant at Photo Art Centre, noted how his former boss had worked at Royal Art Studio prior to opening his own shop on the same road. Phiri further mentioned that the owners of Fine Art Studio were in some way related to his employer at Photo Art Centre.[33]

These large Indian-owned studios took photographs, sold and processed film, made prints, sold camera and darkroom equipment and accessories, and were the agents for international photographic brands (Photo Art Centre was the agent for Fuji and Fine Art Studio the agent for Minolta). They also sold projectors, video cameras and 8mm film; Royal Art Studio even owned Palace Cinema in Kamwala, Lusaka. Because they provided an array of photographic services and merchandise, they became critical hubs of visual practices of production and consumption. Smaller, African-run studios could not afford rent in the town centre. Located in traditionally African areas, they only took studio photographs, and as a rule did not sell equipment. However, they played a crucial role in bringing photography and photographic practices to a much larger audience.

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[31] Jean-François Werner, "Photography and Individualization in Contemporary Africa: An Ivoirian Case-Study", *Visual Anthropology* 14: 3 (2001), 252.
[32] Dotson and Dotson, "Indian Minority of Zambia", 68.
[33] Interview with Alick Phiri. Lusaka, Zambia. Conducted by Sebastian Moronell and Sana Ginwalla. 24 May 2019.

Phiri became, for all intents and purposes, an apprentice in the shop, though without the usual ethnic patron-client support network binding the employers and the employees.[34] In 1964, he began working at the age of sixteen as a 'house boy' for the Patel family which ran Photo Art Studio. He was transferred to the studio in 1968, where he was slowly taught all aspects of the studio business, from attending to customers to photographing them to working in the darkroom. Over the years, he became a very able and valued photographer who mostly took studio portraits of clients.[35] In 1985, he opened his own studio, Kwacha Studio, in the old Kanyama Compound, unbeknownst to his employer. Phiri would work there during his off-hours on the weekend, whilst his brother worked there during the week. According to Phiri, he found it to be an incredibly profitable business venture – at times earning up to K45 a day, when his monthly salary at Photo Art Centre was merely K70 a month, although these figures are somewhat doubtful.[36]

According to Phiri, at Photo Art Centre, studio portraits were charged at 35 Ngwee, whilst passport photographs – much smaller – were charged at K1. He confirmed that this was unaffordable for most people for everyday use. During the 1980s, when the economy was spiralling downwards, photography continued to be unaffordable. When asked about the price of cameras during the 1970s, Phiri reminisced,

> Ah, cameras uh, two hundred and fifty kwacha – which was too much. Like these Rolliflex, they were going up – three hundred and something kwacha, which the ordinary person that time no, only a studio can buy. And uh, they – white people can manage.[37]

To the extent race was an indicator of wealth and privilege, the photographic market was unmistakably racialised. In the next two sections, working through Phiri's and the Fine Art Studios' visual collections, we will explore how this racialised condition was captured in the photographs of this time.

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[34] Ethnicity, as Dotson and Dotson point out, is central to this relationship. Dotson and Dotson, "Indian Minority of Zambia," 78-9.

[35] His employer, Patel, paid for driving lessons and let him use a company car – unheard of for a shop floor African employee. Interview with Alick Phiri, 24 May 2019.

[36] My doubt is stoked by the lyrics of the 1976 song "Down in My Shoes" by the Zamrock band *Salty Dog* – whose chorus is a repetition of the phrase 'I'm a lowly paid man' – which complains of wages of 'fifty Kwacha a week' whilst having 'nine people to keep.' This tallies to an annual wage of K2600, significantly higher than the 1976 annual average wage of K2060 (according to 1975 prices). The real annual average of 1985 according to 1975 prices is K1710, and although not the nominal wage, if we factor in that inflation was usually in double digits (with 1985 registering an inflation rate of 41.1%), the K2340 that Phiri earned annually as a photographer at Photo Art Centre would have been extremely lowly paid. Dennis Chiwele, "Economic Adjustment, the Mining Sector and the Real Wage in Zambia", in Charles Harvey (ed.), *Constraints on the Success of Structural Adjustment Programmes in Africa* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).

[37] Interview with Alick Phiri, 24 May 2019.

ALICK PHIRI'S SELF-FASHIONING

Werner points out how the ID photograph played a role "in the setting-up of a new balance between individual and collective identities in African societies. First, by its capacity to constitute the photographed subject into a singular entity (individuation); and secondly, by giving him a new social identity symbolised by the delivery of a national identity card."[38] This leads to a palpable paradox: "this disciplinary technology which subjects the individual in order to better objectivize his/her body, finally turns out to make a subject aware of his/her own individuality."[39] The demand of expressing individuality within a standardised grid reflects a fundamental dilemma of modern visuality. In this chapter's attempt to reassemble some fragments of a possible social history of photography in Zambia, this particular dynamic will be explored through an engagement with Alick Phiri's own photographic collection.

Figure 9

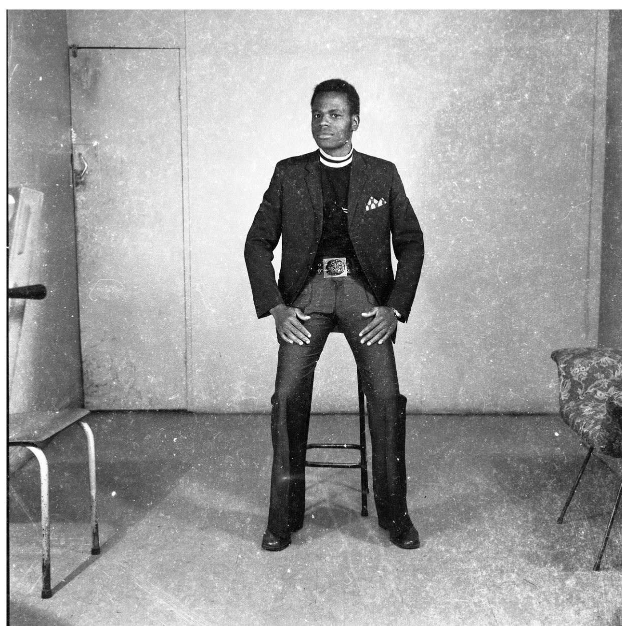

Figure 10

Phiri's photographic collection at his home contains images of himself and his family as well as those of other people. The loose photographs were prints, and the ones in envelopes were either colour or monochrome negatives. In this section, we shall focus on Phiri's personal images. The next section will engage the other photographs along with the studio portraits from Fine Art Studios. My colleague Sana Ginwalla and I scanned and collected these photographs while conducting a long interview with Phiri.

[38] Werner, "Photography and Individualization in Contemporary Africa", 263.
[39] *Ibid.*

These personal images provide a compelling story of Alex Phiri's self-fashioned image. Phiri wears large-collared shirts, waistcoats, bell-bottomed pants and plays a guitar for the camera, even though he admitted to knowing nothing of playing it. It reminds us of similar photographs of Kaunda playing a guitar. The deliberate emulation of Kaunda's pose by Phiri will be of relevance to our discussion in Chapter Three. Figures 9 – 12 present a man versed in the style of his times. He is contemporary. Modern. In Figure 10, he is young, fashionable and self-confident. He wears a blazer with a pocket square, a round-necked top and tight pants with a large buckle. This is a 'Westernised' ideal of a young man, and the display of culture and sophistication simultaneously implies wealth. The three-quarter view (the turned face, which hides an ear – it is a common composition of Phiri) lends a noble dignity, and at the same time a mischievousness, to the image. On the whole, the collection of photographs here represents a playful, almost whimsical, being of self. The most serious of the photographs of Phiri is Figure 9, which is in part due to his older age, and in part due to the restriction of the frame to his bust. There is something playful about the limbs and props that occupy the space around the bust. They are transformative objects, necessary for the sitter to imagine himself as someone else. The sartorial and gestural signals of Phiri constitute a claim to being modern with both its aspirations and anxieties.

Figure 11

Figure 12

This is part of a broader history of studios in the postcolonial world. Christopher Pinney has suggested in the Indian context that photo studios "function as chambers of dreams where personal explorations of an infinite range of alter egos are possible."[40] Pinney locates this 'infinite range' as a function of the range of visual techniques, such as montaging, double-exposures and painting; however, others such as Frieslaar have taken this notion and extended it to the Apartheid era in South Africa, where studio portraiture "allowed people to construct alternative images of themselves, as a means of representing successes, aspirations and dreams." Of course, these dreams were an exploration of an image "free from the harsh realities of their socio-economic and political circumstances" of Apartheid,[41] but this is not a condition for studios to act as 'chambers of dreams.' In the image of Phiri we see a similar studio enactment.

The effect, when taken as a series of photographs, presents to us an incoherent self, one subverting the indexical qualities of the image. In Figures 10 and 11, Phiri looks directly at the camera. In Figure 12 – as well as in Figure 9 – his eyes avert the camera. It is as if the other body which shares the frame with him now – that of his wife – breeds uncertainty. Whilst transformative, whimsical, and self-knowingly serious, the portrait here is also highly unstable. To share that emerging image space with another body is to produce anxiety. There is another studio portrait of her, this time with five of their children. Similar to Figure 12, in this portrait she is also well-dressed and wears an afro, laying claim to the popular visual culture that her husband is engaging in. There is only one other image of Alick Phiri's wife – a photograph of her outside with a single child. Here her hair is less well-groomed and she wears a chitenge wrapped around her waist in the style of a long skirt. The little boy holding her hand is well dressed in a uniform.

It may strike as odd that out of the 111 images Phiri has in his collection (of which, 73 are personal), only three are photographs of his wife. There are many more pictures of their children, and indeed most are of Phiri himself. In these photographs Phiri's wife is not presented as an individual but as a wife or a mother; she always appears in relation to members of her family and never by herself. Although, as we shall see when exploring the studio portraits in the Fine Art Studio collection, women were often photographed by themselves (and thus, this may be idiosyncratic of the Phiri household), it is important here to think through Pierre Bourdieu's claim – made in a study of photography amongst the French peasantry – that:

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[40] Christopher Pinney. *Camera Indica: The Social life of Indian Photographs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 138.

[41] Frieslaar, "Picturing Dreams", 152.

> What is photographed and what is perceived by the reader of the photograph is not, properly speaking, individuals in their capacity as individuals, but local roles, the husband, first communicant, soldier, or social relationships, the American uncle or the aunt from Sauvagnon.[42]

This, Bourdieu elaborates, is because the photograph "realises the image that the group seeks to give of itself as a group," capturing only "behaviour that is socially approved and socially regulated, that is, behaviour that has already been solemnised. Nothing *may* be photographed apart from that which *must* be photographed."[43] Although Bourdieu is referring specifically to the prevalence of photography at family functions and other ceremonies, the absence of an individual photographic record of Phiri's wife is an affirmation of her role as the bearer of social roles within the household (thus, is the anxiety produced on Phiri's face a result of the conflict between his individuality – so well cultivated – and his role as a husband?). Furthermore, Mrs Phiri's role is specific to the image of motherhood, as shown in Figure 13. Julia Hirsch has noted that the image of motherhood, one of the oldest known to man – "personified in the Semitic Astarte and Tanit, and in the Virgin Mary" – exemplifies fertility and nurturance, with the mother as "giver of food and caresses, of pets and toys."[44] We can read these themes in Figure 13, with Mrs Phiri surrounded by five of her offspring.

Alick Phiri's photographic collection is a window into the personal image-space that the photographer carved out for himself. He does not seem to own any conventional photo albums, a practice which was quite common in his generation, especially among middle-to-lower class households.[45] Instead, we are presented with single portraits, seemingly unconnected to one another (apart from those that were clearly taken at the same sitting); furthermore, these photographs are subject to different material conditions, the majority of them being in negative format – thus suggesting that they were not meant for viewing. It is difficult to understand what social role these images play; and in the interview with Phiri he failed to mention any particular uses for them. But they exist as a testament to his family and, above all, himself. In the following section we turn to the photographs found at Fine Art Studio, whose collection is broader and more varied than Phiri's, although they explore many similar themes. Perhaps in exploring their roles, we might better understand Phiri's photographs.

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[42] Pierre Bourdieu et al, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 24.
[43] *Ibid.*, 23-4.
[44] Hirsch, *Family Photographs*, 15-6.
[45] A number of older professional photographers I have met in Zambia store their images – in whatever medium they may be – in a similar manner. However, this may be due to the practice amongst studio photographers to share their craft through exchanging loose negatives and prints, as common elsewhere in Africa.

Figure 13: Mrs Phiri with five of their children

IN THE ATTIC OF REMAINDERS: THE FINE ART STUDIO COLLECTION

I first encountered Fine Art Studios (FAS) wandering about Lusaka's CBD. The shop owner, a man by the name of Satish Patel, stood behind the till. I visited the shop along with Ginwalla several times attempting to gather information on the history of the studio. Shirish Patel did not know much about how it operated before the early 1990s, when he came from Gujarat in India to help his uncle manage the store, a situation that points at the continuation of the apprenticeship system identified by Dotson and Dotson in the 1960s. The uncle died a number of years ago, and Shirish Patel has since managed the shop by himself (having periodically brought in other assistants from India).[46] It has undergone significant changes in recent years. A full-fledged photographic studio until the 2000s, when digital photography became the preferred mode of image-making, currently Fine Art Studios sells an ad-hoc collection of goods, from watches to an impressive choice of batteries, to mattresses. Conspicuously missing from this list is photographic equipment, although passport photos and studio portraits are still offered to clients. It is a far cry from Figure 14, which proudly displays the wide range of photographic film on offer, alongside framed

[46] However, Satish Patel does not own the shop. He part-owns it with an uncle located in the United Kingdom.

portraits, most likely examples of the studio's work. Today the shop still displays old studio portraits, lining the equally old glass-top tills.

Figure 14: A picture of Fine Art Studio

Although Satish Patel could not provide us with any concrete narrative of the studio apart from the period of its decline, the studio mirrors others in the region. Although we have already drawn links between the East African Indian Ocean network and Zambia, it could be further useful to link Fine Art Studios with another studio within that region, namely Capital Art Studios in Stone Town, Zanzibar. The similarity in name forces us to consider the importance of nomenclature, for it was a symbolism filled with real-world consequences: as Meg Samuelson suggests, Capital Arts Studios was so named because Ranchhod Oza – also a Gujarati – "perceived Zanzibar as not only 'cosmopolitan' but as a 'world city'"; and according to Satish Patel, H. L. Patel imagined himself as something of an artist – hence the name 'Fine Art' Studios – which informed his passion for photography.[47] But the similarities run deeper. Both Oza and Patel were Gujarati migrants, although Oza landed in Zanzibar in 1925, significantly earlier than Patel's arrival in Zambia. Both saw the transition from colonialism to independence during the 1960s. Both were well-respected

[47] Samuelson, "Producing a World of Remains", 235.

photographers in their communities, Oza having photographed Afro-Shirazi leaders and rallies during the 1950s and continued to photograph state visits during the postcolonial period, and Patel having photographed independence leaders and the lowering of the Union Jack on midnight of the 23rd October 1964.[48] Both passed on, leaving the studio to their relatives.

Whilst still practicing in the postcolonial era, independence seems to have affected these photographers in vastly different ways, centring around the relationship to the past. Oza's visual relationship to the pre-independence – specifically Arab – past was severed in a manner that had precedence in only the most tyrannical of regimes: a revolutionary decree mandated that all images relating to the Sultanate were to be destroyed, which reflected a significant part of Oza's collection.[49] On the other hand, Fine Art Studios, and other studios in Zambia, were subject to no such formal restrictions on material kept or displayed, although it is unlikely that the former colonial rulers would find a place on its counter tops. Instead, the past was a question of fashion: what previous photographs best enticed prospective customers?

The last photographic studio on the island and run by Ranchhod Oza's son Rohit, Capital Arts Studio now survives by virtue of its shifting relationship to the past. On the one hand, it provides a sense of continuity to local customers who "bring their children to be photographed on the same rocking horse and against the same backdrop that defined their childhood selves."[50] But on the other hand, it increasingly caters for a group 'mobile visitors and transnational returnees' who often wish to engage with an idyllic, pre-independence past in a town, and island, increasingly geared towards facilitating tourism. However, as Samuelson explains, Rohit Oza refuses to engage with "the heritage industry's consignment of this time to the past," instead articulating a "visual idiom that re-calls a time in which Zanzibar was an 'island metropolis.'"[51] This visual idiom has a 'palimpsest' quality to it, where Oza continues to re-photograph scenes his father did decades ago and in the process, as Samuelson argues, creating an alternative form of melancholy.[52] This melancholy marks the 'return of the dead' that is more preoccupied with "drawing the past into the present" than "projecting the postcolonial subject into a wish-fulfilling future."[53]

For many on Zanzibar this past is ambivalent, which ranges from being a wealthy Indian Ocean cosmopolitan centre to having a very present slave history to experiencing a bloody revolution. This feeling mirrors the fates of many African postcolonies elsewhere, where the initial hope

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48 *Ibid.*, 234.
49 Samuelson. "'You'll Never Forget", 80.
50 Samuelson. "Producing a World of Remains", 234-5.
51 *Ibid,* 237.
52 *Ibid,* 247-53.
53 *Ibid,* 253.

generated by political independence was soon slashed by economic hardship and at times, repression and violence. This was no less the case in Zambia, whose budding prosperity was matched only by the scale of its eventual downward spiral. Even if one draws parallels in political disenchantment between Zanzibar and Zambia, it will be difficult to frame the Fine Art Studio collection within visual melancholia. Indeed, Samuelson in no way suggests that melancholia defines postcolonial visual practices in Africa (in fact, she explicitly acknowledges the consistency of 'wish-fulfilling' visual practices on the continent), but I think it is a worthy idea to work through here; for, the manner in which these images were collected also had a palimpsestic quality to them, re-discovering and re-inscribing the visual materials onto the studio itself. In the absence of information about the studio and its contents, that may be one of the more fruitful techniques available to us.

Figure 15: A portrait of a young Satish Patel

Instead of providing any concrete narrative of the history of the studio, Shirish Patel told us that he had a number of photographs and old equipment in the attic. After a number of interactions (aided by Ginwalla's command of colloquial Gujarati) he agreed for us to go into the attic. In the attic I was struck by the number of enlargers, stacks of photo paper, boxes of lenses, powdered chemicals, clips, darkroom lights and timers that lay about. Most of them were neatly packed and

had a thick film of dust on them. It was obvious that they had not been sorted in decades. Shirish Patel confirmed this. Apparently, this equipment was here when he first arrived from India. Other products more useful to the current needs of the shop (stationary items) filled in the gaps between the old boxes, whose contents were not on display on the shop floor anymore. Upon closer inspection, it was made out that most of the equipment came from the Far East and Soviet states, and were relatively cheap and of poor quality.

Nonetheless, photographic equipment was a capital investment by an individual, or family, as a note of sale found within the attic affirms. In this handwritten note, a soldier by the name of Robert Mpala sells – on behalf of his deceased brother, Morison Phiri – a Russian enlarger "complete with a darkroom lamp, timer, easel, 50mm F3.5 lens" to Fine Art Studios for the price of K1000. The note of sale is dated 16th November 1988, financially a particularly turbulent time. Apart from equipment lying about the attic, there were also a fairly large amount of images left unattended: slide film in trays, negatives in film canisters, and prints stuffed in boxes. In all. there are about 845 images in the FAS collection, alongside 46 reels of 8mm films, whose contents document typical scenes of well-to-do family life, such as parties, holidays (both at home and abroad) and sports events.

Figure 15 is worth analysing. It captures the essence of Satish Patel's relationship to the studio – and its past – thus allowing us an entry into the collection's images. Initially, it identifies what the studio looks like: the two main features are a patterned floor and the plain blue background, trivial but not unimportant details, as we shall see. We are drawn to a certain level of doubt – or is that anxiety? – displayed on his face. Uncertain of his thoughts, we are instead drawn to his habit, the attire of a shopkeeper: a shirt with pen in pocket, plaited slacks and a pair of white trainers. Most unsettling is the play of two shadows behind Satish Patel, which seem to dance around his body independent of his thoughts.[54] Although this is not an allegorical exercise, one can imagine that these are the shadows of the studio and its owners as it watches the subject from behind. *This* seems like the melancholy of the studio, a past collected from fragments of photographs and studio equipment, reinserting itself onto the contemporary, both at the photographic moment and when we spectate it.

However, I do not wish to claim that melancholy affects all images in this collection. The nostalgic quality of the images in the Fine Art Studio collection is clearly evident, but that is more a reflection of our own locations and subjectivities than a normative framework for approaching these images.

[54] This may have been to give the subject an added body and dimensionality on the two-dimensional surface of the image.

Instead, I would suggest that it is the process of archival collection that has something of that palimpsestic quality to it, of the historian-collector inserting the past of an otherwise forgotten history into the present. And in many ways, this was pre-empted by studios, who intentionally destroyed their records: Oza burnt his photographs to obey the revolutionary decree, whilst Satish Patel burnt an enormous number of documents and photographs relating to the studio for lack of space. The remains of Fine Art Studios – of unburnt and uncollected images – are an abeyance of the institutional desire to release itself from a useless past. If images are an abeyance of the institutions that produce them, then their contents are unwanted, and potentially troublesome. This links with our discussion in the next chapter of the National Archives which seems to operate on a similar principle as far as visual records are concerned. Even without speculating about the melancholic effects of photographs on the studio, these images do provide us with diverse evidence of how photographs were used on a day-to-day basis amongst the general public. And thus, these photographs do more than simply describe the studio – they allude to and implicate a number of image-making practices in urban Lusaka. And, like many of the unwanted, the images in the Fine Art Studio collection are a marginal, disorganised group.

To be sure, the collection is varied in its breadth. While it is tempting to focus on the images with the currently most compelling subject matter – like those that strikingly convey a sense of black subjectivity – we must be cautionary about such an approach. The overwhelming majority of the images found in this collection are 'uninteresting' in both form and content – they are at times ill-composed and blurry, and at other times confirm stereotypical images of the African continent. For example, one of the largest sections (which includes about 100 images) is a collection of photographs oscillating between photographs of crops, rural workers and agricultural operations on a tobacco farm. Another significant section consists of photographs of horse riding and jumping. Most of these photographs are poorly framed and repetitive, similar in form to the agricultural pictures. Some photographs in the collection are indecipherable, like a spool of film that is completely out of focus. Other images have been damaged by heat. The single largest type of photographs can be broadly called touristic – images of cultural events, or wildlife, or holidays (easily discernible by the bathing suits and large bodies of water). We even chance upon an image of H. L. Patel and his two sons in a speedboat on a river.

I have identified three basic 'types' of images found within this collection: identification photographs, studio photographs and personal photographs (for lack of a better word). As has already been noted, identification photographs were for identificatory purposes and presented homogenous compositions, taking up a relatively small part of the FAS collection (numbering just

under a hundred images). This is similar to the amount of studio images within the collection.[55] Although the studio photographs roughly number the same as identification photographs, they are a lot freer in their subject matter and form, and thus offer us more varied and interesting images to work through, like the West African studio portraits identified in the introduction whose popularity is due to their distinctive aesthetic subject matter. Painted backdrops of local landscapes, traditional West African clothing and peculiar – if not outright inventive – poses meant that often these images were so new and fresh, and at times so jarring, that they were taken up immediately as indicative of the daily struggles with postcolonial modernity that many Africans were engaging in – something Rips, in reference to Keïta's photographs, calls the 'edge of modernity.'

Figures 16 and 17 are typical of the full-length studio images within the FAS collection, which also has a mix of full-length, half-length and bust portraits. Almost all individuals in these images, like those in Figures 16 and 17, are well-dressed. Whilst most photographs are of individual subjects, some of them are in couples or groups. In Figure 16, the suited man cautiously confronts the camera. His body, slightly turned to the side, invites the photographer. The small details found on him – a wristwatch that peeps out from under the jacket sleeve, a pen in the breast pocket, and what seems like money or a ticket in his right hand – locates him as a man of this world, one who earns money and can afford an image of himself, although these details are visually dwarfed by his slightly oversized suit, which may suggest he does not move as freely in the world as was first thought. Apart from the pose, attire and small details that frame his body, what draws us towards the subject is the uncertain look on his face. It is neither a smile nor a frown, but an in-between response. Candid? It offers us no discernible pose, and thus seems like he does not know how to approach the camera, mirroring the ambivalence of his habit.

The background in Figure 17 is the same as in Figure 16 (and indeed in Figure 15), thus locating it in Fine Art Studios. The studio backdrop is relatively plain, and could be the result of practical concerns – the bare room used for portraits, rigged with lights, was used for both studio photographs and passport photos, and thus could not accommodate a permanent backdrop fixture. However, this could have been remedied with portable backdrops, or curtains that mask the backdrop at will, like commonly used in other studio settings. Props are also conspicuously missing from many of these studio portraits. Even Phiri used props in his studio shoots. This was

[55] My explanation for this would be that, when compared to the 600-odd images within the 'personal photographs' category left unattended at the studio, the high premium places upon these types of images by the public, alongside their use for documents. If most customers struggled to afford the 1 Kwacha for a 'passport photo' and similarly saw the 35 Ngwee for a studio portrait as a burden, then every photograph became valuable. This, alongside the fact that colour photography usually took a time long to process (it had to be sent overseas) made them easier to forget about.

radically different from many of the studio features in other parts of Africa. For example, Erika Nimis details the intricate studio backdrops and props in Yoruba studios:

> In the heyday of black-and white photography, a well-equipped Yoruba studio would include different types of decor in which the urban element, a sign of wealth and progress, had a strong presence. There were also various accessories: hearts, maps, and sometimes even cut-out TV screens painted in bright colors, which could be used as frames. This was part of the gear photographers would deploy to seduce their clients.[56]

She contrasts this "artificial opulence" with the "uncluttered decorative style seen in other Sahelian portrait studios," which was usually a "single curtain or a cloth with geometric patterns."[57] What then, was the reason that Zambian studio setups were so bare? What is the Zambian 'model of photographic depiction' – to use a phrase employed by Liam Buckley in the Gambian context.[58] I would suggest that in part, the plainness of these studio backdrops and props in practice shifted the photographic endeavour onto the body of the subject. Thus, the body, and the relations between the bodies (like in Figure 19), become the focus of the camera.

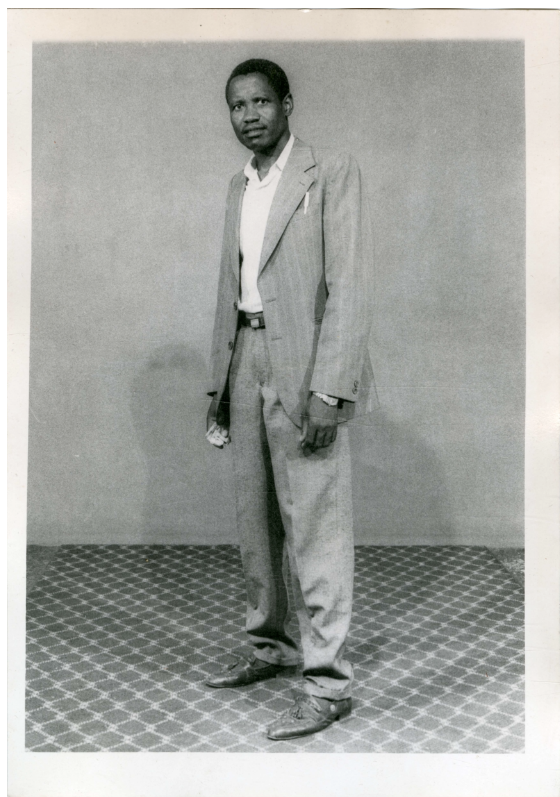

Figure 16

Figure 17

[56] Erika Nimis. "Yoruba Studio Photographers in Francophone West Africa", in Peffer and Cameron (eds.), *Portraiture and Photography in Africa*, 107.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] Liam Buckley, "Self and Accessory in Gambian Studio Photography", *Visual Anthropology Review* 16: 2 (2000), 72.

I believe this is evidenced by the particular photographic history of Zambia. State-driven identificatory image practices led to the development of an institutional image-space. In this space, many people, impelled by the bureaucratic demands of the postcolonial Zambian state, came into contact with themselves as images for the first time. This image-space subsequently allowed for individuals to engage in photography as a leisurely activity, which spread to all areas of society as wages and the economy continued to grow in the postcolonial period.[59] Moreover, these 'passport photos' also created a genre of portraiture – bare, with features completely in focus, thus allowing for the victory of the indexical nature of photography over many of its other possible uses and iterations. However, there are limitations to the power of identification photographs over the form of studio images. For, as scholars have noted, studio portraits in many ways transcended the ID photographs. Werner articulates this difference in terms of a shift "from an authoritarian mimesis to a subverted one" in studio portraiture that "play[s] with it in order to mix fiction and reality and create personal worlds."[60] We see such playfulness, for example, in Figure 18.

There are also traces of other social processes in these images. For one, we do not know the relationship between the man and woman in Figure 17. Thus, we cannot determine whether the relationship here 'has already been solemnized' or, in fact, is constituent in the making of the relationship itself. We can invert Bourdieu's original dictum here (which reads: 'nothing *may* be photographed apart from that which *must* be photographed') into 'nothing *must* be photographed apart from that which *may* be photographed.' The indeterminacy of the meaning of the image is directly related to its status as an archival document, existing outside of its intended use. My position as the spectator allows me the interpretive freedom to create new meanings with the image, and foregrounds the 'encounter' that produced these photographs. Was it an assistant who took these photographs, or the owner? And what was said to them to enact their pose?

All the images analysed here acknowledge the camera to varying degrees. In Figure 17, we are drawn into the world of desire and attraction, albeit one that is restricted and formal. The embrace here is symbolic of a deeper intimacy; one that – as we shall see later on – could be acted out in full, but only in private. Figure 19, on the other hand, *does* represent the solemnization of an elderly Indian couple. The couple don ordinary, but nevertheless smart, clothes. The Indian man wears a blazer and tie whilst the women seated next to him – the closeness of which suggests they are husband and wife – is dressed in traditional Indian garb, which includes a *sari* and a *bindi* (thus indicating that the women is indeed married). These details provided by the body of the women

[59] Of course, there was no direct path between an image-space and leisure; instead, photographs were also taken to signify a number of relationships, visualising 'wish-fulfilling futures', amongst other things.
[60] Werner, "Photography and Individualization in Contemporary Africa", 264.

allow us to reflect once again on the gendered dimensions of studio photography: while the man could be anybody, the woman is presented as a wife; she bore the symbolism of the social relations around marriage.

Figure 18

Figure 19

Figure 18 is radically different – it utilises the studio as a 'chamber of dreams' where the imaginative takes hold. The man is dressed up in a quasi-traditional manner. The chitenge (the Dutch-wax print cloth – an immensely popular item in Zambia) that he drapes from his shoulders and pants are an approximation of African-ness, an effect aided by the leopard print underneath the chitenge. The cane, which seems like a generic walking stick, in turn probably alludes to the whip African chiefs carry in popular iconography of the continent (like the one Lewanika used to carry). Such sartorial markers are not unusual in Zambian visual culture. As we shall see in Chapter Three, chitenge was worn by Zambian political leaders such as Kenneth Kaunda and Simon Kapwepwe to declare their affiliation with pan-African ideals; and from the 1990s onwards – decades after this image was taken – the chitenge became a cloth whose 'social life' is chartered almost exclusively by Zambian women.[61] It is difficult to determine exactly what is *meant* by this image, but the subject's gestures – his hands awkwardly gripping each other over the torso, his eyes forcefully avoiding the camera – provide a certain excess to the image. The performativity of the photograph, its ability to relay visual cues both vertically (to imagined and real political authorities, both present and past) and horizontally (to ordinary spectators, both present and in the future) is predicated on

[61] See Karen Tranberg Hansen. "Fashioning: Zambian Moments." *Journal of Material Culture* 8: 3 (2003), 307 – 308.

the aversion of the subject's pose. The averted gaze transforms his body into a collection of symbols; it is the excess which transforms the individual's body into the social body. What does this mean historically? At the most basic level, it alerts us to the fact that there was an active recognition and practice of a local visual culture. But on a deeper level, it confirms my proposition above: that the plainness of the studio forces us to reckon with the body of the subject, even if a highly imaginary one.

Outside of the shots taken at Fine Art Studios, we are met with photographic practices that both replicate and expand the types of images taken in the controlled setting of the studio. As we indicated earlier, the 'personal photographs' in the collection are far more numerous than either studio or identificatory photographs. The families and individuals who took these photographs had a disposable income with which they could purchase a camera, rolls of film and cover the developing costs. Furthermore, the type of developed film found gives us more clues about the income stratification. As stated before, there is a collection of colour and monochrome images within the FAS archive. While the monochrome photographs were always developed in-house by Fine Art Studios, the colour photographs had to be sent elsewhere. Initially Fine Art Studios, like other studios in Zambia, sent their colour negatives to Bulawayo for developing. However, they had to start sending them to Kenya because, as Phiri explains, "the quality was not that good" in Bulawayo. Sending film to Kenya and receiving it back took about two weeks. Slide film, however, was sent to Germany for developing, which used to take about a month to return. A similar situation developed with 8mm film, where the reels were sent to either Britain or Germany and only returned after a long time. The costs increased with distance. Most of the photographs in the FAS collection are colour, meaning that it would be unaffordable for anyone but the wealthy. This part of the collection is thus a representation of the wealthy.

Figures 20 and 21 are just two of the group portraits found within the personal photographs, and both are medium format colour positive film (the most expensive to be bought and developed). They are taken in the style of a studio portrait, with the subjects lining up and facing the camera. But in many ways, they are a lot less restricted – these two portraits have a naturalistic background, placing the children in a surrounding that is both pleasant and calm. Their facial expressions and poses appear, on the whole, relatively freer when compared to the stiff restriction in the body (even in Figure 17, which is intended to be amorous) of the FAS studio photographs. We spot a child in Figure 20 – second from the right – who is mischievously playing with the shoulder of child on the far right. Because these personal photographs often form part of a reel of film, we can also consider the images surrounding Figure 20. Those images detail a group of mixed young friends playing around the house, climbing on walls, deliberately pulling silly faces. On the whole these are

erstwhile pleasant and naively mischievous photographs, mirroring the spirit of Figure 20. In contrast, Figure 21 is restrained and for reasons – it seems – different to those of stiff studio portraits.

Figure 20

Figure 21

The images surrounding Figure 21 inform us of its context: they document the celebrations of a white family. It could be a birthday or a cultural celebration. The girls flanking the white child in Figure 21 are probably the children of the family servant, whom we meet in Figure 22. Here the servant, like his children, stands awkwardly next to the family he is attending, who are relaxing and enjoying themselves on the deckchairs in the garden. We can read into these images a history of race relations and, to an extent, domestic servitude. Figure 22 is especially striking. It foregrounds the awkwardness of the black labour that sustains the event of white leisure. It is a trope of servitude that extends from colonial Africa to Brazil to the American South. The domestic servant is equally awkward across all images. What is surprising is that there is a consistent attempt to include the black labour, and its offspring, into the photographed world. Perhaps this is to reinforce the servitude of the servant – because he exists here, and across the various photographs, as the servant. His servile relationship to the white family is his dominant role. Furthermore, the servant is male. This is not unimportant. For many years, colonial administrators saw the black male as a threat to the racialised sexual order they imagined themselves defending, which resulted in a variety of laws that attempted to limit the interaction between black males and white females.[62] Simultaneously, the black servants were routinely infantilized, and were often referred to as 'boys'

[62] See Karen Tranberg Hansen, "Domestic Service in Zambia", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13: 1 (1986), 57-81 for a useful narrative of domestic service in Zambia.

(a practice that, interestingly, continues to this day, mostly in black households that employ black servants).

Thus, the domestic habit on the body of the servant in Figure 22 can be read to foreground the black, male labour as controlled and non-threatening, to both the family and society at large. However, the inclusion of the three black girls in the photograph with the white child in some sense overcomes this – it has them dressed in the same uniform, all the way down to the shoes. This presents an ideal type: a new racial order that was meant to equalize through a visual conformity. Juxtaposing Figures 21 and 22 provides us with a contradiction – whereby the children can access the ideal type of racial unity that the adult gathering cannot. It is as if the naïve innocence of children is reflected in the equally naïve political assertion – that everyone can be equal. It is a contradiction that allows us to dwell on the social inequities presented here and elsewhere, even as commentators were proclaiming Zambia to be a non-racial society.[63]

Figure 22

We do not know who the photographer is, but it is probably one of the white family members. What happens when photographs are taken by Africans? Phiri mentions that only studios and Europeans could afford cameras, although evidence suggests otherwise, as there are a number of

[63] See Sishuwa. "'A White Man Will Never Be a Zambian'" for a detailed description on the different academic opinions on the matter.

photographs evidently taken by black photographers. Phiri himself is one of them, whose street portraits of Zambians make for a remarkable collection. As a working 'street photographer', he followed a visible trend in the region. In fact, it is this movement – both as a physical entity through space, and as a way of moving up the social hierarchies – that Phiri actively acknowledges. As he said in his interview:

> Um, well, you see that time there were very few, I mean – Zambian, black – who can handle a camera, expensive camera. So I used to enjoy that, I was like I'm the only one in town... These Times of Zambia, Daily Mail – those people, well they were big people going and I was the youngest photographer that time [chuckles]. And I used to [be] bossed a lot. All these are studios, I don't remember anyone who, uh who, who was driving, I mean studio vehicle. I was the only one.[64]

It seems his pride as a black photographer stems not from his desire to create an alternative mode of visual articulation, but instead his ability to access the benefits of wealth. Phiri remembers himself to have been one of rare black photographers "who can handle a camera, expensive camera" and one who was driving a studio vehicle. This forces us to acknowledge that postcolonial photographs were not always the result of self-conscious desires to forge alternative, anticolonial or postcolonial imagery, even though this was sometimes the case in the histories of West African and East African photography. This is not to say that the photographers did not have to contend with institutional constraints, some of which began in the colonial period and others in the postcolonial period. One of these rules is that no photographs can be taken of government buildings. Phiri mentions this rule when asked if he took photographs of the 'city':

> AP: Ya, city – well that time, to take city they wanted, you have to go and get pass to use to take photographs in the city. Especially post office, they were not allowing to get.
>
> SG.: A photo of post office, okay.
>
> AP: Yes. They were not allowing.
>
> SM: Oh really? So where would you have um, to get this pass from?
>
> AP: It was in information service, something like that. I did not get one, because I was not interesting in taking…
>
> SM: But why, why did you think?
>
> AP: You see, that time, there was a problem with South Africa, Zimbabwe. You see, sometimes this – we had the freedom fighters here, South Africa and Zimbabwe. So they were following them here, you see."[65]

[64] Interview with Alick Phiri, 24 May 2019.
[65] Interview with Alick Phiri, 24 May 2019.

This requirement seems to stem from the State Security Act of 1969 (amended 1973, 1985), which mentions in multiple places that any person who "makes any sketch, plan, model or note or in any manner whatsoever makes a record of or relating to any thing which might be or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power or disaffected person" would be punished accordingly.[66] This law would explain the near-total absence of street images, or photographs of buildings, within the collections described above. However, its absence here is telling of its presence in the National Archives of Zambia. The National Archives holds an extensive collection of photographs of buildings and infrastructure within Zambia, all of which was sourced from the Zambian National Information Services (ZANIS), the 'information service' that Phiri mentions. We shall detail in length the archival collection of photographs in the next chapter, but it is worth noting here that it was the information services, and not the public, who became the custodians of the public image of urban Zambia.

Figure 23

Figure 24

This may account for the peculiar nature of photography in Zambia, of plain walls framing portraits, contrasting sharply with the modernist urban backdrops of West African studios, or of the focus on intimate portraiture as opposed to visible sites and objects of culture, like the streets and dhows of Zanzibar. However, it will be a stretch to imply that this forced Zambians to articulate their citizenship in the private spaces they inhabited, and indeed contrary to the visual practices on the ground. Photographs affordable to most people were usually taken by street photographers, like Phiri, as he searched for customers in African residential areas. This is worth noting because although Julia Hirsch contends that photography provided "the means by which

[66] This uncannily describes the indexical function of photograph, which sketches, plans, models and notes all in one.

the poor could see themselves preserved," thus allowing them "to acquire a visual history" for the first time, the reality in Zambia was extremely fragmented and unstable, dependent largely on the changing fortunes of the economy.[67] One could argue that during the 1980s and the 1990s, the poor had lost the privilege to access a visual history that they had earlier won during the 1960s and the 1970s.

The images that do remain, however, are similar to studio photographs, instead on the street or in front of houses and walls. These photographs were probably taken on weekends, when Phiri operated his private studio. The empty street in Figure 23 lends weight to this idea, which is a common Sunday sight to this day. The subjects in this series of photographs largely mimic studio poses. This was probably the result of Phiri's training in the studio, and his subsequent direction of the photograph. However, it may also indicate that there was a desire and expectation for certain types of photographs, specifically studio portraits. These are not studio portraits in the fullest sense, for the objects, scenery and buildings make for a markedly different image than those taken at Fine Art Studios. There is no firm distinction between prop and backdrop, for these images are not entirely staged. The photographer and the subjects have much less control over the outcome of the image than in a conventional studio portrait. Consequently, we begin to read these images differently. Whilst the subjects in Figures 23 and 24 are still central to these images, we glean a lot more than their personal subjectivity here. The backdrop in Figure 23 suggests a sense of urbanity, like West African studio backdrops that affecting a sense of 'wealth and progress.' In Figure 24 we notice pots lying about alongside a small stool and a reed mat – this is a domestic scene, foregrounded by a child, presumably held by her mother who is in sandals.

Apart from simply indicating the domestic scene, the photograph actually describes it, thus allowing us to gather information about it which are not present in other portraits – details which would have actively been hidden in a conventional studio portrait. Hirsch notes how descriptions of the domestic scene is one of photography's oldest uses – it is a visual metaphor for the family "as a state whose ties are rooted in property."[68] And indeed, the contents lying about in Figure 24 catalogues household belongings, whose "shared possession is the basis of the family."[69] Other street photographs taken by Phiri are less intent on cataloguing possessions and more interested in cataloguing homes – many of these photographs are taken outside of a home with the owner posing in front of a door or wall, usually with the painted house number in sight. Instead, possessions are usually used as a prop. We see this in Figure 25, which is also a 'street' photo,

[67] Hirsch. *Family Photographs*, 44.
[68] *Ibid*, 15.
[69] *Ibid,* 21.

although not one taken by Phiri. The central subject – a well-dressed young man amongst a group of boys and bicycles boys – is holding what looks like a local beer called *chibuku*.[70] He holds it in a manner suggesting its role as a prop – perhaps here an affirmation of his adulthood among a group of younger boys.[71] The rest of the roll is similar to this image, with subjects taking turns in posing for the camera; one of the younger boys in another image also holds up the chibuku carton.

Figure 25

The prop is meant to serve as an infraction against the social order, even if it is, like in this case, simply childish mischievousness. Infractions against this order – one still largely dictated by British colonial mores – is a common theme in the photographic collections dealt with here. For example, in a spool of film addressed to 'Mr. C. Chuma;'[72] reminiscent of Hirsch's point, these images also detail home life – of portraits of children in the yard, of a baby being held by a woman and most importantly for our purposes, three photographs of a mother breastfeeding her child. The breastfeeding mother wears a stern expression to the camera – or the photographer – while feeding the baby. Elsewhere, a set of three photographs show a young couple embracing each other intimately, with one of the images showing them in the midst of a deep and passionate kiss. These are evidently posed – unlike the breastfeeding images, which makes the spectator slightly uncomfortable. This expression begs the question of how the camera informs these infractions in

[70] If closely looked at, the carton (which is typical of Chibuku beer) is revealed to be labelled as 'NBL' – referring to Northern Breweries Limited, a beer brewery headquartered in the Copperbelt.
[71] Interestingly, there are a number of photographs across the social photography collections in which the subject, or subjects, hold a beverage to the camera as a prop.
[72] Dated 30 July 1973. It cost Mr. Chuma K1.80 to process a roll of slide film, which would have been sent overseas to Europe.

a society that becomes increasingly conservative as the postcolonial decades wane on, in large part due to the increasing popularity of Pentecostal churches in Zambia.

We find an extreme case of this infraction in the Fine Art Studio collection. Whilst rummaging through its attic, Ginwalla and I came across an envelope simply marked 'Patel,' along with a stamp of the particulars of the studio. In the envelope there were five monochrome negatives. This comprised of four nude studio shoots of a young black woman – two of them half-length portraits and two of them full-length portraits. These are 6x6 medium-format negatives, the type of film and format a professional photographer would use. The floor is covered with a blanket, which seems to serve the dual purpose of covering the patterned floors of the studio (so that it cannot be recognised), and for providing a more intimate, sensual feel. If we compare the floral pattern in Figure 25 with that in Figure 17 – along with the positioning of a studio light in the top right corner in both images – we can safely assume that this is Fine Art Studios, and thus 'Patel' is either H.L. Patel or R. S. Patel.[73] The other image is a monochrome negative of a sex scene – an Indian woman, completely naked and with her breasts and genitalia visible to the camera, is ostensibly performing oral sex on a man.[74] Whilst she looks directly at the camera, the man covers his face with a pillow; he is naked but for the shoes he is wearing.

All of these images seem to indicate willing subjects – whose facial and body expressions do not betray unease. However, we do not know the circumstances that produced these images; it is when the subjects are at their most vulnerable, most *naked*, that the ethical relationship between the photographer, subject, and spectator becomes critically questioned. But instead of coercing these images into an assumed social hierarchy – Patel was an Indian man and the model a black woman, thus an imbalanced power relation must have existed between them – without any evidence, it is more useful for our purposes to ask instead: what do the existence of these photographs mean?

It is difficult to tease out exactly what is meant by these images without recourse to the desires that inform them. However, as these were found amongst material objects, perhaps it is worthwhile to start there. The images are negatives – they are not printed, and thus never fully realised as social objects. But neither are these negatives really 'authentic'; technically, negatives can be reproduced, and even then, they are no less authentic images than photographic prints.[75] It is the reproducibility

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[73] Assuming, that if it belonged to Satish Patel, he would have removed it before he gave us permission to access the attic; furthermore, it was amongst dust-covered articles belonging to the old iteration of the studio, and thus seems unlikely to have belonged to S. Patel.
[74] More specifically, she holds the man's penis in her hand and has it between her lips. It is as if she is yet to perform the sexual act.
[75] One could even argue that their ability to act in more ways like social objects means that they are indeed more 'authentic.'

of photographs that led Walter Benjamin to claim that it "detaches the reproduced object from the sphere of tradition," thus leading to the loss of an 'aura' for artworks.[76] But here the negative exists to hide the image from the social world it could inhabit – it can only truly exist as a photograph whence it has been printed; it can only engage with others as a social object when it transforms its material state.

Figure 26 [As advised by a member of the Faculty Research Ethics Committee, the original photograph has been blurred by 15% in order to protect the identity of the photographed subject]

Instead, as a negative it "casts a future tense on the significance of what has already been written… it traces the imprint of what is to come. At the same time, it is written only in order to be left behind."[77] Thus, the negative represents a sort of ghost, something which forewarns and succeeds signification but actively denies it. The image here has, as Maurice Blanchot declares:

> two possibilities: there are two versions of the imaginary. And this duplicity comes from the initial double meaning which the power of the *negative* brings with it and from the fact that death is sometimes truth's elaboration in the world and sometimes the perpetuity of that which admits neither beginning nor end.[78]

The negative has the ability to, at any moment, become 'truth's elaboration' and enter into the world of the 'real'. This forms a productive tension – where the anonymous negative is capable at

[76] Walter Benjamin. *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 22.
[77] *Ibid,* pg. XV.
[78] Maurice Blanchot. *The Space of Literature: A Translation of "l'Espace Littéraire"*, trans. Ann Smock (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 261. Emphasis added.

any moment to become mass produced, and replicated indefinitely. This is dangerous, for it has the ability to morph these images into pornographic photos, thus destabilising the entire visual order cultivated by the state and the public – that of modern, respectable citizens who act appropriately when others are watching. The photographs are exactly that: markers of dissonance and infringement on the public visual order. Because these fantasies and desires were disallowed in the public sphere, the personal camera, as it offers its user opportunities to take photographs anywhere, was able to transport these desires into personal spaces. Although, as we have seen, these negatives were meant for "Patel" – either of the two managers at Fine Art Studios. He would have known, as one who would hand-process the monochrome negatives, that images can never be fully hidden.

Chapter Two

Camera Archiva

ZAMBIA, ARCHIVALLY

On 10 November 1969, President Kenneth Kaunda signed the National Archives Act into law.[1] Although the newspapers did not find it remarkable,[2] it was supposed to mark a break from the colonial archival practice. However, sharp breaks are rare in history, and the National Archives Act remained bound to its past in a number of ways. Archiving in Zambia began with the arrival of the British South African Company (BSAC) in 1890, who were primarily invested in the maintenance of records for current use.[3] When the British government took control of Northern Rhodesia in 1923, the nascent BSAC archives were integrated into the general records of the British civil service. Miyanda Simabwachi notes that the Northern Rhodesian government "built an archives management system based on precedent and need" which drew on the contemporary colonial government's development of an archival registry used throughout its civil service based on the British Treasury system.[4] Timothy Lovering reminds us that, "as the central site for the accumulation and processing of colonial knowledge, registries may be seen as one of the foremost technologies enabling the maintenance of colonial regimes."[5] The emphasis, predictably, was on totalization and documentation. Images were not a priority, at least *qua* images. Photographs had no place in the colonial registry.

Lovering contends that period from 1923 to 1944 showed an improvement in record-keeping practices, the result of a concerted effort by the governments of central Africa and the imperial authorities in London, setting in motion modern archival practices. This came to head in in 1945 when the Central African Council was established, incorporating various technical services across Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. As the most powerful of the three

[1] National Archives Act, (No.44 of 1969, No. 13 of 1994), Chapter 175 of the Laws of Zambia.
[2] I searched the largest and most popular daily newspaper – *The Times of Zambia* – for the weeks preceding and succeeding the signing of the act, but there was no mention of it.
[3] Miyanda Simabwachi, "A History of Archives in Zambia, 1890-1991", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of the Free State (2019), 66.
[4] *Ibid*, 106.
[5] Timothy John Lovering, "British Colonial Administrations' Registry Systems: A Comparative Study of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland", *Archival Science* 10: 1 (2010), 2. It is important to remember here that archives are not only "sites of knowledge retrieval but of knowledge production, as monuments of states as well as sites of state ethnography." Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: on the Content in the Form." *Refiguring the Archive*, Springer, Dordrecht (2002): 90.

colonies, Southern Rhodesia's government archival services (established in 1935) became responsible for the archive services of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. By 1947, this was renamed the Central African Archives (CAA) and had depots in Zomba and Livingstone.[6] While the "joint archives service became a channel through which Northern Rhodesia was introduced, for the first time, to the professional archiving of its documentary resources," the creation of the CAA also set a precedent for a patten of archival relations between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland – one that privileged Southern Rhodesia's position as the custodian and arbiter of government records, a position that profited from the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953.

One of the most lasting impacts of the Federation on archival practices was the creation of joint documents which, according to Simabwachi, "led to a turnaround of process and challenges of dividing records and archives that were previously to be centralized as of common interest to all three territories."[7] With the dissolution of the Federation in 1963 and independence in 1964, the new Zambian government made a concerted effort to reclaim parts of the archives that they needed in order to mould a nationalist history (especially since the federation period was perceived to be of great importance to the independence struggle). Even before Northern Rhodesia had achieved full independence, the civil government of Northern Rhodesia headed by Kaunda passed the National Archives Laws (Modification and Adaptation) Regulations of 1964 on 7 January.[8] The result of this modification not only set in motion the processes for the rehabilitation of documents to Northern Rhodesia and Zambia, but also allowed the archives for the first time to request records from government departments, transforming the national archive from a "transit records repository to a national archiving authority."[9]

The National Archives Act of 1969 added to its powers and functions. It was now to hold the records of newly-nationalised sections of the economy and make a concerted effort to legislate and enforce an archival standard employed by other regional postcolonial commonwealth nations.[10] An important characteristic of the National Archives Act was its allowance for the Director of the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) to declare by statutory instrument other institutions as depositories of public records, thus allowing for decentralisation of records.[11] In response, a

[6] Lovering, "British Colonial Administrations' Registry Systems", 18.
[7] Simabwachi. "A History of Archives in Zambia", 197. This was legally mandated by the Judicial and Archives Order of 1954.
[8] National Archives of Zambia, Ministry of Home Affairs (hereafter MHA) 1/5/1, Northern Rhodesia Government Notice No. 46 of 1964, 7 January 1964.
[9] Simabwachi. "A History of Archives in Zambia", 201, 213.
[10] *Ibid,* 217.
[11] National Archives Act, (No.44 of 1969, No. 13 of 1994), Chapter 175 of the Laws of Zambia: 4 (1). Simabwachi. "A History of Archives in Zambia, 1890-1991." 2019, 158.

number of archives going beyond the everyday functioning of government departments in far-flung areas were created, such as the Roan Selection Trust Archives (started as the company archive for Roan Consolidated Mines [RCM] in 1962). It is important to note, however, that the Mineworkers' Union of Zambia Headquarters (MUZ HQ) was never tasked with making their collections public records, even though they continue to be freely available to the public.[12] Another place of deposit was the Livingstone Museum, the first institution to actively collect cultural artefacts.[13] As we shall shortly see, the Livingstone Museum was a site of photographic exhibitions during the colonial period (then called the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum), alongside the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, whose anthropologists were particularly active in photographic production.

These were, as must be obvious, political choices. The National Archives of Zambia, invested with significant authority in keeping 'The Memory of the Nation' (its motto) alive, privileged company archives over labour movement records, clearly indicating the priorities of the state.[14] This was clearly demonstrated by the establishment of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) Archive in 1977.[15] This archive were ostensibly to "receive, store, and preserve public records relating to the Party and Government matters."[16] However, its functions were not limited to party and state documents, as its founding statutory instrument declared that its headquarters – Freedom House – were "hereby declared to be a place of deposit for public records relating to the United National Independence Party and all Parties which have existed in the Republic."[17] Thus, the UNIP archives were acted as a "national legal repository for political records" within Zambia.[18]

The function of the UNIP archive remained closely aligned with those of its Research Bureau, which took over the functions of the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation.[19] The Research Bureau, as Mwelwa Musambachime explains, was formed in emulation of the communist parties in the Soviet

[12] Hyden Munene, "Mining the Past: A Report of Four Archival Repositories in Zambia", *History in Africa*, 47: 1 (2020), 371-2.
[13] The RCM became the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) Archive, following the merger of RCM and the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM) in 1982. Munene, "Mining the Past", 233.
[14] See Eric M. Kashimani "Labour and Democracy in Zambia: From Amity to Enmity", *Africa Insight* 24: 4 (1994), 256-63, for a detailed narrative of how the labour movement became increasingly dissatisfied with Kaunda's government during the Second Republic, and was highly influential in its eventual demise.
[15] By Statutory Instrument No. 51 on 3 March 1977 by the Minister of Home Affairs Aaron Milner.
[16] Mwelwa C. Musambachime, "The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party", *History in Africa* 18 (1991), 291.
[17] *Ibid.*, 292.
[18] Simabwachi, "A History of Archives in Zambia", 246.
[19] Specifically, these functions were to: "collect, research or provide background information and data necessary for the formulation of party politics and programmes of the Central Committee for which purpose [it] shall have power to elicit information from any institution or person in the Republic. The Research Bureau shall also work in close consultation with research institutions to ensure that they work in uniformity with the party programmes and policies and the results of their research shall be submitted to the Central Committee." Constitution of the United National Independence Party (1979), 42-43, as quoted in Musambachime, "The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party", 291.

Union and Eastern Europe in 1973, the same year the new constitution banning all parties but UNIP was formalised. Like in the communist bloc, the formation of a one-party state in Zambia meant the President of the Party became the President of the Republic, and the Central Committee of UNIP became the "supreme organ over the cabinet", whose decisions would be implemented by cabinet and parliament.[20] This invested a significant amount of authority into the Research Bureau who would, as the UNIP constitution declared, "have power to elicit information from any institution or person in the Republic," a mandate emulated by the UNIP Archive. This "indiscriminate archiving" had a distinctly public element: it sought to acquire and collect historical records related to the political parties from the general public, who were invited to donate photographs, maps and sound records, along with written documents.[21] It seems that this was met with varying degrees of success. While materials explicitly relating to UNIP's historical development were welcomed, records associated to other political parties were actively disregarded. In fact, many documents belonging to other political parties were either hidden or destroyed following the introduction of the one-party state 1973.[22]

Simabwachi suggests that "UNIP's totalising power over the political landscape, coupled with the UNIP loyalists in charge of creating political archives, provided the party with formidable tools to promote its own history and to mute the wider importance of other political parties in the struggle for national independence."[23] This "totalising power" could only be achieved through a campaign of historical revisionism centred on the destruction (or at the least, obscuration) of unwanted materials and partly accounts for the paucity of non-UNIP textual and visual documents.

Curiously, one of the UNIP Archive's first victims was the National Archives of Zambia. Documents of interest were transferred from the National Archives to the UNIP Archives, which was in direct contrivance to section 13 (5) of the National Archives Act, and which undermined the authority of National Archives in its position as the ultimate archival authority in Zambia.[24] But even before the UNIP Archives were established in 1977, the emergence of the one-party state in 1973 had significant consequences for archiving in Zambia. With the "shift of authority from the Government ministries to UNIP and the State Presidency" in 1973, important policy documents – products of UNIP's central committee – were housed within the nascent UNIP

[20] Musambachime, "The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party", 291.
[21] Simabwachi. "A History of Archives in Zambia", 247.
[22] *Ibid,* 249-250. Larmer documents an interesting case of document destruction (not the routine deliberate destructions) where, during the economically vulnerable period of early 1990s, documents from government departments and large institutions – like the Mineworkers' Union of Zambia (MUZ) – were stolen by staff and sold as scrap papers. Larmer, "If We Are Still Here Next Year", 219-221.
[23] Simabwachi. "A History of Archives in Zambia", 246.
[24] National Archives Act 4 (1)

Archives instead of government departments or the National Archives.[25] The effect this had is succinctly summarised by Larmer: "The NAZ has good and relatively well-organized access to Government records for the colonial era, and for the post-colonial First Republic up to 1971. After this, however, no files are practically available."[26]

Some sixteen years since Larmer conducted his research, I had the same experience researching in Zambia. The typed indices of the National Archives have not been updated and even visually and tactilely feel as the last remains of the colonial registry. The opaque and uncertain location of photographs in this archival sequence indicates that they survive on the margins of a 'proper' history of the state. Compared to the papers of the labour movement, they do not even have the dedicated support of large, historically influential unions. Even non-state archives, like the Faith and Encounter Centre Zambia (FENZA) Archives,[27] essentially classify images as non-documents: they are not a part of the institutional indices, while written documents are more routinely filed, indexed and from time to time made available online.[28]

However, at least the photographs in the National Archives have an index. In contrast to the frayed, typewritten indices organising the paper documents, the photography index – like the images it describes – is digital. Because these images exist outside the formal registry, they are not subject to the continued functioning of 'knowledge production' of colonial regimes. This is an opportunity for photographs to present an alternative material base from which to write newer, more informed histories that are not immediately deducible from the logic of the colonial registries. Of course, the images themselves are subject to, and the result of, visual logics of varying kinds. But the capacity of researchers to access, interact and study these archival photographs in new ways is linked to its detachment from the formal logic of the archive.

Photographs also present an area of opportunity to expand the collection of an otherwise inefficient and poorly resourced National Archive.[29] Mostly gained from the Zambian News and

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[25] Miles Larmer. "'If We Are Still Here Next Year': Zambian Historical Research in the Context of Decline, 2002-2003", *History in Africa* 31 (2004), 219. Interestingly, Kaunda presented himself as an archivist. In 1954, he sent a circular to the ANC, of which he became Secretary General of in 1953, describing the dearth of records from the years 1948-1951, which Kaunda attributed to poor record-keeping practices. According to Musambachime, "Credit should go to him [Kaunda] for establishing a good filing system which has proved valuable in record keeping." Musambachime, "The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party", 293.

[26] Larmer, "If We Are Still Here Next Year", 219.

[27] Which houses documents relating to the Catholic 'White Father' missionaries' activities,

[28] Instead, photographs are kept in albums, some of which are very old. There are gaps in these albums, the result of unauthorised 'borrowing' of images, which remain unreturned. Interview with Mwaka Mulavu. Bauleni, Lusaka, Zambia. Conducted by Sebastian Moronell, 3 December 2020.

[29] Most of the following information was mostly gained by correspondence with Mrs. Judith Kalikeka, an archivist working at the National Archives of Zambia (see Appendix C), alongside casual conversations with both archival staff and staff at ZANIS. Initially, I wished to record an oral interview with the archivist who deals with 'conservation' at the National Archives, but the Director, who has to authorise all such arrangements, refused. This confirmed a trend

Information Services (ZANIS)[30], the new acquisitions are largely political in character, such as images of foreign and local statesmen and all manners of public ceremonies, whether it be the opening ceremony of a new government building or the inspection of a fallow field. Although mostly limited to the functions of the state, there is a certain depth to these photographs, by virtue of the sheer size of the collection – the product of decades of news making. This allows for a certain flexibility when imagining the uses of visual materials. For example, one could use them to construct an image of Zambia as an important member of the non-aligned movement during the Cold War, or alternatively create a profile of an important local leader, such as Kenneth Kaunda or Mama Kankasa.

It is the depth of this working photographic archive that provides a ready supply of materials for the NAZ, thus presenting an opportunity for the National Archives to expand its archival collection in the absence of working government documents after 1972. It is with these expanded archival collections in mind that we consider the challenges and opportunities for digitisation projects at the National Archives in the following section, along with what these projects tell us about the perceived role of visual materials in the institution, and for its functioning in public life. Accompanied with small auto-ethnographic observations, the next section attempts to build a practical literature on the role and place of visual materials in the National Archives of Zambia, thus framing the state's visuality in different terms to what has been discussed in the previous chapter.

WORKING IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ZAMBIA

The National Archives of Zambia building is located on Government Road in Ridgeway, an area dominated by government departments in the capital city of Lusaka. Completed in 1999, the building it is housed in does not betray a particular architectural period. It is not an inconspicuous building, and the roof of the double-story structure is supported by large concrete columns visible

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I had come to identify with the archives: the conservationists, archivists and receptionists who one interacts with on a day-to-day basis are helpful and will often provide information to researchers informally, while the archival management are extremely strict in their insistence on bureaucratic procedures and hierarchies. It is this atmosphere in which the somewhat curt response from the archivist, Mrs. Kalikeka, is to be read.

[30] ZANIS is a public relations agency under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services formed in 2005 following a merger between the Zambian Information Services (ZIS) and the Zambia News Agency (ZANA). Following from the colonial Northern Rhodesia Information Service (set up in 1939 to justify and drum up support for Britain's entry into the Second World War), the Zambian Information Services' ostensible aim was to "inform and educate the country's populace in regard to Government policies and development programmes." ZANA, on the other hand, was created in 1969 to act as "an authoritative news gathering and clearing body for the entire country" serving to "reflect Zambia's image to the world."[30] The objectives of these two government agencies (to document and to explain) became the defining features of the ZANIS archives. Fackson Banda, "Community Radio Broadcasting in Zambia: A Policy Perspective", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of South Africa (2003), 31.

from the outside. The entrance to the library and reading room on the ground floor, where one views the archival material, has a large overhanging – a concrete buttress that, along with its columns, is suggestive of neo-brutalism. Indeed, many of the most iconic structures in Lusaka built during the immediate post-colonial era were similar, a visible trace of Yugoslav architects on its urban landscape – and the National Archives is perhaps a reflection of that history.[31] This building, however, was designed by a local architect – Mr. Katsai.

The library and reading room are on the right-hand side of the first floor. The rest of the floor, and the one above it, contains offices. There is a Digitising Department on the second floor, among other departments like Finance, along with the Director's Office. Outside the building, on the right, is a small annexe building offering additional office space, and behind the main building is a large depository with fireproof doors and an exhibition area. Boxes of documents line the corridors in this building, a result of the lack of adequate room in repository.[32] I am describing the spatial arrangement in details because the sparse literature on Zambian archives largely ignores it, as if the archive documents exist as legal and physical objects in a spatial vacuum, even though the National Archives Act specifically details the establishment of such a place.[33] As Achille Mbembe observes, the "status and the power of the archive derive from this entanglement of building and documents," one that is rooted in its ability to act as a sort of sacred space where rituals take place.[34] It is within these spatial coordinates that we perceive the assertive, neo-brutalist architecture of the National Archives triggering a sense of awe in us, perhaps even a sense of abstract mysticism surrounding the documents.

In contradistinction to the rituals that regulate the hardcopy documents, my encounter with the archived images was somewhat spectral. Heaped as they were on desktop computers in the archive's reading room, I could move between folders and digitised photographs in a manner impossible with a hardcopy collection. At one point, I engaged in a technique reminiscent of

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[31] These brutalist structures are the subject of photographic books such as Iwan Baan and Manuel Herz, *African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence – Ghana, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Zambia* (Zurich: Park Books, 2016), which attempt to trace connections between architecture and independence movements.

[32] I was kindly shown around the exhibition hall and depositories by one of the friendly archivists.

[33] As Section 3 indicates, "There is hereby established the National Archives of Zambia wherein shall be stored and preserved public archives other than those which are to be kept in some other place of deposit under the provisions of this Act." It is only following this clause that the Act allows for the establishment of other places of deposit in Sections 4 and 5. National Archives Act, (No.44 of 1969, No. 13 of 1994), Chapter 175 of the Laws of Zambia.

[34] "The archive has neither status nor power without an architectural dimension, which encompasses the physical space of the site of the building, its motifs and columns, the arrangement of the rooms, the organisation of the files, the labyrinth of corridors, and that degree of discipline, half-light and austerity that gives the place something of the nature of a temple and a cemetery: a religious space because a set of rituals is constantly taking place there, rituals that… are of a quasi-magical nature, and a cemetery in the sense that fragments of lives and pieces of time are interred there, their shadows and footprints inscribed on paper and preserved like so many relics." Achille Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits", in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Michèle Pickover, Graeme Reid, Jane Taylor, and Razia Saleh (eds.), *Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2002), 19.

William S. Burroughs, creating my own temporary folders on the PCs, displacing images from some folders into others, attempting to create new relationships between the images, sorting them out into the new themes before erasing the temporary folders completely. This play was only possible with digital collections because their categories are completely arbitrary at any rate; these are organised according to superficial elements such as visual similarity or common themes or contextual information. There is no evidence to suggest that these categories were products of their initial creation. The relative ease and freedom with which they could be temporarily moved around was liberating in that it allowed me to question the given archival ordering on the spot. It was also limiting, however, to the extent this grouping of images does not identify, in the way registries do, how these photographs have been historically sorted by the institutions which produced them.

In the day-to-day interactions with the archive, one fails to register its legal standing, instead only remarking on the rituals that come to define our relationship with it. The archive, as narrated in the previous section, has been subject to a range of Acts, amendments and statutory instruments throughout its history, the most recent iteration of the National Archives Act being an amendment in 1994 (Act No. 13 of 1994). This predates the shift to digital copies of record-keeping institutions and practices, a situation similar to many archival authorities across sub-Saharan Africa. According to Rakemane and Mosweu, appropriate legislation is one of the main constraints of digitisation efforts in Sub-Saharan Africa.[35] Other constraints, they note, include a lack of funds to initiate and sustain digitisation projects (which are notoriously expensive) as well as untrained and inexperienced staff.[36] Further, they see the lack of adequate infrastructure as hindering the quality of archiving, as the environmental degradation faced by these collections and their storage, as well as technological obsolescence, especially when these collections were initially stored on microfilm, is of special concern.[37] The central issue, however, is funding: there often is not enough money to create the necessary infrastructure, engage in training programmes, or update technology. With the economic crises that began to afflict African nations from the 1980s onwards (and the advent of Structural Adjustment Programmes), African states had to notoriously "rationalise" their spending. One of the first casualties was departments understood as non-productive, such as archives and record-keeping. Unlike during the heyday of Kaunda's presidency, the National Archives of

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[35] Cf. Donald Rakemane and Olefhile Mosweu, "Challenges of Managing and Preserving Audio-Visual Archives in Archival Institutions in Sub Saharan Africa: A Literature Review", *Collection and Curation*, 40: 2 (2021), 44.

[36] *Ibid*, pp. 43-44.

[37] *Ibid,* 44.

Zambia has neither been a consistent part of policy announcements by government officials, or receivers of funding.

As a consequence, institutions like the National Archives have been forced to seek funding elsewhere. There have been two main digitisation projects in Zambia, the first being the complete digitisation of the UNIP archives, an initiative awarded in 2007 by the British Library Endangered Archives Programme. This was a success, with all documents held therein digitised and the copies held at both the British Library and the National Archives of Zambia. The analogue documents remain stored at the UNIP headquarters at UNIP House on Freedom Way in Lusaka.[38] The other major effort was the digitisation of colonial District Notebooks held within the National Archives, funded by the Finnish Embassy in Zambia. These were targeted as endangered because of their material specifications (they were old and heavy), their popular use among researchers, and because of their continued public use.[39]

This project ran from 2003 to 2013, and seems to have been the catalyst for the involvement of the British Library with the UNIP archives.[40] The scope of the project was to digitise the District Notebooks – the copies of which were destroyed in a fire during the bombing of London in World War II – to train the archival staff in "theoretical knowledge and practical experience in electronic records management and website design", and to create a website in which summaries and indices would be made publicly available in a designated 'multimedia room'.[41] According to Hamooya, by 2011 these objectives were largely met, although he did question the efficacy of staff training.[42] However, at this moment, the website is down and has been so for a number of years; there is no multimedia room, only two computers in the reading area, the place where one also views paper documents; and during my most recent visit to the archives, the digital copies were unavailable as the software had crashed, forcing the researchers to revert to accessing photographs in their

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[38] The state of the hard copies remains precarious. The project description notes that there are "deep-rooted factors militating against the archival material's long-term survival. UNIP is presently a shadow of its former self, plagued by debt, factionalism and poor electoral performances. In the event of its future disappearance from the Zambian political scene, the party's archives would be one of the first casualties." I had a similar experience, where in 2019 I was provisionally denied access to the archives because UNIP was involved in litigation. The fate of the party affects the fate of the archives.

[39] Dr Marja Hinfelaar, the historian who consulted on the project, notes how pages were often ripped out of these books, as they were used as evidence for land disputes. Chrispin Hamooya. "Digitization of Historical Information at the National Archives of Zambia: Critical Strategic Review", presented at the 2nd International Conference on African Digital Libraries and Archives (ICADLA-2), University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, 14th – 18th November (2011), 2; Interview with Marja Hinfelaar. Online Interview (Zoom). Conducted by Sebsatian Moronell. 8 December 2020.

[40] Interview with Marja Hinfelaar, 8 December 2020.

[41] Hamooya. "Digitization of Historical Information", 3.

[42] *Ibid,* 10-11.

hardcopy formats again. I mention these details to share a taste of the persistent infrastructural and funding problems plaguing the National Archives.[43]

Despite the hiccups, digitisation continues to take place. The initial scope of the project was broadened beyond digitising only District Notebooks to include other documents such as newspapers and photographs. These have, in the absence of large amounts of funding, been carried out sporadically and with limited success. In 2019, an exhibition at the behest of Vice-President Inonge Wina was held at the purpose-built gallery with photographs that were scanned and printed by the digitisation department. This exhibition area was built in the early 2000s along with extra archival storage space, an implicit acknowledgement of the power of photographs in public life. The visit of the Vice-President put the National Archives, in the words of Hinfelaar, "a bit more on the map within the government." Continuing with this line of reasoning, she told me:

> Because now people could actually see, you know, 'cause documents are very abstract, so people do not always see the use of it. But I think having an exhibition, and having pictures of Zambian history is very appealing, and so I think that drew more attention, more awareness of National Archives and I think we got more visitors, we got more ministers passing through, we had the vice-president opening, so I think it – you know – it gave National Archives a bit more of a profile.[44]

In an era where government departments compete with each other for limited funding, photographs have become popular instruments of attracting public attention, support, and hopefully, revenue. This follows conventional theories on the benefits of digitisation, namely that it aids the in "promoting the collections and visibility of the institutions."[45] We have been told that other benefits include expanding access to researchers (a single copy can be viewed by multiple people at the same time), reducing material degradation through over-handling and, after the initial capital outlay, a reduction of costs.[46] Furthermore, as Abby Smith notes, digital copies can "bring together research materials that are widely scattered about the globe, allowing viewers to conflate collections and compare items that can be examined side by side solely by virtue of digital representation." [47] While viewing the NAZ photographic collection alongside the Fine Art Studio collection would have been ideal for my purposes, the fact that one has to physically remain in the

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[43] These are not only limited to the National Archives. Intermittent electricity interruptions make accessing digital documents difficult.

[44] Interview with Marja Hinfelaar, 8 December 2020.

[45] Chrispin Hamooya, Felesia Mulauzi, and Benson Njobvu, "To Digitise or Not to Digitise Library and Archival Materials: A Cost Benefit Analysis for Zambia", in *Zambia Library Association General Conference* held in Livingstone at Wasawange Lodge, August (2012), 2.

[46] *Ibid,* pp. 2-3.

[47] Smith, Abby. "Why Digitize?" *Council on Library and Information Resources*, Washington, DC (1999), 7.

National Archives to view digital copies is limiting, and does beg the question of the current practical effect of the digitisation project on accessing photographs for a broader audience.

I am also acutely aware that digitisation does alter the analogue copy; it is never an exact replica.[48] The quality of the scan and the information that is appended to the image obviously matter. But the materiality of photographs also plays an important role. As Joanna Sassoon notes,

> Embedded within the photographic object are clues visible to the trained eye which reveal the subtle relationships between negatives, printing papers and processes used to physically produce the image. The proportions of photographic objects are an indicator of the camera, negative size and date of production, and the textures and tonal ranges are clues as to the photographic processes used to produce the print. Equally, details including markings on the backs of the photographs lend additional information such as captions, retouching details, and cropping instructions. Equally, details including markings on the backs of the photographs lend additional information such as captions, retouching details, and cropping instructions.[49]

These are clues that could have aided this dissertation; for example, the type of negatives used could have helped identify the camera, which in turn could provide a clue to the question whether the images (especially the ethnographic photographs) were officially sanctioned or not. Neither am I aware whether the captions provided in the index were a part of the original collection or were added retrospectively. The erasure of such small details poses crucial problems for researchers who are not only interested in the image itself, but the production of the image in a social context.

This brings to the fore the question of originality. Are the hardcopy images held by the archives original? Undoubtedly no – they are copies of an image, whether held at ZANIS or elsewhere. And even if the only prints of their kind, they are the material version of a negative or positive film. Sassoon uses the indeterminacy of the original image – "it is precisely the polysemic nature of the photographic medium which continues to engender a dynamic body of theory, practice and criticism" – to contest the notion that there are 'original' images.[50] But the archive, and the legislation that enables it – still treats these as 'original' materials. Probing issues around originality is important because often the security and safety of digital documents are assumed somewhat naively, disregarding the possibility that digital copies of these documents may enter into the public sphere without the express permission, or wish, of archival authorities. While this process can be understood as democratising (providing potentially unrestricted access to the public), it also potentially hurts the institution, particularly in the current climate of funding. It is the same

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[48] *Ibid*, 4.
[49] Joanna Sassoon. "Photographic Meaning in the Age of Digital Reproduction." *LASIE: Library Automated Systems Information Exchange* 29: 4 (1998), 6.
[50] *Ibid*.

reasoning that informed the digitisation programme's decision to provide only a written index on the website, in the hope that it would attract more physical visits to the archives and generate additional income via archival tourism.[51]

This sentiment was expressed by Hinfelaar when I asked about the need for research fees at the National Archives. The archive has a dual fee system: a nominal fee for Zambian citizens, and a much higher fee for foreigners. Hinfelaar proudly pointed out that the archives in Uganda, Tanzania and Zimbabwe had effectively restricted access, requiring exorbitantly priced research permits (running up to a thousand US dollars) and enforcing limitations on what could be accessed.[52] In comparison, she said, Zambian archive was is more accessible and affordable, and although not up to date, one could "really find a lot of materials" if one knew one's "way through the archives."[53]

Some of these materials have long, interesting histories, like the ethnographic collection, which is the subject of our next section. This group of photographs is quite distinct from other digitised materials in that both sides of the hardcopy images were scanned, and therefore the captions are not from the general index. This seemingly trifle detail permits us to describe the origins and purpose of these ethnographic photographs with some accuracy. In the following two sections, I consider the distinctions and overlaps between the ethnographic mode of observation in the colonial period and the concerted imaging of modernist projects of national development in the first two postcolonial decades in Zambia.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC EYE

The ethnographic photographs can be traced to BSAC's control of Zambia beginning in the late nineteenth century. These photographs are explicitly and overwhelmingly focused on the so-called tribal subjects. There are two broad styles: portraits (full-length and half-length body shots of individuals and group shots) and rituals and ceremonies of anthropological interest. Figures 27 and 29 are typical samples of portraits of African tribal subjects. In Figure 27, they do not look directly at the camera, but neither are they unaware of the camera; they seem to actively pose for it. Figure 29, on the other hand, has the subject under full command of the ethnographic eye of the camera. The subject stands completely stiff, betraying a completely unnatural relationship with the camera. The symmetry by which the body occupies the frame of the picture, and the details which inform

[51] Hamooya. "Digitization of Historical Information", 4.
[52] Interview with Marja Hinfelaar, 8 December 2020.
[53] *Ibid.*

this – the long arms hanging by his side, his heels touching with feet pointing outwards – are reminiscent of typologies of 'ethnic' subjects that were common across the colonial world at one point.

Figure 29, like Figure 27, is grouped under the heading 'Village Headman/Bemba', and is similar to the image on the right-hand side of Figure 27 in the stiffness that the subjects embody. The bodies of these subjects have not been disciplined by the camera yet; their unease can be read on their bodies; but at the same time one can read that they are under its command. The camera does not exist in abstraction – it is a technology of colonial officials who took these photographs. The unease with which these subjects face the camera is also an unease with the colonial authority behind its lens. We know who these officials are. Figure 28, which is a scan of the reverse side of Figure 29, declares that the photograph was taken by M. Morris in 1945.

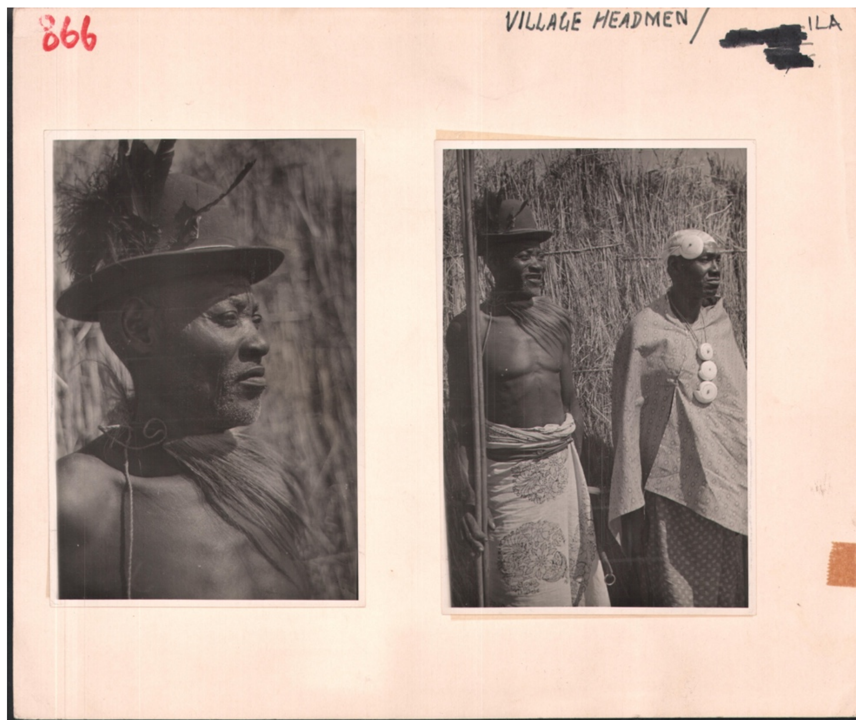

Figure 27

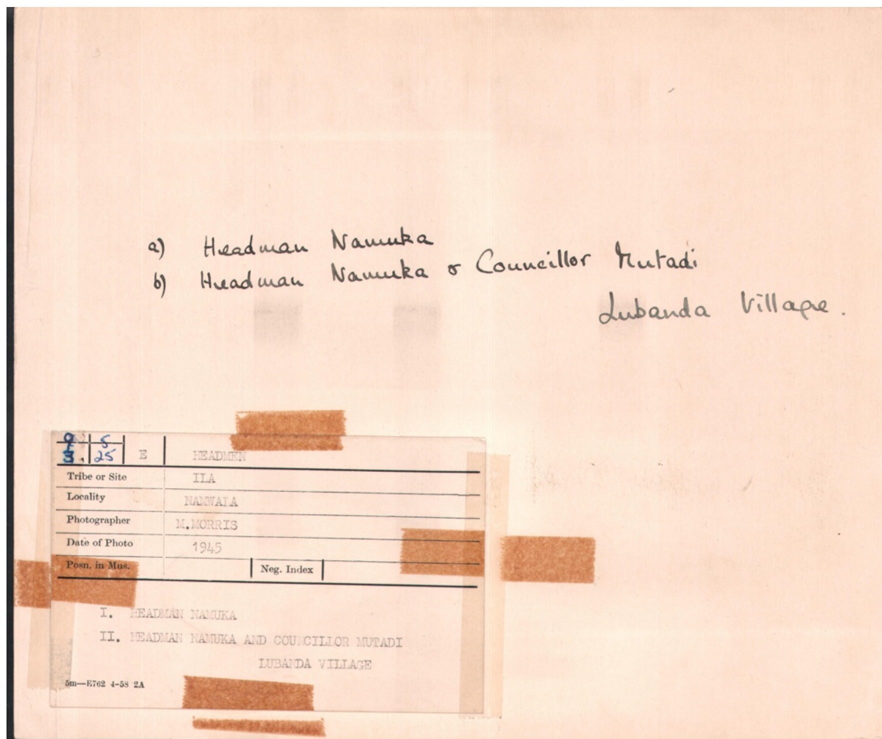

Figure 28

Figure 29

Figure 28 also clarifies who the African subjects are – Headman Namuka and Councillor Mutadi – and their location, Lubanda Village, of the Namwala locality. The 'tribe' is given as the Ila, who

still reside in southern Zambia. This information is given in accordance to the requirements of the form which is pasted onto Figure 28, found on most of the reverse-side scans in this collection. The form is numbered '5m-E762 4-5S 2A', indicating it was integrated into the colonial administrative system. It collects information already present on the back of the document, along with other details not found there. We can learn much from the form, as it indicates the uses of these images, and what were considered important pieces of information in understanding these images. The form itself is a card which has been typewritten on along with some pen markings, and is either pasted or taped onto the back. All this indicates that the form came after the document was created. The distance between the creation of the original document and the form pasted on it is a matter of speculation, however it does suggest to us that these images were repurposed after their collection.

The form of the document provides us with a number of clues. The top line has a space for numbers on the left-hand side. It is not immediately clear what this means, but seems to have been a numbering system used internally for documents. To the right of this there is the title 'Headman', which identifies the type of subject in the image, like the heading 'Village Headman' in both Figures 27 and 29. Across the collection, the ethnographic images are grouped under similar rubrics, such as 'Women Types and Children', 'Chiefs and Regalia', 'Diseases', 'Dancing', 'Headdress and Hairstyles.' Below the top line there are a number of categories, in the order: 'Tribe or Site'; 'Locality'; 'Photographer'; 'Date of Photo'; 'Post. in Mus.'; and 'Neg. Index.' In Figure 28, all of these – except for the last two – are filled in. The last two categories are not meant to provide information on the photograph, as is the case with the others; instead, their purpose is to indicate their storage and use, much like we suggested of the numbers in the top left corner of the form. The category 'Pos. in Mus.' translates to 'Position in Museum', thus suggesting that these images were part of a museum collection. This explanation fits in with the contextual information. For example, we know that the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, established in 1934, had an ethnographic gallery, which illustrated "the material cultures of individual tribes or tribal groups, though certain cases [were] devoted to particular aspects of those cultures – hunting and fishing techniques, musical instruments and witchcraft."[54]

The reference here is to a gallery showcasing physical objects, not photographs; but it is not hard to imagine that photographs were either shown alongside these objects, or used to inform the exhibition – indeed 'hunting and fishing techniques, musical instruments and witchcraft' bear a

[54] Gervas CR. Clay. "The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone." *Museum International* 16: 3 (1963), 168.

conspicuous resemblance to the rubrics which the ethnographic images are grouped under.[55] This is no more explicitly seen than in Figure 30, which is the reverse-side of an image of clay objects used for *cisungu* – a Bemba initiation rite for girls. In the bottom section used for notes, there are three further descriptions: "FAR LEFT NO 795 B"; "LEFT BEHIND NO 1300"; "FAR RIGHT: 795A." These descriptions almost certainly refer to museum exhibits. More than half a century separates the exhibition and this dissertation, but in many ways my attempts to retrace the personal histories of these images has recreated the exhibition. It is an absent exhibition of sorts, unaware of the fates or whereabouts of the objects it describes, but allowing me to imagine what it could have looked like. Unlike the original, this absent exhibition eschews the physical in favour of the digital, recreating a spectacle that relies on images instead of objects to describe culture. And although bound by the conventions of the form attached to every image, this exhibition is non-narrative in nature. It forces us, as spectators, to recreate the exhibition in our own terms, a model by which many of the images in this dissertation have been read.

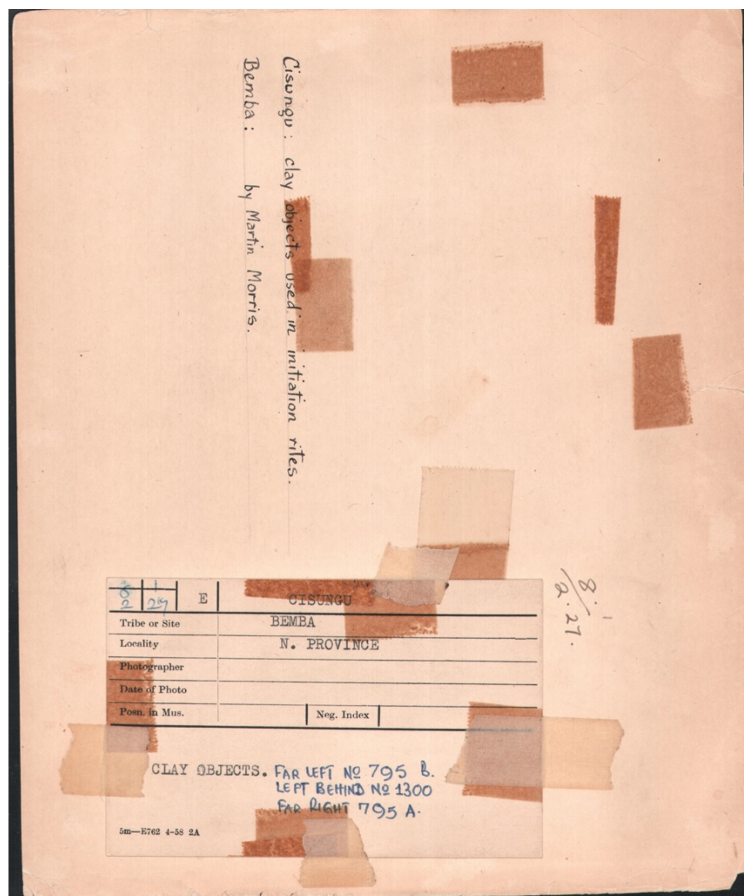

Figure 30

[55] Furthermore, as Friday Mufuzi indicates, "An informative booklet was placed conveniently at the side of each exhibition case, giving a brief description of the process involved, the history and sociological conditions of the ethnic group and a number of appropriate photographs." Thus, photographs were an integral part of these exhibitions. Mufuzi, "Establishment of the Livingstone Museum", 35.

Throughout the collection there are quite a number of images relating to the *cisungu* ceremony, most of them attributed to "A. Richards", presumably Audrey Richards, a well-known – in fact, the first professional – anthropologist conducting research in Northern Rhodesia during the years 1930-31, 1933-34 and later 1957, who eventually published two ethnographic monographs on *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (1939) and *Chisungu* (1956).[56] She was instrumental in founding the renowned Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI),[57] which was incorporated with the Museum upon its formation in 1938, although these institutions were separated in 1946.[58] The formation of the Institute alongside the Museum was the express recommendation of Sir Hubert Young, Governor of Northern Rhodesia between 1934 and 1938. Richard Brown explains that "at the outset of his governorship of Northern Rhodesia in 1934," Sir Young "proposed to the colonial secretary that a Livingstone memorial comprising a museum and a research institute should be established to carry out research in 'archaeology, geology, and particularly anthropology.'"[59] The initial intention was that the Museum would be an extension of the Institute, and vice versa.

The Museum, Lyn Schumaker has observed, "acted as an institutional culture broker, supervising the collection and marketing of African culture to the white settler public."[60] It was a public relations arm of the cultural exchange that the government wished to facilitate, albeit one rooted in the notion that anthropology, for the settlers, "was practically synonymous with archaeology."[61] Although seemingly built on benign intentions,[62] the Museum exhibits were often structured in such a way to suggest the necessity of European settlers in saving Africans from their 'primitive' ways of life.[63] This was an intellectual project, set during the heyday of imperialism, that Elizabeth Edwards terms the 'Western Perception of the Other'.[64] This was a project that rested upon a highly unequal relationship between the colonised and the colonisers, one that was "sustained through a controlling knowledge which appropriated the 'reality' of other cultures into ordered

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[56] Raymond Firth, "Audrey Richards 1899-1984", *Man*, New Series, 20: 2 (1985), 341-342.

[57] She would have been, according to her own account, the founding director of the Institute had she not been a woman. See Jan-Bart Gewald, "Researching and Writing in the Twilight of an Imagined Conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930–1960." *History and Anthropology* 18: 4 (2007), 463-495 for her particular role in the creation of this institution.

[58] Mwelwa C. Musambachime, "The University of Zambia's Institute for African Studies and Social Science Research in Central Africa, 1938-1988", *History in Africa*, 20 (1993), 239.

[59] Richard Brown, "Anthropology and Colonial Rule: The Case of Godfrey Wilson and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Northern Rhodesia", Talal Asad (ed.), *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1975), 177.

[60] Lyn Schumaker, *Africanizing Anthropology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 54.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Mufuzi relates a quote by the Minister of Native Affairs, stating that the museum was important because it made a "collection of the material culture of the various ethnic groups in the territory for study and preservation" because these examples of cultural objects were "fast dying out due to mass-factory produced goods." Mufuzi, "Establishment of the Livingstone Museum", 28.

[63] *Ibid,* 29.

[64] Elizabeth Edwards. "Introduction". in Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography*, 5.

structure."[65] For Edwards, photography was symbolic of this relationship, because it represented the "technological superiority harnessed to the delineation and control of the physical world." It was through anthropology, and ethnography, that the technological "power of knowing was transformed into a rationalized observed 'truth'."[66]

Photography was not only symbolic of these differences, but was central to visualising them. In a period where a photograph "was not merely a semblance of a thing but the thing itself", images could act as the 'raw data' to articulate these differences.[67] This assumption meant that many photographs entered into ethnographic collections "as part of that gathering of information for the armchair anthropologists to study", and were thus "regarded by them as 'isolated' anthropological facts."[68] It was this process, argues Roslyn Poignant, that is largely responsible for the photographic collection of the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI). It is a similar process which took place with the collection of ethnographic photographs in our collection, although not necessarily the modus operandi of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Most of these photographs did not belong to anthropologists, but to colonial officials. These were officials of all ranks in colonial society, with images attributed to important figures such as Lady Young (wife of Governor Young) [69] and Sir Robert Goode (acting governor in 1927) to BSAC clerks and district officials.[70] Some of these officials evidently took a deep interest in ethnography. E. H. Lane-Poole, former Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province, wrote a book on tribes in Northern Rhodesia.[71] H. C. Marshall, colonial official and founder of Abercorn (now Mbala) in the North of the colonial territory, had a large photographic collection, from which the ethnographic collection liberally draws.[72]

Given the paternalist style of colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia, this is hardly surprising. Many photographs are of tribal "headmen", key intermediaries of British indirect rule across Africa. There are also photographs of doctors treating diseases in the field. Taken during,

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[65] *Ibid,* 6.
[66] *Ibid,* 6.
[67] Roslyn Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection", in Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography*, 44.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] http://rhodesianheritage.blogspot.com/2012/07/lady-young-and-her-gypsy-moth.html
[70] For example, E. Knowles Jordan was a BSAC clerk at Kolomo. See: Karen Tranberg Hansen. *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900–1985* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 39. H. T. Harrington is an example of a district official whose photographs ended up in the collection; Cf. David M. Gordon "History on the Luapula Retold: Landscape, Memory and Identity in the Kazembe Kingdom", *The Journal of African History* 47: 1 (2006), 29. Another one is H. A. Sylvester. Cf. Ackson Kanduza, "The Tobacco Industry in Northern Rhodesia, 1912-1938", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16: 2 (1983), 213.
[71] Edward Humphry Lane-Poole, *Native Tribes of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia: Notes on their Migrations and History* (Lusaka: Northern Rhodesia Government Printer, 1938).
[72] Marcia Wright. "Tambalika: Perspectives on a Colonial Magistrate in Central Africa", Afr*ican Affairs*, 85: 338 (1986), 13-22 for a short biography of Marshall's life.

and as part of, the everyday functioning of the colonial state, these photographs illustrate the various interfaces of the state and the local societies. Many of these colonial officials thought of themselves as anthropologists, and often defended their positions to professional anthropologists "through references to their own fieldwork – administrative touring for the collection of taxes and enforcement of colonial authority and development campaigns." In fact, Shumaker contends that Max Gluckman and his RLI team emulated the officials' "etiquette of fieldwork in a colonial situation," including attention to dress among other colonial rituals of power.[73]

This begins to highlight the intricate ways in which anthropologists, colonial administrators and technical officers shaped each other in the 'field'.[74] Whilst techniques of navigating the ethnographic field would be picked up by anthropologists eager to placate a hostile, if somewhat indifferent, colonial government, their scholarly – and at times, public – output often drew the ire of settlers and the colonial government. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute was directed by, and employed, a talented group of professional anthropologists, including Audrey Richards, Godfrey and Monica Wilson, Max and Mary Gluckman and Clyde Mitchell. Unlike the Museum, these anthropologists were consistently at odds with the settler public, who termed them 'Negrophiles' for their critical studies on the effects of colonialism on both rural and urban African societies, and their progressive personal views.[75] As a pioneering example of the late-colonial investment in research-oriented development, recent scholarship has focused on the ambivalent place that the Institute occupied in a changing colonial regime. Brown initially contextualised the RLI within the "general features of a period which saw an attempt to give social anthropology a major place in colonial social engineering."[76] In recent years, a more nuanced approach has brought to light the delicate balancing act that anthropologists, especially the Directors of the RLI, had to perform in

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[73] Shumaker notes that Gluckman's "guidance of the RLI team on these matters extended from the heights of colonial civility - paying respect to governors and chiefs - to the most mundane details, such as pitching tents and organizing clothing and equipment." Lyn Schumaker, "The Director as Significant Other", in Richard Handler (ed.), *Significant Others: Interpersonal and Professional Commitments in Anthropology,* History of Anthropology Vol. 10 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 97.

[74] Schumaker has been quite critical of this process, as evidenced by this passage: "their "descriptions of their research methods were very like [colonial] political officers' accounts of their administrative procedures." These procedures included the district officer's immersion in the life of his subjects, which was supposed to lead to an intuitive understanding similar to the "nearly mystical communion" that the anthropologists claimed they also could achieve with their subjects. Both anthropologist and district officer spent considerable time in the field, both learned African languages and customs, and both often came to identify with the interests of "their people." Lyn Schumaker, "A Tent with a View: Colonial Officers, Anthropologists, and the Making of the Field in Northern Rhodesia, 1937-1960", *Osiris* 11 (1996), 245. See also Henrika Kuklick. *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 190.

[75] Schumaker, "A Tent with a View", 60.

[76] Richard Brown, "Passages in the Life of a White Anthropologist: Max Gluckman in Northern Rhodesia", *The Journal of African History*, 20: 4 (1979), 525.

order to conduct theoretically and empirically sound ethnographies without completely antagonizing the colonial government and the powerful mining interests.[77]

My intention here, however, is not to discuss the relationship between the RLI, the colonial government and the settler public, but to identify the interactions that produced ethnographic images. The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum positioned itself as an institutional embodiment of the state-sponsored ethnography. While Mufuzi argues that the Museum was expected to "produce knowledge on the African way of life, information which would assist the colonial government in ruling Africans and thereby make it easier to exploit their natural and human resources", this had a limited impact, especially because the Museum's discursive techniques relied on collecting and preserving a vanishing material culture.[78] The colonial government's recourse to 'scientific' studies headed by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute attests to this. Although not central to these new scientific methods, like they were in earlier anthropological undertakings, photography would play an illustrative, and at times public, role.[79]

During their fieldwork, the RLI anthropologists produced images similar in style and content to the travelling field officer or colonial official, whose techniques they emulated. At an obvious level, these images were meant to affirm their anthropological presence in the field in a loose Malinowskian fashion.[80] This was, as Schumaker argues, to "legitimize their [the anthropologists']

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[77] Shumaker's book *Africanizing Anthropology* is the most comprehensive work to cover this topic. Although others, such as Robert J Gordon, *The Enigma of Max Gluckman: The Ethnographic Life of a "Luckyman" in Africa* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018); Paul Cocks, "Applied Anthropology or the Anthropology of Modernity?: Max Gluckman's Vision of Southern African Society, 1939-1947," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38: 3 (2012), 649-65; Jan-Bart Gewald, "Researching and Writing in the Twilight of an Imagined Conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930–1960", *History and Anthropology*, 18: 4 (2007), 459-87; Jan Kees van Donge, "Understanding Rural Zambia Today: The Relevance of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute", *Africa*, 55: 1 (2011), 60-76 also contribute significantly to this interesting debate.

[78] Mufuzi, "Establishment of the Livingstone Museum", 29.

[79] Photographs have often been thought to illustrate history, not narrate it. One here is reminded of Cadava's reading of Benjamin's theses of photography. To quote directly: "I want to evoke what is in Benjamin the citational structure of both history and photography. Citation, I would argue, is perhaps another name for photography. When Benjamin claims that "to write history therefore means to quote history" he suggests that historiography follows the principles of photography. Words of light. This names, then, not only the relation between history and photography but also the relation between language and photography. Photography is nothing else than a writing of light, a script of light, what Talbot elsewhere called "the pencil of nature." Its citational character tells us as well that history is sealed within the movement of language. This is why photography requires that we think about the impact of history on language: there is no word or image that is not haunted by history. Or, as Benjamin would have it, history cannot occur without the event of language, without the corresponding emergence of an image." Eduardo Cadava, *Words of Light: Theses on the Photography of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), xviii.

[80] Schumaker argues that this was symbolised by an image of Gluckman's field tent: "While in Barotseland in Northern Rhodesia (studying the Lozi people), he [Gluckman] photographed his field camp and titled the picture "The Ethnographer's Tent." This image and its title made a conscious reference to Bronislaw Malinowski's photographs of his tent in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, and perhaps also to Audrey Richards's photograph of her tent in a village as the frontispiece to her book, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*… For Gluckman and other social anthropologists in the 1930s, Malinowski stood as the founder of modern fieldwork methods, while Richards was his most famous protégé and pioneer of those methods in the Northern Rhodesian field. Like them, Gluckman intended to shape the future of the discipline's new fieldwork methods." Schumaker, "The Director as Significant Other", 92.

status as cultural experts" in a colonial setting where their claims to scientificity were often contested. However, other images performed a more public role, as can be seen by some of the publications produced by the RLI anthropologists. While their journal articles did not carry images, their monographs as a rule contained art plates and images giving details of important places, informants, chiefs, cultural ceremonies, and their interactions in the field. These images are varied, but ultimately dependent on the specific subject matter studied. For example, Ian Cunnison's *The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (1959) particularly focused on centres of power, and printed images of the Luapula's head Chief Kazembe's capital, other headmen, scenes of the agricultural and migrant economy, and a magician with a group of women.[81] Similarly, Max Gluckman's *The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (1955) carries images primarily concerned with courts, and scenes of trials and court cases (an overwhelming number of images relating to water, the Barotse Floodplain being the heart of the Barotse, or Lozi, Kingdom).[82]

Gluckman was an especially keen photographer. According to Robert Gordon, "Max [Gluckman] took photography so seriously that he bought a high-quality Rolleiflex camera and preferred to have his photographs developed in South Africa rather than use the local photography studio." The result, Gordon claims, was "indeed of superior quality."[83] His photographs twice graced the cover of *Libertas*, a South African magazine, where he also published articles 'copiously illustrated' with photographs. Not only was the content of the articles well received, but the images too, with one prestigious journal praising Gluckman's cover photo as 'elegant', and commentating that the "accompanying photographs were a wonderful pictorial supplement to his article on the Barotse."[84] However, it was uncommon for non-academic publications to use photographs alongside texts, and reflected an individual choice rather than a general norm. Gluckman stands apart from others in this respect (although Richards seems to have been a keen and competent photographer). [85]

Compared to Cunnison's, Gluckman's photographs are more intimate, including portrait pictures of two *induna* (councillors), an intimacy also found in many other ethnographic images and their captions. Take for example the caption to Figure 31, taken in 1905 by H. T. Harrington. It reads:

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[81] Ian Cunnison, *The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia: Custom and History in Tribal Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959)

[82] Max Gluckman, *The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1955)

[83] Gordon, *The Enigma of Max Gluckman*, 146.

[84] *Ibid.*

[85] Making anthropological work accessible to the public was joined in practice by a desire to create a professional journal in Central Africa. As Roberts notes, "Wilson… planned a quarterly journal for Central Africa, reinforced by Richards's suggestion that he "blot out Nada" (the Southern Rhodesian Department of Native Affairs Annual), but this was not to be realized until 1944, under Gluckman's auspices. However, Wilson was able to inaugurate the Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, to make pertinent social science findings and reports accessible to the lay public, officials, missionaries, academics, and trade unionists." Gordon, *The Enigma of Max Gluckman*, 138.

"Wena-Chisinga headman and nieces as the tent with greetings. Evidently the two girls wanted to be photographed, why I do not know; but entering the "tunzi-tunzi" (camera) seemed to them a sort of blessing." If one looks closely, the *tunzi-tunzi* attracts not only the headman's nieces, but others too. Behind the ones directly posing in the foreground, we notice onlooking crowds. There is a surprised familiarity to these faces, much like those in the foreground, which seems directed at the event of picture-taking instead of the one who operates it. Additionally, in the caption provided, one also notices how the colonial official-cum-ethnographer attributes the interest of the headman's nieces in the camera to some 'sort of blessing'. Similar observations by Europeans about the 'magical' quality of cameras, as encountered by rural Africans, has been duly noted elsewhere.[86] However, it is difficult to gauge what effect these beliefs had on the form and content of the ethnographic photographs, bar the excitement – as clearly shown in Figure 31 – around the event of photographing.

Figure 31

The notes and forms attached to these photographs gave a sense of coherency to the colonial ethnographic project. They connected otherwise diverse forms of portraiture and subsumed its

[86] Cf. Gwyn Prins, "The Battle for Control of the Camera in Late Nineteenth Century Western Zambia", *African Affairs* 89: 354 (1990), 99.

contents under specific rubrics, which reflected a range of typologies that the colonial regime found important. As has been argued above, these rubrics were almost certainly the result of later efforts by the museum authorities to create a coherent 'picture' of African society from images taken by colonial officials. Whatever the 'scientific' pretensions of these officials, the images in this collection are never fully empirical. They always emerge with incidents that indicate the presence of the photographer, whether this is met with a particular stiffness, as in Figure 29, or with familiarity, as in Figure 31. Interestingly, the most 'scientific' of the ethnographic photographs are usually those belonging to doctors. Figure 32 is typical of such an undated image taken by Dr C.R. George. It is symmetrical and foregoes the face. The object of this photograph is clear: the tattoo markings on the bodies of females; one imagines that the rest is assumed to be superfluous. The image is laden with specific information, as opposed to other images, which seem to provide information only after they have identified a subject who we often relate to.

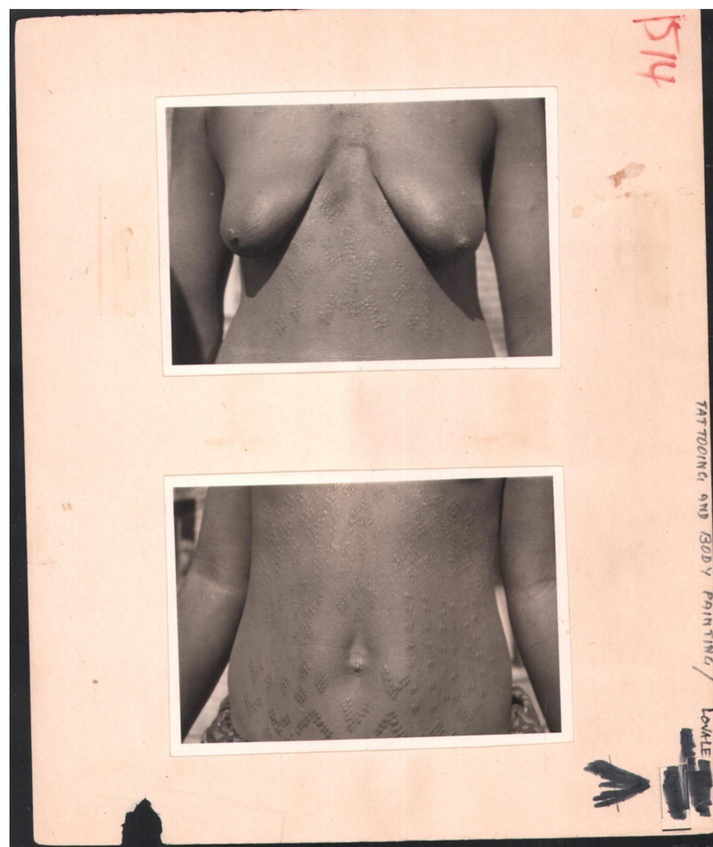

Figure 32

Figure 33 is an example of the type of photograph that forces us to relate emotionally with the subject in question. The subject's fingers are cut off. He holds up his arms with his stubs clearly noticeable so that the camera can clearly capture his mutilation. The caption indicates the source

of this violence: "Man captured in a raid and mutilated, before European control, about 1913, Mkushi District." The wording of the caption indicates part of the intention behind the photograph: this is what happened *before European control*, thus implicitly justifying the colonial programme. Photographs meant to incite emotional reactions like these were quite common during the early years of colonialism,[87] the most famous being those, as discussed by Sharon Sliwinski, taken in the Congo, the collection of which was the harbinger of the international human rights movement.[88] Apart from this image, violence is conspicuously missing from this collection.

Figure 33

Violence towards the local Africans in British-controlled Northern Rhodesia was never so conspicuous as shown in Figure 33.[89] Instead, we have to imagine the structural violence in these images, animated by an off-centre glance or an awkward body. Take Figure 34, for example. This

[87] And, as some would argue, have largely continued unabetted into the contemporary world, where poor and starving Africans have become the mainstay of some Western and international media houses (and their aid agencies). This was especially bad during the turbulent years following the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in many African states during the 1980s and 1990s.
[88] Sharon Sliwinski, "The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo", *Journal of Visual Culture* 5: 3 (2006), 333-363.
[89] Of course, other acts of violence were common in the form of violent confrontations between the colonial authorities and local Africans, such as the death or injury of some 28 miners during a strike in the Copperbelt in 1935. The other major area of violence was at the turn of independence in 1964, with the confrontations between the Kaunda-led government (acting as Prime Minister, with Northern Rhodesia still a British colony) and the Lumpa Church, led by Alice Lenshina. This resulted in thousands of deaths.

image is slightly absurd. The movement of the subjects in the photograph below are whimsical, with their bodies suspended in the act of dancing. The dancers exhibit a looseness indicating enjoyment, or at the very least the absence of constraint or fear. Whilst the two figures in the immediate foreground dance separately, the majority of the dancers are paired – man to woman – much like in typical European settings. The precursive image in Figure 34 likewise indicates stiffness. The man is impeccably dressed and so it seems with the woman, until we notice that she is barefoot. As opposed to many of the other images in the collection, the subjects in this image are dressed in distinctly European clothing. This is in part a reflection of its date – 1945 – which indicates the photograph was taken significantly later than the others. By 1945, there had been over 50 years of colonial contact with the African population, especially in the Eastern Province where Kalindawalo's village is, which is the location in question. Kalindawalo is the name given to the head chief of the Nsenga, and this may further suggest why all the subjects are dressed in smart European clothing, for as the seat of power it was introduced to European and colonial cultural practices more consistently than in other parts of the territory.

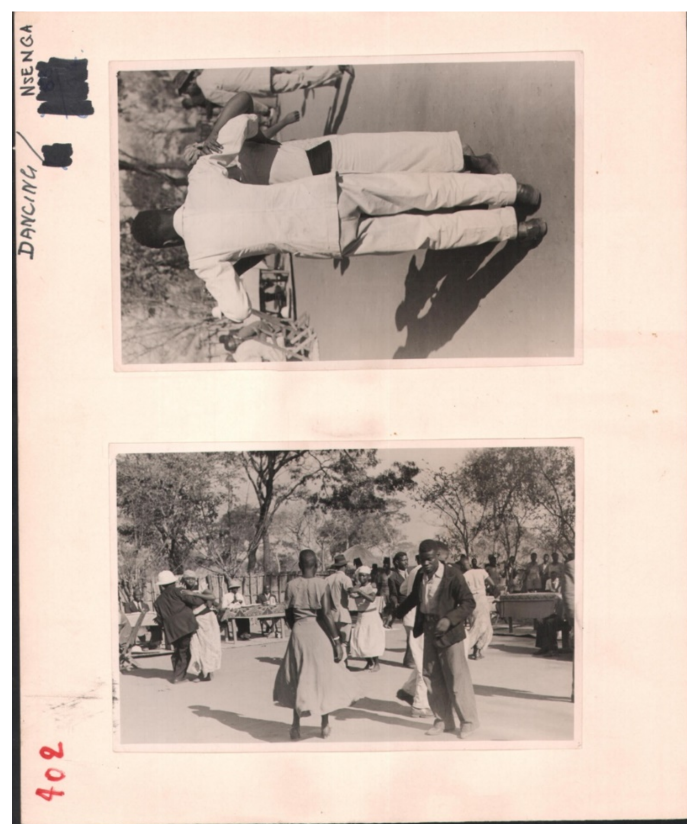

Figure 34

The dancing pairs can be seen to be an extension of their European clothing, the result of close contact between colonial powers and Africans. But the small, unnerving details which grab our attention – the looseness of the dancers' bodies and the somewhat disregard for pairs, along with their bare feet – allows us to ruminate upon the incompleteness of the colonial project. Of course,

these shortcomings would similarly be observed by colonial officials, who would identify this as evidence of the slow, but steady, development of Africans towards modernity, albeit with a few operational errors. One could imagine these images displayed in the museum as an example of the 'last stage' before modernity. But the last stage is not shown in this collection; which is intentional – for if modernity is attained then colonialism loses much of its moral imperative. And so does traditional ethnography, dealing with societies imagined to be unlike those studying it. In fact, the total absence of photographs of urban Africans in this collection is telling. The reality of extractive capitalism, displacement and proletarianization of rural Africans in Rhodesia, famously captured in words by RLI classics, such as Godfrey Wilson's *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia* (1941-2) or J. Clyde Mitchell and A. L. Epstein's "Occupational Prestige and Social Status among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia" (1959),[90] was carefully excised from this photographic collection.[91] The postcolonial Zambian state's emphatic insistence on images of African modernity stands in a rather sharp contrast to it. To this theme in the photographic collection of the National Archives of Zambia we now turn.

THE SPECTACLE OF MODERNITY

Independence was to be a new dawn for Zambia. As the Union Jack was lowered on midnight of 23 October 1964 and the green, red, black and orange of the new national flag was hoisted up to the top of the flagpole, thousands of people cheered *Kwacha*, meaning 'dawn' in a variety of local languages.[92] While the aspirations of an entire generation would continue to be symbolised by the use of Kwacha as Zambia's new currency,[93] that night the spectacle of 'dawn' was to literally light up in front of the crowd. Two experts were sent from England to Northern Rhodesia to prepare the display of fireworks for that monumental night. It is easy to imagine how the night sky lit up in exploding patches of dawn as the silhouette of an ascending flag was made visible to the wonder-filled faces of the stadium.

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[90] Godfrey Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*, 2 volumes (Livingstone: The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1941 and 1942); James Clyde Mitchell and A L Epstein, "Occupational Prestige and Social Status among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia", *Africa*, 29 (1959), 22-40.

[91] Interestingly, this was a point of friction between Godfrey Wilson, the first director of the RLI, and its board. Wilson wished to conduct ethnographies in the urban towns of the Copperbelt, seeing them as important sites of change within African society. The institute board, controlled by the colonial government, saw this as a potential point of tension between the colonial government and the mine companies, which were extremely powerful entities. Further, they were afraid that the close interaction between anthropologists and urban Africans had the potential to cause unrest. For more, see: Brown, "Anthropology and Colonial Rule", 189-192.

[92] http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/25/newsid_2658000/2658325.stm

[93] Ngwee, worth a hundredth of a Kwacha, means 'bright.' The phrase 'Kwacha Ngwee' was a nationalist slogan used during the independence struggle.

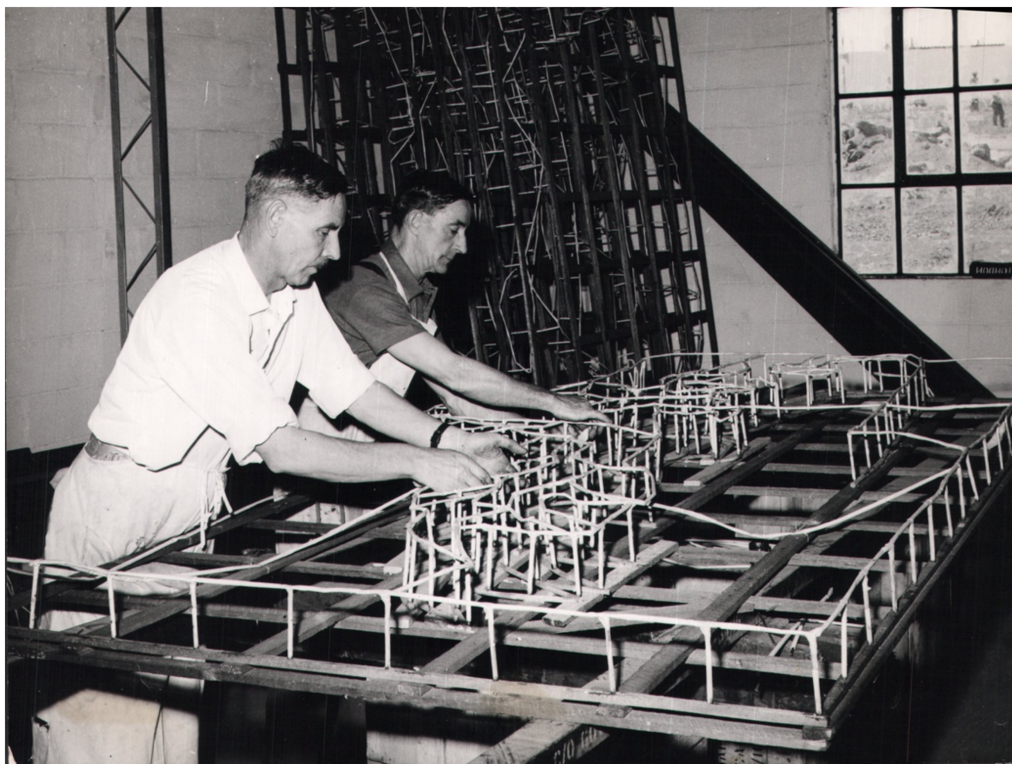

Figure 35: "In preparation for the country's Independence Celebrations on the eve of October 24, fireworks on a large scale are being assembled at Lusaka's Independence Stadium on the Great North Road. In this picture, two experts from Brocks Fireworks in England, who have been specially flown out for the job, are seen assembling some of the massive set pieces which will be used at the end of the midnight flag raising ceremony."

Much like the dawn of 24 October 1964, the faultlines of modernity were already in the making. Figure 35 almost provides a symbolic glimpse into the process of the careful laying of the infrastructural network that connected Zambia to the British Empire. It became commonplace to argue, after the dawn of independence had dimmed, that Africa's political independence was almost a distraction to conceal its continued economic dependence on its former colonial masters.[94] The truth of such observations, however, does not take away the profound affective investment the early postcolonial state made in African-led modernisation projects. The newly independent Zambian state went on a programme of state-led economic modernisation formally initiated by the Mulungushi Reforms in 1968, consisting primarily of nationalisation of core heavy industries and subsidisation of local manufacturing sectors. Even if in practice the hotly contested Mulungushi Reforms meant the curbing of retail trading by Indian and European traders, this was presented not as an ethnically oriented programme but as an attempt to promote non-racialist Humanism, advanced to the rank of state ideology by the Mulungushi Reforms.[95]

[94] Cf. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972).
[95] Giacomo Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa: A Biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 130; Hugh Macmillan. "'The Devil You Know': The Impact of the Mulungushi Economic Reforms on Retail Trade in Rural Zambia, with Special Reference to Susman Brothers and Wulfsohn, 1968-1980", in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 191.

Figure 36: "W. G. Fairweather, surveying."

Figure 37: "An unnamed African surveyor in the post-colonial era."

The implication of these reforms was to marry the idea of economic process with the advancement of black Africans. Black Africans are seen in factories, workshops, mines and farms operating complex machines such as tractors and textile prints. This, as James Ferguson explains, was a visualisation of the idea that "Zambia was destined to move ahead to join the ranks of modern nations, and that 'development' would lead Zambia to ever-greater urbanization, modernity, and prosperity," an idea that by the 1960s had come "to be accepted both by academics and national and international policy-makers, and by a wide range of ordinary Zambians as well."[96] Consequently, we encounter a spectrum of black bodies partaking in modern economic activities, more specifically black men (Ferguson notes how the image of modernity was a masculine vision "based on a hard, metallic, masculine industrialism.")[97] These were not African men in the service of European men, but Africans in service of themselves and of other Africans. This shift is best exemplified in a comparison between Figures 36 and 37, where the same activity – land surveying – is being carried out by a white supervisor in Figure 36, and a black supervisor in Figure 37. Although necessary for the everyday functioning of construction, land surveying is a highly symbolic colonial activity. It not only mapped out colonial possessions but was also essential for development projects that came to dominate activities during the late-colonial period.[98] The newly independent Zambian state would embark on these projects with great vigour, seeing in them the potential to correct the historical injustice of colonial underdevelopment. In the National Archives collection, these photographs are found among stark representations of infrastructure, or of government officials inspecting factories and tobacco fields. The workers are shown as intimately

[96] James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (California: University of California Press, 1999), 14.
[97] *Ibid,* 36. Ferguson is here referring directly to mineworkers, but the larger point remains.
[98] The major theoretical contribution to this is Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

connected to, and even part of, the state-led nation-building activity: a stark inversion of the distance of ethnographic images.

Figure 38: "A cloth being processed on one of the machines at Kafue Textile Factory."

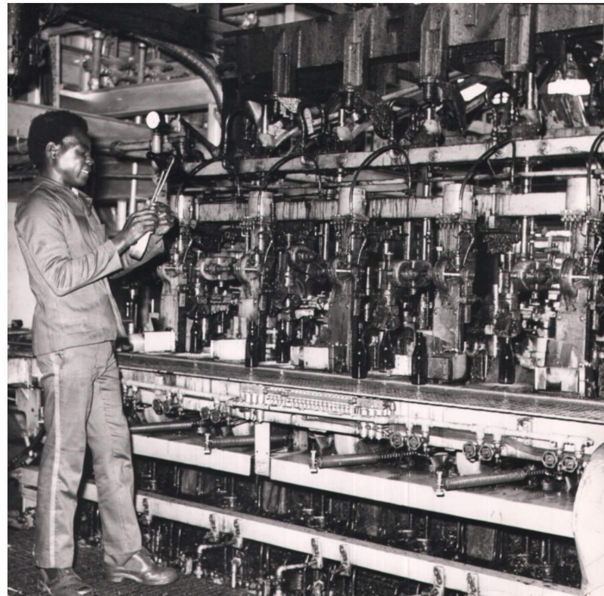

Figure 39: "Routine inspections of bottles inside Kapiri Mposhi glass factory."

Figures 38 and 39 explain the process further. In the former, while care is taken to include the posing worker in the photograph, we immediately realise that he is not its focus, instead he is dwarfed – both physically and aesthetically – by the machine next to which he poses. The worker plays the dramatic role, the prideful pose directing our attention to the machine which his left hand is gripping. As the sheer scale of the machine indicates its importance, the overflowing cloth that lays at the bottom of the rolling press indicates a certain industrial excess that cannot be contained by the worker; he seems swamped by it. This is the excess of prosperity, an image that can be shoehorned into a variety of ideological positions, whether it be capitalism, state-sponsored development, or imprecise catch-call of modernity. It is this signalling of a prosperity in excess that indicates the strength of the economy.

Figure 40

In Figure 39 too, care is taken to include the worker in the photograph's frame; and once again, the subject plays a secondary role – here inspecting the products of the machine that visually overpowers the spectator with an assemblage of technical apparatus. The smile on the subject's face is supposed to indicate that he enjoys his work, and we encounter similarly "joyful", "candid" photographs across the collection, all insisting that the independent Zambians are enjoying the labour of nation building. A significant number of photographs are also focused on official inspections. These inspections, seen in Figure 40, cannot but remind us of the travelling colonial officials who were largely responsible for the production of ethnographic photographs. They share a similar visual language, based primarily on distinguishing themselves from labourers, usually done by wearing a suit and carrying writing materials that seem out of place in the rural landscapes they were visiting. They remain mostly in the centre of the frame, and on the rare occasions they are not, they can still be distinguished by their distance from the productive labour they look upon. Unlike colonial officials, however, these new inspectors did not actively engage in ethnography. Their relationship to these new labourers is a purely technical one. The inspector, as the postcolonial state's ambassador, is there to measure and manage economic progress. With the

introduction of the one-party state in 1972-3, this genre would quickly take overtly political tones, as these inspectors would largely be beholden to the political whims of their supervisors.[99]

Figure 41: "All shapes and sizes were to be seen at Independence Celebrations throughout Zambia in October. In the Eastern Province Nyau dancers were prominent at all centres, and not least at Fort Jameson, where this amusing scene was set."

'Culture' was now to be catalogued separately from state-directed economic development activities. This subtle shift is worth reflecting upon. The role of the colonial administrator in rural areas had been to ensure the smooth operation of indirect rule, which included the collection of local information, familiarisation with rites and rituals, attendance in ceremonies, meetings with headmen and villagers, all usually reframed as ethnographic encounters. As postcolonial economic development chose to present itself as a technical exercise, cultural activities would take on a new life outside the confines of ethnography. The imagery that populates the National Archives collection during the postcolonial era largely depicts the active, self-aware performance of culture. These were also 'ceremonies', of course, but the variety of these scenes also suggests that such descriptions are insufficient. Are images of the highly orchestrated Kuomboka ceremony equal in

[99] See Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa*, 130 for the contemporary debates on the patronage networks that the One-Party State was feared to strengthen.

measure to the relatively loose performances – often accompanied by state officials – of dancers in Makishi masks? One would be hard-pressed to identify anything but a superficial relationship. However, in the archive they are stacked together.

Figure 41 exemplifies the renewed postcolonial preoccupation with 'culture'. In it, there are three subjects: the onlookers who remain faceless (and almost formless); the masked performer dressed in chitenge print who peers down at the photographer; and the black photographer looking up towards the performer. This image is remarkable in its imaging of the photographer, who is conspicuously absent in other photographs; alternatively, the two other subjects (namely, the onlookers and the performer) form standard motifs. The relationship between these two recurring subjects informs the content of a visual shift. In colonial images, the camera was treated as a curiosity. Subjects lined up to be photographed with uninformed poses, stiffness a result of a degree of discomfort with the new technology and its practitioner. Onlookers peered from awkward angles to witness the event of photography. In the postcolonial era, the confidence of the 'performer' is matched only by the confidence of the onlookers, who often joined the processions. However, as the caption to the image suggests, this is not a cultural celebration, but a celebration of independence. These and similar images attest to the fact that there was an active effort to use coded cultural artefacts – like the masked dancer – to draw a conceptual link between independence and the 'culture' that preceded and eventually eclipsed the colonial project. The shift, however, was not as clear and complete as the state camera intended.

Outside the labour of nation-building and performing 'culture', the postcolonial black public had few visual options open to them. The putative shift of visual content between the colonial and postcolonial periods reflects this limited choice, as it employs similar strategies from the one period to the next. This is especially apparent in the relationship between labouring subjects and technical instruments, as seen in Figure 37. Subjects in rural development activities were portrayed with equal consistency across the periods, with special attention being made to technical officers supervising economic activity. However, as remarked above, the visualisation of a performative culture alongside labouring subjects was something new. Perhaps this was a necessary measure, as it directed the emotional excess generated by independence into cultural performances. One need only to look at the wild festivity that characterised these events and compare to them to the sobriety – albeit, a proud one – of labourers to make this connection.

However, while photographs of ceremonies and performances might induce a certain viewing excitement, they are tempered by the relatively drab, recurrent images of infrastructure. We began this section with reference to the powerful image of Figure 35, which analogised the infrastructural

networks connecting the British Empire to the nascent postcolonial state. In the period following independence, there was an active attempt to overcome this reliance on British networks; instead, new infrastructural projects were imagined, such as the Tanzanian-Zambian Railway (TAZARA). TAZARA was a massive regional infrastructural project, spanning 1860 kilometres from the port capital of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, to the central Zambian town of Kapiri Mposhi. It was funded exclusively by the Chinese government (they provided $400 million on a 30-year interest-free loan), and also sent somewhere between thirty and forty thousand Chinese technicians to construct the project.[100]

TAZARA was dubbed the 'Freedom Railway' by Zambian, Tanzanian and Chinese officials, the result of four, interconnected liberatory projects, according to Jamie Monson. The first, she argues, was an infrastructural freedom from the white-settler colonies of Rhodesia and South Africa, whose infrastructure networks were linked to Zambia by the British colonial project. However, with Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965, and South Africa's continuing Apartheid policies, Zambia had to find alternative ways to transport its primary commodity, copper.[101] This was both ideological and practical, as newly-independent Zambia did not wish to rely on hostile states. The second 'freedom' was ideologically consistent with this desire: the construction of TAZARA was "was envisioned as a liberating work experience because it was pan-African in its original intent. Not only would Chinese and African workers come together in the construction camps and laying tracks in the trenches, but Zambians and Tanzanians would also work side by side."[102] This, as Monson argues, could "exemplify the possibilities of pan-African solidarity in regional development cooperation."[103] The working relationship between the Chinese and Africans would come to constitute the third liberating aspect of TAZARA project, characterised by "cross-racial friendship and worker solidarity" actively set against the racialised hierarchy of the colonial period.[104] And it was through this close cooperation that the fourth aspect of freedom was to become apparent: namely, that the technical backwardness of Africans would be overcome by their close working relationship with the Chinese. The Chinese would not only transfer skills necessary to maintain the operation of TAZARA, but would also "import values such as hard work and worker discipline to their less experienced African counterparts."[105]

[100] Jamie Monson, "Freedom Railway: The Unexpected Successes of a Cold War Development Project", *Boston Review* (2005), 2; Jamie Monson. "Liberating Labour? Constructing Anti-Hegemony on the TAZARA Railway in Tanzania, 1965–76", in Chris Alden, Daniel Large Ricardo and Soares de Oliveira (eds.), *China Returns to Africa: A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace* (London: Hurst, 2009), 211.
[101] Monson, "Liberating Labour?", 200.
[102] *Ibid,* 201.
[103] *Ibid,* 201-202.
[104] *Ibid,* 201.
[105] *Ibid,* 201.

Figure 42: “1968 - The engineering and technical personnel of the Chinese railway survey team have cemented a close friendship with the Tanzanian workers. Together they spend a happy life despite of hard work. Photo shows them singing a revolutionary song at work break.”

Large infrastructural projects like TAZARA often bring to the fore the ideals of the actors involved. Thus, it is no surprise that the language and themes employed in speeches by both Kaunda and Nyerere had an affinity to the liberatory projects of the railway.[106] The archive similarly utilises photographs of the TAZARA railways project, both under construction and in completion. These images are at once specific – for example, one is a picture of a Chinese instructor showing the model of Mpika TAZARA Railway Station to Prime Minister Mudenda – and general, such as a photograph of a train trammelling through a tunnel. Some of the images are directly representative of the liberatory promises of TAZARA, a good number of photographs showcasing Chinese and African workers in arms, often accompanied somewhere in the frame by Mao’s little red book. It is difficult to gauge the effectiveness of this relationship visually, but the camaraderie actively shown, as in Figure 42, is evident. The indexical caption is ideologically consistent with the ideals presented above.[107]

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[106] Specifically, the reliance on the white settler states south of Zambia was often addressed by Kaunda at public events and speeches.

[107] Interestingly, there is an image similar to Figure 11 in the archive, albeit showing a Chinese surveyor and technician surrounded by African workers. The framing of this image suggests a continued use of a visual language centred on the technician as the holder of knowledge, and the labourers who assist him (in these cases, the technician and the labourers are always male).

Figure 43

Promises of pan-African solidarity were actively imaged by capturing the meetings of Tanzanian and Zambian officials, often with a Chinese technical supervisor present. These form the bulk of images surrounding the TAZARA project in the archives. It was at events like these – the commencement of a new section of the railway, or the handing over of a station – that cooperation was routinely symbolised.[108] In this archival order of imaging postcolonial success, a number of failed infrastructural projects however also survive. Most of these images (like Figure 43) are directly related to trains. However, because of the lack of contextual information, we cannot be entirely sure whether these disasters took place during the colonial or postcolonial era. Only one image of a train wreck has a caption attached, describing the result of a train derailment near Ndola, in which four people died. Further research suggests this derailment could have taken place in 1967, during the early stages of the TAZARA project. The lack of written information surrounding these images borders on the conspiratorial. In the infrastructure section of the photographic collection where these images are stored, almost all other images are captioned reasonably well, even if without dates. The only images without captions are those relating to infrastructure disasters or failures.

[108] Not only were important officials present at these and similar events, but they were also the most practical to photograph. We often forget, in the age of advanced visual technology, that photography was not a ubiquitous phenomenon in the past. Photographing far away from urban centres was often tedious and uncertain.

Figure 43 gives a sense of the tragedy of the infrastructural failure, the bodies that mill around the wreckage site are sombre. Their presence is not immediately useful, except to mourn tragedy. These images were also part of an investigative modality: what went wrong? The close-ups of bent railway sleepers and tracks, bolts and nuts that have come loose (and so on) try to find a cause for the train wreckage. These are probably images taken by an inspector, and form part of an active and ongoing auditing of these projects. When we look back at these images as researchers, it is easy to be tempted into imagining a prefiguration in them of the decline of the Zambian state, a destined-to-fail industrial modernity of a struggling postcolonial nation-state. But it is equally possible to approach them otherwise and to acknowledge how the vigilance of this state extended to its dreams.

Imaging Kenneth Kaunda

SHIFTING IMAGES

On 13 December 1965, the front-page of *The Times of Zambia* announced "tough talking! Kaunda Hardens Attitude to Britain," reporting on Kaunda's strategic shift as regards British complacency surrounding Southern Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), which had occurred on 11 November. The photograph adorning the strong headline was however mellower: here Kaunda is seated, leaning backwards, with his hands clasped together and his fingers threaded through each other; his mouth pulled wide into a forced expression of uncertainty. Wrinkled with uncertainty and unwillingness, the image produced a rather absurd, even comical, effect being juxtaposed to the textual message.[1] Four months ago, on 12 August, *The Times of Zambia* had carried another image of Kaunda. Though not directly accompanied by an article, the caption was clear: "Mr. Justice Mervyn Dennison seen being sworn in as the Acting Chief Justice at a ceremony at State House today in front of the President. Watching is the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Bladgen, who is going on leave." In this image, the president, Kenneth Kaunda, is robed in a chitenge cloth, and just below the caption starts another article headlined 'ALL TOP JOBS IN ZBC NOW ZAMBIANISED." The rhetoric of Zambianisation finds both visual and semantic proximity in Kaunda's chitenge cloth.[2]

Attentive readers of *The Times of Zambia* would have noticed the ways in which Kaunda deployed a wide gamut of visual techniques alternating according to context and need. Kaunda, the first president of independent Zambia and ruler for 27 years, has been something of an enigma. Revered across the continent for his role in supporting anti-colonial movements in Southern Africa, his legacy in Zambia is more complicated. In the last years of his presidency his usually affable image turned sour, in large part because of an economy in freefall, but also because of the substantive curtailment of freedom under his single-party, highly authoritarian state. In 1991, he was ousted from power and, following the first multi-party elections in decades, Kaunda was put under house arrest, his son Wezi Kaunda was assassinated, his car was shot at, and an attempt was even made

[1] "Tough Talking! Kaunda Hardens Attitude to Britain", *The Times of Zambia,* 13 December 1965. National Archives of Zambia.
[2] "All Top Jobs in ZBC Now Zambianised", *The Times of Zambia,* 12 August 1965. National Archives of Zambia.

to revoke his citizenship – a political purge orchestrated by the new president Frederick Chiluba and his ruling party the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). In the years since the end of Chiluba's regime in 2002, however, Kaunda's legacy has been resurrected. He is once again remembered for his success in ousting colonists from Northern Rhodesia and the surrounding territories, in uniting a country split along tribal lines, and in leading a project of state-driven modernisation that was the envy of many nascent postcolonial states for years. It was this memory that was widely activated in the wake of his death in 2021.

The changing fortunes of Kaunda's political legacy were not unconnected to the upheavals in Kaunda's image. In many ways, Kaunda's images became a discursive site of nation building, the consequence of reducing the leader to a set of easily recognizable codes and indexes – of gestures, dresses and facial expressions – a result of the particular power that photography had in creating a multitude of images and disseminating it along a broad network of circulation, for both press and propaganda.[3] By focusing on the particular semantic codes and visual indices that define the images of Kaunda, I hope to understand the ways in which he utilised this new medium of power.

Kinesics of Revolution

Although generally not known for his incendiary politics, Kaunda nevertheless engaged in an insurrection against the colonial authority. While much of the imagery that exists of Kaunda in various state archives depicts him in the postcolonial period as a calm yet firm, emotive leader – there are a few images, almost certainly from the days of the anti-colonial struggle, which depict him in a state of revolutionary fervour. One such photograph is Figure 44, a well-known image reproduced countless times on book covers and in newspapers. And yet, there is still something striking about this image – it appeals to us at once both destructive and yet ultimately hopeful.

The first thing we notice in the photograph is Kaunda's outstretched arm. Our eyes are drawn along it as he points upwards and out of the top right-hand corner of the frame, ascending with it. I suggest that we can read it as an ascension out of the frame, gesturing towards something yet unrealised which, given the context, is most likely highly political. This gesture is powerful because

[3] A history of gestures is never far off from a history of photography, and has offered the historian visual evidence of body language in a variety of contexts. See Joaneath Spicer's comparison between the sixteenth- and the twentieth-century manifestations of the 'Renaissance Elbow,' which uses paintings and photographs as evidence respectively. Joaneath Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow", in Jan Bremer and Herman Roodenburgh (ed.), *A Cultural History of Gesture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991): 84-128. As a practice, photography has an interesting history of implication in both the study and the creation of new gestures. For an interesting exploration, see Beatriz Pichel, "From Facial Expressions to Bodily Gestures: Passions, Photography and Movement in French 19th-Century Sciences." *History of the Human Sciences* 29, No. 1 (2016), 29; 33.

of its ability to hide the object pointed at: it remains a promise, known but still fashioned by the will of *that* hand. If read contextually, the gesture begins to function as a political promise, one that points towards a future free of the yoke of colonialism. The photograph's traction is the result of its shifting temporality: the outstretched hand allows Kaunda's political promise to extend beyond its natural timeframe, beyond the immediate context of this image and into Kaunda's future tenure as leader. This image outlasts the physical event, but it simultaneously constitutes the very event of Kaunda's political making. The contingency of this political making is reflected in the uncertainty projected by Kaunda – at once he portrays a vicious potency, seen in the outstretched arm that firmly grips the microphone, but tempered by the almost-quizzical half-open mouth, baring his teeth.

Figure 44

It is difficult to establish with certainty why this image has remained so popular long after its initial production. However, the context of other images similar in content may aid our understanding. Taken sometime during the run up to independence, Figure 44 is typical of the type of public profile that Kaunda was cultivating at the time. And although Kaunda moves away from this type of pose during the postcolonial period, he strikes similar gestures during the anti-colonial struggles.

Figures 45 and 46 exemplify this type.[4] Furthermore, Kaunda's pose fits into a much larger and well-known international and informal archive of revolutionary images that proliferated from the 1950s onwards. Figures 44, 45 and 46 do not only signify Kaunda's revolutionary struggle, but also the struggles of revolutionaries the world over.

Figure 45

Figure 46: "Kaunda, pre-independence." [Note, also, the figures dressed in traditional garb.]

Here it is useful to think in terms of Sekula's description of the photograph's specific and general attributes: the photograph functions as an index of a particular subject – the picture tells me something about *this* person or *that* place – and as an abstraction of all subjects, in as much as *this* person or *that* place reminds me of similar ones across an informal archive of photographs that I have encountered.[5] In this formulation, Figure 44 owes its potency[6] to its own composition and content as much as it does to similar poses struck by other revolutionaries during the past century

[4] The most likely reason for the relative dearth of these type of photographs is that the colonial state was far from interested in distributing public images of Kaunda. It is interesting to note that a significant number of photographs of other opposition political figures are available from the colonial period, which, as we have discussed in Chapter Two, became rare, if not altogether, absent, in the postcolonial period.

[5] Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive." *October* 39 (1986), pp. 17-18.

[6] I use the term 'potency' by borrowing from Hamilton, Modisane and Bester's discussion of 'public critical potency' in the chapter "Tracing Public Engagements in Visual Forms". Public critical potency refers to visual forms that "entered circuits of public engagement. Whether individual creative works, or a collection of items, such as an exhibition or a book of images, they are forms that have some kind of "charge" linked to their aesthetic or affective dimensions, and that gain further force in the course of their public lives." I think Kaunda's striking poses here exhibit similar characteristics. Carolyn Hamilton, Litheko Modisane and Rory Bester, "Tracing Public Engagements in Visual Forms" in Lesley Cowling and Carolyn Hamilton (eds.), *Babel Abroad: Rage, Reason and the Reshaping of Public Life* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2020), 40-63.

or so. This is a multidirectional relationship, as other photographs existing in different contexts draw on this image to make their claims more powerful. This notion is important as it allows us to better understand the role and agency of the spectator in Kaunda's image. The spectator is not just a fully formed observer who receives the image and understands the symbolic power of each gesture, of each piece of garment, immediately. The spectator – the one who comes into contact with the image – has to be taught the meaning of these gestures, and what they represent. In the absence of any data, it is difficult to know how the revolutionary gestures in Figures 44, 45 and 46 were received, emulated or contested by the public. It is at this point that we find Azoulay's formulation of 'civil imagination' useful. Engaging in a formalistic analysis does some of the work of imagining the power of the image and how the spectator might have received the image, especially as it is read long after the event has taken place; however, it leaves us in the dark about understanding the particular histories of this pose, along with other gestures.

Studies of gestures have taken a variety of approaches. Much of the initial interest in gestures was generated by art historians, who have to "master the language" of gesture "before they can decode the picture."[7] Allied insights have arrived from anthropologists and sociologists, inspired by Marcel Mauss' classic essay "Techniques of the Body" (1934), who have built on the observation that different societies use different gestures, and that gestures are neither totally the result of nature nor of pedagogy, but rather they are "physio-psycho-sociological assemblages of series of actions."[8] Cross-cultural studies of gesture, such as the popular text *Bodytalk* by Desmond Morris, take pains to track semantic shifts in specific gestures across time and place.[9] The tradition of works influenced by Erving Goffman, a pioneer of the micro-sociology of gestures, tends to treat all social "interaction as a semiotic process" where "the tiniest gestures… [are] profoundly significant for the social construction of actors as selves or persons."[10] In her work, Mary Douglas discussed how "the control of bodily expression [would] be more or less strict according to the degree of group pressure upon the individual."[11] Collectively, this rich literature on gestural forms and histories makes us aware of the social intensity of their semantic investment.

However, gestures do not simply reinforce or describe existing social relations. As Figures 44, 45 and 46 indicate, gestures are also transformative objects. With every staging of social relations

[7] Keith Thomas, "Introduction", in Bremmer and Roodenburg (eds.), *Cultural History of Gesture*, 4.
[8] Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body", *Economy and Society* 2: 1 (1973), 85.
[9] Desmond Morris, *Bodytalk: The Meaning of Human Gestures* (New York: Crown Trade Paperbacks, 1994).
[10] Cf. Richard Handler, "Erving Goffman and the Gestural Dynamics of Modern Selfhood", *Past and Present* 203: 4 (2009), 287.
[11] Keith Thomas. "Introduction", in Bremmer and Roodenburg (eds.), *Cultural History of Gesture*, 4.

through gestures, they are simultaneously destabilised.[12] In Figure 44, we hazard a glimpse into a genealogy of revolutionary postures, made possible by years of visual knowledge derived from various sources such as paintings, photographs and films. How do gestures circulate? And what is it, if anything at all, that guarantees the semantic integrity across these processes of circulation? Newspaper images and their captions are useful sites to pursue these questions.

The role of newspapers in the production and circulation of photographs in Zambia has already been touched upon in Chapter 1. It might be useful here to remember Kunstmann's observation that the technological limitations of the ebonoid blocks used for printing photographs in African newspapers often meant that image captions became subversive texts.[13] These texts created the potency of the image. Angry at how "modish techniques" could turn abject scenes into an object of enjoyment, Walter Benjamin once declared, "What we must demand from the photographer is the ability to put such a caption beneath his picture as will rescue it from the ravages of modishness and confer upon it a revolutionary use value."[14] In a way, this brings us back to our reading of Figure 44: perhaps the caption allows political claims to be made in the absence of the image, even in spite of the image. This insight will become important when we begin to analyse photographs in conversation with their associated texts. This section has given an overview of how one type of gesture, found in Figures 44, 45 and 46, could be read in a multitude of ways, laying the methodological groundwork for the rest of this chapter. In particular, the themes explored around the archive – here using Kaunda's revolutionary pose as a source – hold us in good stead for the sections to follow. The next section begins by historicising Kaunda's emotional appeal as a leader through one of his key sartorial choices – the white handkerchief.

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[12] The continual destabilising force of gestures, and photographs, reminds me of Kathleen Stewart's advocacy of affect studies: "rather than fix notions of agency, subjects, objects, bodies, and intentions, it [affect studies] would try to more fully describe a world under pressure, the way a present moment can descend like a curtain on a place, the way a world elaborates in prolific forms, taking off in directions, coming to roost on people and practices. In the state of emergence and precarity, points of aesthetic-material-social-political precision can appear as a flickering apparition, a flash of color, or they can come to bear, roughly, on bodies like a hard shard landed in a thigh muscle." Kathleen Stewart, "In the World that Affect Proposed," *Cultural Anthropology*, 32: 2 (2017), 197.

[13] *Ibid*, 531.

[14] Walter Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht* (London: Verso, 2003), 95.

"I AM GLAD I HAVE FOUND THIS NAPKIN"

"Handkerchief! confessions! handkerchief! To
confess, and be hanged for his labour. First, to be
hanged, and then to confess: I tremble at it."

: *Othello IV. 1. 37-40.*

An oft-quoted criticism, by the notoriously 'irresponsible detractor' Thomas Rymer, is that *Othello* should have instead been "call'd the *Tragedy of the Handkerchief*."[15] Indeed, Othello's jealousy, and the plot, hinges on a handkerchief. When, egged on by Iago, Othello confronts Desdemona and asks for the white handkerchief he gifted to her, only to see his captain Cassio giving it to the harlot Bianca, he resolves then to kill his wife, that 'cunning whore of Venice,' for it is obvious now to Othello that she has slept with Cassio. Why the tragedy hinges on the use of such a small trifle has baffled commentators for hundreds of years. However, in the last few decades a consensus has formed around the symbolic function of the handkerchief, building on Lynda Boose's landmark essay "Othello's Handkerchief: The Recognizance and Pledge of Love." In this essay Boose proposes that the handkerchief – a "square piece of white linen spotted with strawberry-red fruit" – represents the matrimonial bed, the white symbolic of the sheets, and the red symbolising the virgin's blood.[16] Thus, the loss of the handkerchief represents the symbolic loss of that matrimonial bed, implicating Desdemona in an act of infidelity. In this narrative symbolism, the white handkerchief becomes Desdemona's intimacy, the closest thing to a representation of her body.

Some five centuries later, another figure centres himself on a white handkerchief: Kenneth Kaunda, who almost always appeared in public accompanied by it. Although not fringed by red strawberries – and not beholden to the same tragic, dramatic irony as Desdemona's – I would like to argue that Kaunda's handkerchief functioned in an equally exacting way in Zambian history. The rise of photography as a medium that projected state rule noted the visual and symbolic power of the white handkerchief, and subsequently used it to denote an array of Kaunda's leadership attributes, in particular his ability to *feel.* It is the affective, intimate nature of Kaunda's leadership that was so successfully communicated by his white handkerchief that makes it such an interesting and important garment-accessory to decode. Kaunda's use of his white handkerchief, however, was not developed in a void. It had its own particular material and symbolic history that allowed

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[15] Thomas Rymer, *A Short View of Tragedy* (1693), quoted in Michael Neill, "Response to Ian Smith", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 64: 1 (2013), 27.

[16] Lynda E. Boose, "Othello's Handkerchief: 'The Recognizance and Pledge of Love'", *English Literary Renaissance* 5: 3 (1975), 362, 371. Not only does Boose convincingly argue this connection would have been completely legible to contemporary early seventeenth-century viewers, but also demonstrates how it is implied at multiple points throughout the text.

him to make his claims as an intimate, emotionally available leader. In particular, the white handkerchief has historically been associated with the intimately feminine, and implicated in a class-ridden civilizational discourse around cleanliness. These two themes, I argue, are central to understanding Kaunda's use of the white handkerchief.

In *Othello,* the handkerchief figures as an explicitly feminine object. Not only is it designed as such, but it is also actively acknowledged by the other female characters, such as Emilia – Iago's wife, who initially stole the handkerchief from Desdemona – who wishes to: 'ha' the work ta'en out, and give't Iago' so that he might dismiss any notions of her own infidelity. Ian Smith notes that this moment of 'work' functions well as a metatheatrical commentary that "makes visible the female labour" necessary to create stage properties.[17] However, while much of the physical labour involved is performed by women, "both men and women used, wore and displayed handkerchiefs" on and off the stage.[18] The handkerchief dates back to the medieval period as a luxury good. George Stow suggests that Richard II was the originator of the "small pieces of linen made to be given to the lord king for blowing and covering his nose," as the king's tailor initially – and tellingly – called it.[19] Stow traces the development of this odd garment-accessory on the one hand to Richard's peculiar penchant for hygiene, and on the other, to his extravagant courtly style, which was a "program of political propaganda" against his enemies, the magnates.[20] These two threads – of hygiene, and political or class distinctions – have remained particularly steadfast in the history of the handkerchief. In fact, as Norbert Elias argues, they are intertwined: the handkerchief was initially an expensive piece of cloth used by the aristocracy as a sign of wealth and as a marker of social distinction – "it is proper to use a handkerchief, and… if people of a higher social are present, turn away when blowing your nose."[21] These directives, aimed at the aristocratic classes, were different from those peddled towards the lower classes, who could use their fingers, or other pieces of cloth, to blow their nose.[22] Thus, the aristocrats used handkerchiefs while the lower classes used almost anything else, a process which, as Smith points out "marked a significant shift in a civilizing process that was aggressively aimed at shoring up class distinctions."[23]

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[17] Ian Smith, "Othello's Black Handkerchief", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 64: 1 (2013), 11.
[18] *Ibid,* 7.
[19] George B. Stow, "Richard II and the Invention of the Pocket Handkerchief", *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 27: 2 (1995), 234.
[20] *Ibid,* 227. What is interesting to note, is that these aesthetic sensibilities that Richard II cultivated never functioned to dismiss him as feminine.
[21] Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations.* Trans. Edmund Jephcott, (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), 126.
[22] *Ibid*, 127.
[23] Smith, "Othello's Black Handkerchief", 5. However, as Elias notes, "The masters [aristocrats] found the sight of the bodily functions of the servants distasteful" and "they compelled them, the social inferiors in their immediate surroundings, to control and restrain these functions in a way that they did not at first impose on themselves." Thus,

However, that did not mean the civilizational process advocated for by the handkerchief was only restricted to the aristocracy. While initially the high price of handkerchiefs meant they remained the luxury of the wealthy, Smith points out that by the beginning of the seventeenth century increased availability of handkerchiefs in England, varying in quality and design, catered for the growing demands of 'different consumer classes' met by both imported and locally manufactured products.[24] By the nineteenth century, almost everyone in the urban English centres carried a handkerchief, although its use and quality was still defined along class lines, with 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' wearing silk or muslin products in their pockets, and the lower classes wearing cotton pieces around their necks. The style of handkerchiefs was fragmented along gender lines, with men carrying handkerchiefs that were dark, bore printed patterns, and large – 'averaging more than thirty inches square.'[25] Women's handkerchiefs, on the other hand, did not seem to have changed much since Desdemona fatefully misplaced hers. During the eighteenth century, ladies' handkerchiefs were "usually white, often with fancy lace borders and other examples of fine needlework," and were also large, although not comparable to men's.[26]

Kaunda's handkerchief bears a striking resemblance to the nineteenth-century English feminine handkerchief, although there is little to indicate it was framed by 'fancy lace borders.' The heyday of these handkerchiefs, worn by city-dwellers as diverse as bankers and thieves, coincides quite neatly with the onset of the second wave of imperialism and the Scramble for Africa. And although I will refrain from making the spurious assumption that there is a causal relationship between the two, it is not a stretch to say that handkerchiefs and colonialism operated within the same civilizational discourse, much of it revolving around public hygiene. Many recent colonial histories have made the point that colonial and hygienic projects often relied on each other to fully function. As one colonial hygiene historian points out, "The power to govern… [was] often presented as the power to heal."[27]

Alison Bashford, in her informative book *Imperial Hygiene* notes that from "the late nineteenth century… 'hygiene' came to be a personal and political imperative and mission," a 'noun' which "spawned ever-more adjectives which connected the bodily and the personal to larger governmental projects: sex hygiene, domestic hygiene, social hygiene, national hygiene, moral hygiene, tropical hygiene, maternal hygiene, racial hygiene, international hygiene and more." By

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the *donizelli* were compelled to adopt the practices of their masters, albeit in a manner that retained that initial class distinction. Elias, *The Civilising Process*, 128.

[24] *Ibid*, 6.

[25] Johan O. Jordan, "The Purloined Handkerchief", *Dickens Studies Annual*, 18 (1989), 3.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Catherine Waldby, quoted in Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 1.

constantly insisting on the practice of hygiene, "Victorian culture made 'cleanliness' into a subjectivity, a practice which shaped one's soul" which by the end of the Second World War, came to be seen as a moral responsibility and duty.[28] In the colonial sphere, this desire to create an order of cleanliness and sophistication was directly related to colonial projects that disenfranchised native populations. This relationship was not only couched in rhetorical or philosophical terms, but in technical ones with far-reaching practical outcomes. The ability of colonial governments to institute technical public-health regimes meant that they could control native populations better. It is in this colonial universe of hygiene that Kaunda's white handkerchief appears.

Born into a missionary family in Chinsali District, Kenneth Kaunda certainly knew about the hygienic standards that colonial citizenship required of him. Growing up, he used to carry water from a well two miles away, after which his mother "insisted on us stripping for a bath every day."[29] This was in line with the "busy community or order and peace" that his father and other missionaries had created 'out of nothing' in Lubwa in the Chinsali District.[30] As Kaunda moved away from his birthplace into the urban areas, finally settling in Lusaka, his public appearance also changed. While we know little about his personal hygiene during this period,[31] a number of changes in his outward appearance helps us not only to appreciate his personal disposition but also the complex public persona he was trying to cultivate. As was shown in Chapter 1, by the time Kaunda

Figure 47

Figure 48

came onto the political scene in the mid-1950s, photography was already a widespread medium through which information was publicly disseminated, relying on an increasingly defined set of symbols of power. As a political leader, he was distinctly aware of the power of photography. On

[28] *Ibid*, 5.
[29] Kenneth David Kaunda. *Zambia Shall Be Free: An Autobiography* (London: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1962), 8-9.
[30] *Ibid,* 7.
[31] References to hygiene in Kaunda's autobiographies are limited to his years growing up and moving around before he settled in Lusaka.

his release from prison in January 1960 – a rite of passage for all revolutionaries during this period – Kaunda was "met by [his] lawyer, a press man and a photographer."[32]

It was also during this stay in prison that Kaunda was gifted his white handkerchief, although photographs of Kaunda immediately after his release do not indicate any use of it. However, by 1962, he was wearing the handkerchief in his jacket pocket and by early 1963 we see him waving his handkerchiefs at crowds of his supporters. The timeline of these developments is somewhat hazy; but by 1963, just as Kaunda was securing himself and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) as the forerunners in the race to govern Northern Rhodesia after its independence, Kaunda had already developed a set of easily recognisable ways in which he used his white handkerchief in public, making it the central determining figure of the image. Figures 47 and 48 indicate how Kaunda used the handkerchief to wave to and acknowledge the crowds surrounding him. This mirrors his earliest and most consistent use of the handkerchief during the pre-independence era. This became so widespread that at one point it was actively acknowledged, and replicated, by the crowd, in almost a call-and-response manner, as we can see in Figure 49.

Figure 49

The handkerchief here does not have any practical function, nor does its use have any ostensible relationship to the requirements of hygiene. While at first it seems like the white handkerchief becomes a garment in and of itself, disassociated with its earlier preoccupations of civilisation and class, I would instead suggest that it was a rearticulation of the visual structures of colonialism and

[32] Kaunda. *Zambia Shall Be Free.*

its civilising discourse. Kaunda uses the handkerchief, a symbol of the superior civilisation status of the colonisers, to ferment political change, turning the symbolic instruments of hygiene against its masters. This allows for a rereading of newspapers images and their headlines that show Kaunda waving his handkerchief. For example, on 6 April 1963, the newspaper report reading "UNIP leader Kenneth Kaunda returned in triumph to Lusaka this week" – initially referring to the 'triumph' of the granting of secession of Northern Rhodesia from the Central African Federation – could now be read as an articulation of the white handkerchief as a tool to confront the colonial authorities, not only in dismissing their claims to a superior civilisation status, but also in suggesting that their attempts at hygiene were, in the African urban areas were in fact null and void.[33] In many ways, this reminds of Kaunda's revolutionary poses found in the last section, not only in its attitude towards colonial authorities, but also in the visual similarities between the two.

Figure 50: "President Kaunda breaks down in agony in memory of his young hard-working soldiers who died in a road accident in Kabwe."

However, the white handkerchief also began to take on another set of uses and meanings outside of its revolutionary meaning. Figure 50 is an example of another iconic use of the handkerchief: Kaunda weeping. Kaunda's political career has been marked by his ability to weep. As early as 1962, there are two reports of Kaunda weeping – one occurs in front of a United Nations (UN) committee meeting, and another at a United National Independence Party (UNIP) meeting.[34]

[33] "End of a Struggle", *Central African Mail*, 6 April 1963.
[34] "Kaunda Weeps Following Standing Ovation from UNIP Supporters", *Central African Mail,* 1962; "Kaunda Weeps at UN", *Central African Mail,* 1962.

Thus, weeping – whether it was a sincere act or not – became a gesture easily recognisable both at home and abroad. I would hazard that this gesture fits perfectly into Kaunda's self-identification of a leader in touch with his emotional responsibility. While some might see the public act of weeping as a sign of weakness, here Kaunda refigures it as a sign of civic empathy. As the NAZ caption to Figure 50 informs us, Kaunda "breaks down in agony in memory of his young hard-working soldiers who died."

I believe this empathetic, affective image of Kaunda is never far off from the historical symbolism of the handkerchief. On the one hand, Kaunda's white handkerchief is a rearticulation of the civilizational and hygienic discourses that plagued, and spurred on, the European colonising project. But on the other hand, it is also an expression of intimacy and to a degree, femininity, which stretches back to Desdemona's fateful error of dropping her handkerchief after attending to Othello's perspiring brow. This is a device that reminds us less of the class-conscious distinctions that handkerchiefs enforced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and more of a twentieth-century mass politics foregrounding an intimate connection between the leader and his people. Indeed, Othello's perceived betrayal is premised on the sanctified intimacy of Desdemona's handkerchief. If we are to extend this symbolic connection – which was not alien to Kaunda, who profusely quotes Shakespeare in his autobiography[35] – to his use of the handkerchief, we get a sense that there is a sanctified intimacy between Kaunda and his people. This intimate familiarity that Kaunda invites us to engage with is not only a function of using a handkerchief. There are multiple images of Kaunda in which his ability to feel and empathise with the common people is foregrounded. This intimacy is mostly presented in moments of weeping, or agony, while also articulating itself in a web of complex historical and contemporary events. The section below captures this intimacy by engaging in a formal analysis of a particularly moving photograph of Kaunda.

SALT OF THE EARTH

"It was our good Lord who said that his disciples should be the salt of the earth"

: Kenneth Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free.*

Kaunda was a deeply religious man. Throughout his personal writings, and the odd but rhetorically powerful Christian-African-Socialist articulation of Humanism, Kaunda presents an image of man who is plagued by the self-doubts and salvific potential of Christianity. This Christian outlook

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[35] Kaunda. *Zambia Shall Be Free*, 158.

extends beyond his personal beliefs – within it he articulates a place for Christianity to be the force that governs the moral impulses of the anti-colonial and postcolonial political movements.[36] It is within this worldview that Kaunda begins to portray himself as one who is intimately connected with those he governs. Indeed, Kaunda's use of the handkerchief brings to mind another powerful photograph: Figure 51.

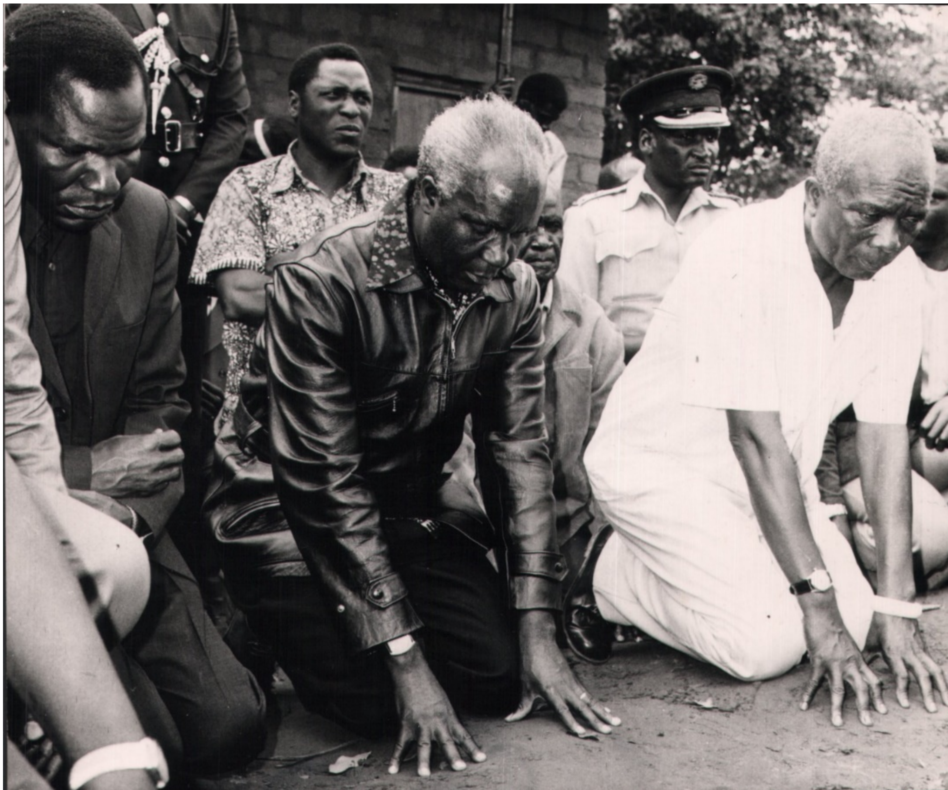

Figure 51: "President Kaunda leads a prayer to the mourners as the funeral of late Chief Mubanga. Left is Northern Province Member of Central Committee Mr. A. Shapi and right is Chinsali District Governor."

The spectator is drawn downwards by Figure 51. The three men in the foreground of the photograph look down, and two of them have their arms extended below in line with their heads, with their palms facedown and their fingers outstretched and pressed firmly against the earth. The caption relates that these are: President Kaunda in the centre, the Chinsali District Governer (DC) to his right and Mr Shapi, Northern Province Member of Central Committee, on his left. Our attention is drawn by the gesture of 'grounding' by Kaunda and the DC. Kaunda's fingers seem to feel the ground, spread outwards in a gesture of care. He is leaning slightly forward; altogether one reads uncertainty in Kaunda's poise. The caption suggests that Kaunda is leading the funeral prayer, and that confirms his closed eyelids; but without that contextual information, Kaunda

[36] Cf. *Ibid.*, 146-50.

seems a burdened figure. The DC's fingers, on the other hand, are buckling at the knuckles, as if he is forcefully pressing downwards. His eyes are open, but his mouth is pursed into a frown; he seems distracted. The camera angle sees Kaunda as equal, although he is kneeling. While the sun shines off his forehead and the white shirt of the DC shines bright in the viewers' eyes, the dark matter of the leather jacket makes the image more sombre, relaying a sense of grief.

The two expressions – of burden and painful distraction – depicts these two individuals as human, ones who allow themselves emotional toil. This specific gesture of touching the ground makes a spectacle of this affective labour. It is similar to the function of the handkerchief, whose affective appeal is activated when Kaunda begins to weep. Touching the ground is a gesture which relies on a certain relationship to the ground, with all its associated meanings – of these politicians as 'salt of the earth', of the Zambian state as the natural heir to the ground below, of the ground as a place of solace. It is the mix of the compositional qualities of the image, foregrounded by its ability to draw us downwards, along with the rhetorical power of the state – the Zambian nation-state is artificial but as real as the ground below us – that clues us into the affective dimension of this image. We can read into it two underlying messages: solace is found in the ground; and, Kaunda and his political allies are from the ground. They are Zambian through it.[37]

The reading above is performed without the aid of context. However, if we engage with this photograph alongside a reading of the indexical caption, many new avenues of analysis open up. By reading the caption, this funeral in all likelihood took place in Chinsali, which is the district where Kaunda was born and grew up. Chinsali is also the site of the Lumpa Church Rebellion in 1964, which posed the first significant threat to Kaunda's power.[38] The caption informs us that this was the funeral of Chief Mubanga, who shares a name with Chitimukulu Mubanga, a Bemba chief who was an important historical figure during the colonization of Northern Zambia by the British South African Company (BSAC) during the late nineteenth century. Contextually, then, one can read these gestures in a particular historical and narrative arc, one that includes Kaunda's family history, Zambia's early colonial history and the history of rebellion.

The Lumpa Church rebellion makes this an especially problematic history to revisit. All through July to September of 1964, there had been violent confrontations between government forces and

[37] In an ironic twist of fate, Frederick Chiluba who served as president after Kaunda, instituted a constitutional reform which effectively barred Kaunda from running as president again: both parents of a president must have been born within Zambia for him to qualify. Both of Kaunda's parents were born in what is now Malawi, but settled in Chinsali. It seems that he was not of this earth after all. Furthermore, in some ways, as Sishuwa Sishuwa indicates, this was not a non-racialised state. Speaking through the incident involving the ousting of Supreme Court justice James Skinner, Sishuwa shows how racial tensions simmering under the surface of Zambian society was being peddled by more radical groups with Kaunda's UNIP. Sishuwa "A White Man Will Never Be a Zambian", 505.

[38] Before he was president of Zambia, Kaunda acted as the Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia during 1964.

members of the Lumpa Church, led by the charismatic leader Alice Lenshina. This was the culmination of a two years of skirmishes between the church on the one side and he state and local villagers on the other. But, with the upcoming independence date set for the 23 October 1964, the African-majority government of Southern Rhodesia headed by Prime Minister Kaunda, decided to crack down on the renegade church, which refused to recognise any temporal authority. And then, two weeks before independence, the last battle ensued. In the preceding two months, over 700 people died. This had personal implications too. According to Adrian Hastings, Kenneth Kaunda's brother Robert was one of Lenshina's 'staunchest supporters' while his mother had been a follower for a while.[39]

It is as this point where the latent meaning of the image queries the photograph's explicit meaning. The photograph, as Moser suggests, is never beholden to any single party of the photograph, and is instead contested among its participants. On one hand this 'latent' meaning is really then the acknowledgement of the "contradictions and instabilities… present in the photographs," but on the other hand, asserts the power of the caption in opening new avenues in which to read the photograph.[40] While Moser is sceptical of the power of captions to provide an "official rhetorical framing" for the photograph, it seems that here the caption, like those attached to portraits of anti-colonial politicians in pre-independence Nigerian newspapers, offer us more ways in which to subversively read the image. The caption transforms Kaunda's image: the touching of the ground by Kaunda is no longer his ability to perform sorrow at the death of a Bemba chief, but instead it is the grounding of Kaunda in a troubled historical place. The immediate event which the photograph captures is overshadowed by its history.

Kaunda and his comrades filling the foreground are overtly different to the figures in the background, whose gazes wander in all directions. The break between the foreground and background allows us to dwell on other formal characteristics of the image. The three or four faces we encounter in the background show no discernible signs of grief, instead they wear overly officious symbols. While the three faces in the foreground are downcast and sombre, those just behind are looking directly ahead, suggesting that this funeral may operate on two levels: as personal, affective moments, and as forms of state control over death and its narratives, especially in a region as contested in history as Chinsali. These compositional qualities provide us with the tools to recognise the performativity of the photographed event, and the tight control the state

[39] It is difficult to get a firm figure here – as sources vary. This timeline above, and the figure of 700 deaths, is from Adrian Hastings, *A History of African Christianity 1950-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 156-8. Others give a much higher total for deaths.
[40] Gabrielle Moser, *Projecting Citizenship: Photography and Belonging in the British Empire* (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2019), 72.

(embodied here not only by Kaunda and his comrades, but also by the official silvery surrounding the image) has over death. Furthermore, it allows us to recognise that the affective elements of the photographed event are inseparable from state control.[41]

Another one of Kaunda's readily identifiable garbs is his black leather jacket. Although not imbued with the symbolic significance of the handkerchief, by its association with Kaunda it has another function: namely, the memorialisation of Kaunda's history. In Figure 52, along with Pak Song Chol and Reuben Kamanga, we identify the black leather jacket located in Chilenje House, where Kaunda stayed with his family as leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) from 1960-1962. Brutus Simakole, in a thesis about the convergence of nationalist histories and nationalist monuments, has argued that the monumentalisation of Chilenje House is premised on two things: firstly, that UNIP's history is synonymous with Kaunda's personal history. And secondly, that Zambia's liberation was solely the work of Kaunda's UNIP.[42] Both, of course, are misleading, but equally prevalent in current histories of Zambia.

Figure 52: "12 December 1976, The Vice-Prime Minister of Korea Hon. Pak Song Chol (left) looking at a jacket which President Kaunda used to put on during the freedom struggle. This is at the old house in which the President was staying in Chilenje Township. On Mr Pak Song Chol's left is Mr Reuben Kamanga, Member of Central Committee who accompanied the Korean delegation."

[41] This reminds me of Azoulay's assertion that we need to discuss the 'Photograph not Taken." Colonial and post-colonial archives are full of traces of violence that remain just that – traces. State archives operate to obscure these details, hidden in commissions of inquiry or government dossiers. Photographs, because they carry with them such affective import, are too dangerous to always be present at moments of violence. Instead, through the use of textual traces as well as other images, Azoulay urges us to exercise our civil imagination and imagine the photograph not taken, because this allows us to imagine the event "on a single plane without allowing the perspective of any single participant to be privileged." Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography* (London: Verso, 2015), 234.

[42] Brutus Mulilo Simakole, "Political Autobiography, Nationalist History and National Heritage: The Case of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia", Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of the Western Cape (2012), 76.

What will hopefully become clearer in the next section, and is indeed one of the main arguments of this chapter, is that the politics of gesture and dress, and the affective appeal of Kaunda, cannot be separated from how we understand Zambia's liberation struggle. It focuses on Kaunda's use of the chitenge (in the style of Nkrumah's kente, known colloquially as 'toga') employed as a symbolic overture to pan-Africanism, and as a way to cement the politics of indigeneity he employed against his rivals, in particular Harry Nkumbula and his ANC. In many ways, the affective appeal of touching the ground by Kaunda explored in Figure 8 is indicative of this politics, and serves as an important entry point into our next section.

KAUNDA'S KENTE

"We have awakened. We will not sleep anymore.

Today, from now on, there is a new African in the world!"

: Kwame Nkrumah

One of the earliest and most visible proponents of Pan-Africanism on the African continent was Kwame Nkrumah.[43] Some writers, such as Kwame Nimako, have attempted to trace Nkrumah's use of pan-African visual symbols during his rule, suggesting that Ghana's first postcolonial leader employed three symbols to further his political ideals: the red rooster, the black star and the kente cloth.[44] The kente is the most lasting symbol of pan-Africanism that we have to this day,[45] and an image that was actively pursued by Zambian anti-colonial figures such as Kaunda and Kapwepwe (albeit, the cloth worn by Zambians was not really kente, but chitenge; however we shall term the use of the chitenge as 'kente-style'). That being said, the kente was not actively worn by other pan-Africanist leaders such as Nyerere, who instead opted for the Mao suit which symbolised his public allegiance to Chinese-style rural-led socialism.[46] It is difficult to trace exactly when, where or how Kaunda and his political allies began wearing the chitenge in kente-style, but its adoption was

[43] Nkrumah was first exposed to Pan-Africanism in the United States when he was a student there during the 1930s. During the 1930s and 1940s – the heyday of Pan-Africanism, according to Tunde Adeleke – Nkrumah was involved in a number of Pan-African international organisations up until he was invited back to Ghana by the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in 1947, where he subsequently became secretary. He was co- secretary of the Fifth Pan-African Conference held in Manchester, England, 1945; that among a number of positions in African student organisations. Tunde Adeleke, "Black Americans and Africa: A Critique of the Pan-African and Identity Paradigms", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31:3 (1998), 530.

[44] Kwame Nimako, "Nkrumah, African Awakening and Neo-Colonialism: How Black America Awakened Nkrumah and Nkrumah Awakened Black America", *The Black Scholar* 40: 2 (2010), 56.

[45] It is commonly used by black Americans to this day, to signify their historic connection with Africa. Whilst mainly used during graduation ceremonies, it was recently embroiled in controversy when members of the United States Democratic Party donned them in honour/protest of the murder of George Floyd in June 2020.

[46] Priya Lal. "Maoism in Tanzania," in Alexander C. Cook (ed.), *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 96-116.

somewhere around the late 1950s. During the precolonial period Zambia did not have a burgeoning textile industry; instead, what little industry is known to have existed in the area was found on the border between what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Zambia, here referring to the Tabwa textiles. However, these textiles were economically somewhat insignificant, and by the time Europeans arrived in the area at the end of the nineteenth century, they had all but disappeared.[47]

This is important to acknowledge because the kente is a very specific, locally-woven cloth traditionally worn by Akan royalty, as can be seen in Figure 53. Barbara Monfils points out that Nkrumah's adoption of the kente was most probably to confirm his symbolic place as the 'chief' of the Ashanti people.[48] More specifically, each kente cloth has a specific meaning attached to it.

Figure 53: Nkrumah wears the kente in the presence of chiefs.

Figure 54, Nkrumah's most famous portrait, was taken on the day he left prison and features him wearing a Mmeeda print, which translates to "something that has not happened before."[49] Nkrumah's sartorial strategies occurred alongside other "extrinsic rhetorical strategies", such as the performance of tribal ceremonies, one example being the slaughtering of a sheep on special occasions, another having libations poured onto him by the Nai Wolomo, or chief fetish priest. These strategies enabled Nkrumah to make a series of symbolic claims over areas where

[47] Allen F. Roberts, "Precolonial Tabwa Textiles", *Museum Anthropology* 20: 1 (1996), 47.
[48] Even though, as Monfils points out, Nkrumah was an Asante. Barbara S. Monfils, "A Multifaceted Image: Kwame Nkrumah's Extrinsic Rhetorical Strategies." *Journal of Black Studies* 7: 3 (1977), 315.
[49] Similarly, as Nkrumah was on the balcony following the announcement of Ghana's independence from Britain, he wore a kente named *Adwini asa,* meaning "I have done my best."

government control was at its weakest and most threatened: in tribal areas of Ghana, still largely under the sway of powerful pre-colonial kingdoms like those of the Asante.[50]

Figure 54: Nkrumah sitting for a portrait in the Kente cloth on the day he was released from prison in 1951. [This Kente cloth print – called Mmeeda – means "something that has not happened before."]

Monfils's analysis suggests that Nkrumah's use of extrinsic rhetorical strategies occurs situationally, not in a linear manner. This means that Nkrumah's varying sartorial choices reflect the "creation of a certain type of mood within a rhetorical setting."[51] Thus, she points out that "dressed in a business suit, Nkrumah would deliver a straightforward, factual presentation. In a batakali he would probably deliver a rousing, pro-CPP statement expressing pride in its accomplishments while condemning antiparty elements. The kente suggested the pomp of a royal ceremonial occasion."[52] Monfils positions herself against Lacouture, who on the other hand suggests Nkrumah's clothing symbolised different parts of his life: "before independence, Nkrumah often wore prison clothes, which symbolized liberation. Immediately after independence, Nkrumah changed to the modern, business suit. Around 1960, he adopted kente, a symbol of African culture. He then changed to the "loose fitting pilgrim's robe" of the African revolution, and finally donned the Mao-style tunic to symbolize internationalism."[53] For Lacouture, Nkrumah's change in attire

[50] Monfils, "A Multifaceted Image", 316.
[51] *Ibid,* 315.
[52] *Ibid,* 315.
[53] *Ibid*, 329.

was to "draw attention, to manifest the symbol, to say that history is on the march."[54] Tracing the adoption of the kente as a recognisable symbol of pan-Africanism is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, the debates on its adoption by Nkrumah indicate the salience of local contestations. This context may be useful for understanding Kaunda's adoption of it.

Figure 55. "President Kaunda speaks at the opening of Zambia House in London on the right is the High Commissioner for Zambia, and his wife Mr and Mrs. Katilungu, while to the left, Mr. Julius Sakala assists with his microphone."

Figure 55 shows Kaunda wearing a garb resembling the kente cloth. However, it is most likely a chitenge cloth. Chitenge is the local Nyanja word for the wax-printed textiles common across sub-Saharan Africa (it is known as the 'kitenge' in East Africa). This type of wax textile first arrived in Africa during the nineteenth century, succeeding a centuries-old textile trade that existed between Africa, Europe and the Orient. These newer wax textiles were a copy of the Indonesian batik cloth, and were manufactured by Dutch industries in the nineteenth century. Hence, many of them became known as 'Dutch wax' across Africa.[55] Karen Hansen suggests that the first chitenge to reach Zambia was Japanese in origin and arrived sometime during the 1930s.[56] Although many Zambians now see chitenge as deeply embedded in their culture, it has a relatively short-lived history. Its cultural rise was prompted by the establishment of two textile mills in the post-

[54] Jean Lacouture, *The Demigods; Charismatic Leadership in the Third World*, trans. Patricia Wolf (London: Secker & Warburg, 1971), 262-3.
[55] Karen Tranberg Hansen, "'Not African Enough?': Global Dynamics and Local Contestations over Dress Practice and Fashion Design in Zambia", *ZoneModa Journal* 9: 2 (2019), 3-4.
[56] *Ibid*, 4.

independence era, whose proud labourers we have already encountered in the previous chapter. These mills were closed at the beginning of the twenty-first century as a result of Zambia's economic woes, but local appetite for the colourful and versatile textiles remained. This was mostly satisfied by Chinese and Indian sub-continent imports, although West African and Congolese textile imports are not uncommon either, and this commercial link points to the broader sartorial link between these regions and Zambia – one of which was dress. [57]

This brief history of the chitenge points to the fact that, especially during the precolonial era, there was very little local symbolic relevance attached to the chitenge when Kaunda began donning the garb. In fact, as Hansen point out, the chitenge Kaunda specifically used was quite common (and arbitrary): "It turned out to be a very ordinary piece of red and white stripe[d] cloth material available from the shops [in London]."[58] The kente style was never able to inform a lasting sartorial or visual impression on the Zambian public. There is no evidence significant portions of the population used it, and only a few politicians were seen wearing it. This could be because the kente-style was perceived to be impractical for everyday use. It could also be that it was a sartorial fashion quite alien to local customs and usage.

Newspaper reports and image captions, while actively acknowledging that politicians are wearing a chitenge in the kente-style, refrain from making any judgements about its use, whether good or bad. An article in the *Central African Mail* headlines a picture of then Agricultural Minister Simon Kapwepwe as 'Toga-Clad' before going on to describe the function he was attending.[59] Similarly, in the *Central African Post*, we read of another top-ranking UNIP official – Mainza Chona – wearing a "white toga and decorated ankle-tight trousers" in an article entitled 'Chona in Toga at Sedition Inquiry.'[60] However, the chitenge is most closely associated in the newspapers and public with Kaunda. For example, the opening of the 12th Legislative Council in January 1963 – the first one with an African majority – produced a number of pictures of Kaunda in his chitenge. So well-known was Kaunda's use of the chitenge among the public that on that day when he arrived at the Legislative Council "two women rushed forward to cover his shoulders with a slogan-covered toga and roll[ed] on the ground in front of him in respect."[61]

In fact, the opening of the Legislative Council, which was to become the National Assembly after independence, was the one setting that Kaunda consistently wore the chitenge in the kente-style.

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[57] *Ibid*, 6. Another important influence is music.
[58] Karen Tranberg Hansen, "Dressing Dangerously: Miniskirts, Gender Relations, and Sexuality in Zambia", in Jean Marie Allman (ed.), *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 169.
[59] "Toga-Clad", *Central African Mail*, 23 February 1963.
[60] "Chona in Toga at Sedition Inquiry," *Central African Post*, 1962.
[61] "African Government Enters Legco," *Central African Mail*, 22 January 1963.

Why Kaunda consistently framed himself in this way is difficult to trace, as there is no textual evidence that supports an explanation. However, a small detail in the double-page newspaper report quoted above may offer something in the way of an answer. Here we not only see two images of Kaunda wearing a chitenge (one was his 'common' striped chitenge, the other the slogan-covered 'toga'), but also his fellow party members wearing chitenge amongst other African regalia.[62] Nkumbula, also in the spread but afforded a much smaller portion of it, was dressed in a suit alongside his daughter Malawo, who was wearing a one-piece dress showing her knees and shoulders. While Kaunda had a toga placed on his shoulders and was the "main target of the crowd's affection" and his ally Nkomo was "cheered and hoisted shoulder high when crowds broke through the police cordons," Nkumbula on the other hand "moved quickly to and from his car, only briefly pausing to acknowledge the cheers of the crowd."[63]

Throughout the independence struggle UNIP and Kaunda accused Nkumbula and his ANC of moderation and tribalism; in fact, these were the overt reasons for Kaunda's split with Nkumbula's ANC. However, according to Giacomo Macola's biography of Nkumbula, early allegations of moderation were based on fictional political developments peddled by Kaunda and his political supporters.[64] In response to the splintering off of Kaunda's ZANC, Nkumbula consolidated his power in his rural 'Bantu Botatwe' heartland, and in ideological opposition to Kaunda, shifted towards a liberal nationalism away from his earlier socialist commitments. The fictions surrounding the development of nationalism in Northern Rhodesia were made canonical by the eve of independence not only by official UNIP accounts, but by an entire corpus of journalistic, autobiographical and academic writings from the 1960s and 1970s that documented the anti-colonial struggle in Northern Rhodesia.[65]

This, I would suggest, was a part of an erasure of Nkumbula from Zambian public life and its memories.[66] This erasure is further extended to the public image of Nkumbula himself, one that

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[62] In one image we see what looks like Kapwepwe and Chona (these individuals are left uncaptioned) behind Kaunda wearing a striped toga next to a man standing fully dressed in African regalia, whilst two women – also in African regalia – on the floor. In another image we see Joshua Nkomo wearing a suit and a hat made of leopard skin.

[63] "African Government Enters Legco", *Central African Mail*, 22 January 1963.

[64] To be specific, this revolved around key events – like Nkumbula's leaving back to Zambia the day before his before meeting with Lennox-Boyd in London.

[65] The chapter "The Explosion of Contradictions" details how the formative years in the split between Nkumbula and Kaunda, 1955 – 1958, is wholly misrepresented in written accounts. The basis of this fiction rests on Kaunda's own account of the years, found in his autobiography. Macola correctly questions why writers have taken Kaunda's word at face value without further investigation. Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa*, 53-72.

[66] This erasure is nowhere more pernicious than in the visual index of Nkumbula's part in the nationalist anti-colonial struggle in the NAZ photographic collection. This also occurs on a more profound, institutional level: whilst the ZANC/UNIP archives have been preserved at the head office of the remnants of UNIP in Lusaka, Nkumbula's ANC have no remaining archives. Such is the identity of the Zambian state tied with UNIP that the British Library gave a grant for a project to preserve the ZANC/UNIP archives.

occurs simultaneously as he takes part in public political life. In other words, as Nkumbula is photographed in his suit and does not acknowledge the cheers of the crowd,[67] as opposed to "traditionally dressed" Kaunda and his allies carried by his supporters, the allegations of him being a pro-western moderate, if not an outright colonial sympathiser, gain a certain visual currency. The link between Nkumbula's choice of western dress and uncertain loyalties was explicitly pointed out by one of Nkumbula's opponents, W. K. Sikambuli: "Mr. Easy come and Easy go with the money and a gentleman who wants to look [more] English than the English."[68] The business suit, was further instrumentalised as a political tool – one that could discern Katanga support to the ANC, "which was bankrupt [but] has suddenly become very wealthy, purchasing 20 motor vehicles; its officials have bought expensive suits and watches as well as furniture and other luxuries."[69] At times, it even operated as a keen analogical tool: Nkumbula was likened to a "second-hand suit which the nation does not intend to resew or patch."[70]

Reading Nkumbula's image in this manner allows us to understand Kaunda's better. We began this section by suggesting that Kaunda's adoption of the kente was a public commitment to pan-African ideals, which at the level of policy advocated for the expulsion of colonial powers from the continent, culminating in the eventual unity of Africa.[71] Domestically, this symbolised the urgency with which Kaunda advocated for independence. However, I would argue that it also functioned to dismiss Nkumbula's claim to the political sphere. Nkumbula's moderate liberal nationalism was physically inscribed on his body by his western-styled business suit – as C. A. Bayly points out, the 'sobriety' of the modern suit "expressed responsibility and self-discipline," as opposed to "the luxurious complexity of the dress of males of the old aristocracy and contemporary women."[72] By positioning themselves in opposition to Nkumbula's moderate liberal nationalism, Kaunda's chitenge-wearing UNIP created a symbolic chasm between radical and liberal nationalisms.

In reading the continued and multiple contestations from the ANC, or its supporters, Kaunda's wearing of the chitenge in kente-style at the opening of the national assembly seems to be part of a larger and coherent strategy to suppress any suspected or real dissent against UNIP rule. By wearing the chitenge Kaunda not only reaffirmed his commitment to freeing his fellow brothers and sisters across the continent, but also his triumph over Nkumbula. This triumph had to be

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[67] This, in terms of the personal history of Nkumbula, is odd, as he was known as a 'fire-eating orator.'
[68] Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa*, 74.
[69] *Ibid,* 85.
[70] *Ibid,* 71.
[71] A variation of this would inform much of Kaunda's foreign policy in Southern Africa, in which he was instrumental in assisting liberation groups from neighbouring countries.
[72] Christopher Alan Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World: 1780 – 1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 13.

continually symbolised in order to quell any suspected dissent, for the parliament was the highest formal political realm that existed. Figure 56 exemplifies the symbolism that accompanied this display of ideological and political domination. One is immediately taken aback by the concentric framing of this image. We are constantly led to the centre of the image by the layers of frames operating. At the centre of the image, we recognise Kaunda in his chitenge. We are also struck by the faceless companions that sit on either side of Kaunda, except for Betty Kaunda, whose distinctive headdress is immediately recognisable. Betty sits outside the first set of two elephant tusks enframing Kaunda and his two comrades. The rest of his faceless entourage sits between the second and larger elephant tusks. These are in turn flanked by two predators – the lion and the leopard. Above Kaunda is Zambia's state motto 'One Zambia, One Nation' adorned by the Zambian eagle.

Figure 56: "7 January 1977 – President Kaunda speaking during the official opening of the Fourth session of the Third National Assembly."

The photograph reeks of symbolism. For one, the elephant tusks, and the ivory which they produce, are valued symbols in African society. While its meaning varies across the continent, its use speaks to similar themes: as markers of hierarchical power, as a connection with the spirit

realm, and as intricately designed and crafted ceremonial objects.[73] There is little evidence of ivory or elephant tusk use within Zambia, apart from the increasingly violent raids from East Africa for export to Europe, America and India. However, its use in Figure 56 most closely resembles that of the Ọwọ monarch – the *Olowo* Oba Olateru Olabegi II – who sits for a 1959 photo flanked by intricately carved tusks.[74] While the elephant is usually associated with wealth, the lion has a long history of symbolism that stretches from ancient Assyria to the last Ethiopian emperor, and was commonly known to symbolise a regal, biblical power.[75] These symbols are meant to imbue Kaunda – whose centring in the image affirms his control over the power emanating from it – with the wealth and power of the nation.

However, we should not forget the only other discernible figure in the photograph: Betty Kaunda. It is easy to overlook Betty Kaunda, as she operates outside of the centre of the image. However, the fact that she can be recognised by a headdress and is the only female figure in the photograph is far from insignificant. Most photographs taken of Betty Kaunda have her wearing the headdress. She wears it when performing a number of public duties, such as meeting foreign dignitaries, spending time with presidents' wives and appearing in parliament. Her role in public life oscillates between supporting her husband Kenneth Kaunda by his side, and acting separate from him, often doing his bidding. It is to this politics that the next section now turns.

THE FIRST LADY'S HEADDRESS

It is difficult to get a sense of Betty Kaunda as an individual. While she does sport a biography – *Betty Kaunda: Wife of the President of the Republic of Zambia* written in 1969 – as the subtitle suggests, her life is framed in terms of her husband, President Kaunda. Her public life revolved her work in the UNIP Women's' League which, as Gisela Geisler point out, was "restricted by UNIP to moral and ethical issues, which have hardly changed over the years, centring around the 'immorality of women' in urban contexts."[76] Betty Kaunda seems to have shared similar views to the League; for example, in the opening address to the First Women's Right Conference, she assured "Zambian men that no overthrow of male authority and tradition was intended." Instead, she "defined the

[73] Kathy Curnow, "Ivory as Cultural Document: The Crushing Burden of Conservation", *Curator: The Museum Journal* 61: 1 (2018), 61-73.
[74] *Ibid,* 72.
[75] Sven Rubenson, "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah Christian Symbol and/or Imperial Title", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 3: 2 (1965), 78.
[76] Gisela Geisler, "Sisters under the Skin: Women and the Women's League in Zambia", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 25: 1 (1987), 48.

'new role of women' as 'custodians of happiness and security in the home, the watchdogs of morality in our society'."

Questions of morality and 'the proper place' of women in society are often reflected by the range of sanctioned sartorial choices or restrictions; or, as Karen Hansen put into academic terms, "cultural sensibilities about gender, sexuality, age, and status converge on the dressed body, weighing on women's bodies much more heavily than on men's."[77] Dress was especially contested in Zambia where it, as Hansen points out, "functioned as a proxy for women's role in society." Betty Kaunda and the Women's League were especially vocal about the need to dress appropriately. Betty Kaunda is quoted as saying that women should "not copy everything that comes from foreign countries, but only good and decent attire" while Chibesa (Mama) Kankasa, chairperson Women's League in the early 1970s, conflated dress with women's "proper roles" as wives and mothers.[78]

Figure 57: "Mrs. Betty Kaunda being shown France's latest fashion in dressing by Nina Nicci's five top models at State House. Sported dress is Mrs. Kemeu Maria Fashion Director."

According to Hansen, Mama Kankasa was instrumental in the invention of the chitenge suit: a wrap or skirt and top made of chitenge cloth, while her "hallmark was a headscarf elaborately folded in the West African manner," the same style in which Betty Kaunda wore her headdress.[79] Furthermore, Betty Kaunda, like Kankasa, almost exclusively wore the chitenge suit during public

[77] Hansen, "Dressing Dangerously", 166.
[78] *Ibid.*, 171-2.
[79] *Ibid.*

life; which, alongside the headdress, can be seen in Figure 57; which, ironically, is a photograph of the latest fashion trends from France being modelled for the first lady. The history of Betty Kaunda, her headdress and the politics of women's dress in Zambia is important because it deepens our understanding of how the insertion of the female figure in public political life operates. I initially read Betty Kaunda's presence in Figure 57 as a destabilising force in the overtly male sphere of politics, here represented not only by the men flanking Betty Kaunda and her husband, but also, the symbols of patriarchal power – the elephant tusks and predators. Instead, her presence, alongside the presence of other female political figures, seems to justify male power in the formal political sphere. That being said, while the history of Betty Kaunda betrays a conservative agenda for Zambian women, her overtly feminine image allows us to latently ponder upon the symbols of male power. The simple act of being there, brought to light only by that feminine symbol – the headdress – allows us a subversive reading of this image. The overtly feminine image of the seemingly impromptu fashion show in Figure 57 validates this idea.

Conclusion

All photographic histories must come to terms with the system of signs that governs their dialogues, one that tends to change at particular political and cultural junctures. The relationship between semiotic shifts and social changes is never straightforward. One of the initial objectives of this dissertation was to understand the old and new ocular arrangements resulting from these uneven changes and the relative durability of visual forms across political regimes. The historiography of visual culture in Zambia is sparse. In trying to collect and work through the available photographs between the 1930s and the 1980s, I have attempted to understand how certain photographic forms and practices persisted from the colonial to the postcolonial period while others did not, and the role that the state played in cultivating an affective relationship with its citizens.

Another primary objective of this dissertation was to recognise the conceptual apparatus informing these visual orders. Divisions between the colonial and the postcolonial, the public and the private, the nation and the individual inform Zambia's ocular arrangements. But these images also let us identify how these frameworks developed in the first place. In doing so, I have tried to understand what political power meant in Zambia beyond, and how it operated and was articulated by the state and political elites. This was done by 'taking pictures seriously' – by attempting to distil a history of concepts, emotions and power in Zambia from images. In many ways, this dissertation was a reflection on how Zambian visual materials are produced, stored and accessed, and even more importantly, what opportunities exist for writing histories with them.

Chapter One traced the rise of photographic practices in Northern Rhodesia and Zambia from public portraits to state institutions, from diasporic networks to studio photography. The chapter begins by identifying the dominant form of portraiture during the colonial period, which was dictated by the colonial authorities through a series of technical limitations, thus resulting in political portraits of African leaders that resembled the colonial authorities. Unlike the colonists however, portraits of anti-colonial leaders were taken at Indian photographic studios, who brought the technology along well-established commercial networks during the 1950s. This coincided with

the introduction of identificatory documents by the colonial and postcolonial state, which was intended to make colonial subjects and postcolonial citizens legible. This had a deeper link with the studios that provided photographic services, as the Indian migrants who owned them were often subject to migratory regulations that demanded biometric identification like passports.

Drawing on studies across the continent, I noted how the new biometric requirements of documents added to the process of individuation, and the creation of new subjectivities. These new subjectivities were reflected visually by what Pinney calls the 'chamber of dreams,' by inducing 'wish-filling practices' amongst the public. The ability for the camera to induce fantasies, however, was limited by a set of instabilities that could be read on the face of photographed subjects. Elsewhere, this reflected deeper anxieties about issues such as race and gender in the new postcolonial republic. But visualised fantasies also informed a series of infringements on the public visual order, such as the discovery of pornographic images. These infringements, apart from providing empirical evidence of little-known or little-studied photographic practices, suggest that often contesting power was not ideological, and instead was informed by sentiments such as pleasure. This opens up a range of opportunities for reading postcolonial images that seem to destabilise the received category of the political, and thus whose place within the archive is always under threat.

Chapter Two begins by identifying the place of visual materials within the national archival institutions in Zambia. By virtue of a colonial archival registry system that only accounted for paper documents, and a distrust for visual materials by political authorities which saw them as potentially troublesome, images have been systematically neglected in the National Archives. However, recent digitisation efforts by the National Archives have belatedly acknowledged the potency of visual materials, and have generated interest in its visual materials in the public sphere. Particularly striking images can be found amongst ethnographic photographs, which were initiated during the colonial period. Ethnographic photographs were taken for a number of reasons, one being the desire by colonial officials and amateur ethnographers to generate information about colonial African subjects. This information was useful for the quotidian functioning of colonial authority, but also had a role in creating public exhibitions evidencing the civilisational distance between Africans and Europeans. For many, ethnographic images – like the subjects it was describing – was a backward-looking exercise.

However, images also point at the larger battles between colonial officials and anthropologists in colonial Northern Rhodesia. The images of African subjects became the battleground for competing European ideologies. In contrast, the postcolonial era was purported to be defined by

images foregrounding aspirations to modernity, whose overriding theme was ostensibly how far the postcolonial state had come from British rule, and was thus deeply invested in visualising its progress. This was done by reference to joyously labouring skilled African labourers, sophisticated machines, and large infrastructural projects. One distinction that this new visual mode made explicit was that between 'culture' and 'modernity.' That being said, however, I have argued that many of the visual forms remained the same across the regime change, no better exemplified than by the surviving images of failed infrastructure, which simultaneously function as indices of the state's diligence and defeat, vigilance and frailty.

Chapter Three mixes formal analyses of particularly potent photographs of Kaunda with the lineages of poses, gestures and garments that he employs in displaying his power. It begins by identifying a particularly salient revolutionary gesture that characterised Kaunda's anticolonial struggle. This gesture was able to transcend the limited visual language of the day by its specific potency and manner, and by drawing on an archive of similar gestures produced in postcolonial contexts elsewhere. This initiated a conversation about a theory of gestures that attempted to understand how it both reinforced social relations whilst simultaneously changing it. Furthermore, the handkerchief was a garment associated with histories of the feminine and colonial hygiene. Kaunda used these historical qualities to imagine a new political order that foregrounded his ability to empathise and care for his subjects. By drawing on the excessive emotional performance of power displayed in often troubled contexts, here I note that Kaunda masterfully transformed the history of the state into a personal history of his own struggles and successes.

This association was elsewhere cemented by gestures that exhibited Kaunda's affective labour for the nation. However, other garments, like the chitenge used in kente-style, were for more straightforward reasons. On the one hand, the chitenge was a symbol of Kaunda's public affiliation to the pan-African cause, as it was a garment associated with Kwame Nkrumah. On the other hand, the chitenge was a direct assault on the moderate politics of Nkumbula, Kaunda and UNIP's main political rival, who preferred to wear business suits. The ability for gestures and garments to take on new meanings in a localised context – while still retaining some of its symbolic ties to the past – is a recurring theme in this chapter. Towards the end of this chapter, I touched upon the gendered politics of the post-colonial state by focusing on Betty Kaunda's political image. Although it is tempting to suggest that a leading women's presence was a subversive force in the male-dominated sphere of politics, it seems to have only added to the legitimation of its power.

In many ways, this dissertation reproduces traces of the extremely uneven, scattered and marginal nature of the archive it explores. However, I do hope that read together, these fragments of a visual

history of late colonial and early postcolonial Zambia do give the readers a sense of the ocular grammar of the early days of an African postcolony.

Appendix A

R S Patel to H Mulemba, 29.09.1984

PHOTOGRAPHIC SPECIALIST

Fine ART studios

Sole Distributors
in Zambia for Minolta Photographic Product

P.O. BOX ~~1063~~ 31063
PHONE ~~81011~~ 213819
CHA CHA CHA ROAD
LUSAKA
ZAMBIA

September 29, 1984

The Hon. Humphrey Mulemba
The Secretary General
United National Independence Party
Freedom House
Lusaka.

Dear Sir,

Photographic Exhibition of Historical Significance

I am writing to you as the owner/manager of Fine Art Studios located on ChaCha Cha Road. The history of the Studio dates back to the early days of the freedom struggle in Zambia as no doubt the veterans of the struggle will recall.

During those early days the FREEDOM FIGHTERS were always warmly received at the Studio, much to the chagrin of the colonial settlers of that time. We have a proud collection of photographs of these architects of the nation taken during the very critical period.

As we near the end of our 20th year of Independence, I have been compiling a collection of photographs of these nation founders, The collection is made up of 8” x 10” photographs mounted on 10” x 12” boards, and though they were taken when colour photographs were uncommon, I have hand-tinted them to render natural colours.

The purpose of this collection is to present a pictorial depiction of Zambia’s early political heritage. I wish to exhibit the collection with short excerpts on the historical role of individuals in the freedom struggle, It is my desire to share this heritage with the people of Zambia and, in a small way, contribute to preservation of Zambia’s early history.

I would like to solicit your kind permission and assistance to stage public exhibitions of my collection. I hope to exhibit the photographs at Mulungushi Hall in the first instance, and subsequently at the Lusaka City Library for public viewing. [end of page 1]

… … continued

I would be greatly honoured if His Excellency, The President, could open the exhibition at Mulungushi Hall. I shall be very grateful if you would kindly determine whether this would be possible.

I have intentionally omitted the date for the exhibition as I am sure you will want to ascertain the nature of the collection to discuss the exhibition itself.

I shall be pleased and grateful if you find my proposal interesting and worthwhile. I would like to respectfully extend an invitation to you to visit Fine Art Studios to review the historical collection and to discuss my proposal at any time convenient to you.

And finally, it is my hope and desire to present the collection of photographs to His Excellency, The President, on the auspicious occasion of the 20th Anniversary of Independence.

Yours faithfully in service of the nation.

R. S. Patel

Appendix B

A K Mofya to R S Patel, 16.01.1986

NATIONAL POLITICAL MUSEUM OF ZAMBIA

KULIMA TOWER, 3RD FLOOR
P.O. BOX 50491
LUSAKA

January 16, 1986

The General Manager,
Fine Art Studios,
Chachacha Road,
LUSAKA.

Dear Sir,

I have been directed by Dr. Sitake Mwale Special Assistant to the President of the Republic of Zambia Dr. K. D. Kaunda to come and see you and have a look on the historical photographs which are in your possession.

I would appreciate if you would spare some few minutes to sort out all the photographs which are historical so that we could decide which ones I would take. I am available on Telephone No. 214240

Yours faithfully,
[signature]

Alfred K. Mofya

DIRECTOR
NATIONAL POLITICAL MUSEUM OF ZAMBIA

Appendix C

Written Responses to Questionnaire by Judith Kalikeka (NAZ), 09.12. 2020

On Collection and Retrieval

What sources were used to collect material for the archives?
Zambia News and Information Services

Who made/makes the decisions about which material is to be collected? And what informs those decisions?
Director, National Archives

What are the bureaucratic processes that one has to go through in order to get photographic material for the archives?
The bureaucratic processes are that first, you write to the Director of Zambia News and Information Services and other organisations where you want photographs from then you wait for a response.

When retrieving photographic material for the archives, what use do you imagine for them?
For historical purposes.

On Storage

When they come to the archive, how are the photographic materials initially stored?
They are stored in boxes in the audio-visual repository. Then later digitised.

How does that differ to the way paper documents are stored?
Paper records or documents are stored in the same way except that they are stored in a different repository.

Are the photographs stored digitally? If so, how did this happen and why was this decision made?
Yes, they are stored digitally. They were digitised to protect them from wear and tear due to frequent handling.

What are the positives and negatives of having digital copies of photographs as opposed to physical copies?
The positives of digital copies is [sic] that they are easy to access and retrieve. The negatives are that its [sic] difficulty to retrieve and access when there is no power and also when there is a fault with the hard drive. And also when the hard drive becomes obsolete.

On Access and Use

How do people access the photographs?
There is a computer terminal in the search room where users can access photographs from but currently there is a challenge with the system and users are allowed hard copies.

How many people on average view the photographs a day?
Before Covid-19, 3 people could view the photographs once in a while not on a daily basis.

What sort of photographs do they look at?
Mostly users look at independence photographs

Can people take digital photographs out of the archives? If so, how do they do that?
Yes people take photographs out of the archives. They come with new flash disks.

What sort of photographs do they take out of the archive, and what do they use them for?
Some use the photographs for independence purposes such as exhibitions, calendars etc.

How does this differ from the way that paper documents are accessed?
Paper records are not taken out of the archives.

ON CONTENT AND CIRCULATION

What type of photographs do the archives hold?
Political, buildings, independence, chiefs, social life.

Is there an index, and if so, who decided on how the index should be set up? What informs this decision?
Yes, the index is there though we have started working on a new one.

GENERAL QUESTIONS

How important is this archive for those writing Zambian history?
It is important because it holds the history of Zambia from as early as the BSA Company to the present.

What do you think the purposes of photographs are for writing Zambian history?
They depict what transpired years ago.

What place do you think this archive should have in writing Zambian history? Are there any ways that it could be improved?
This archive should be held in high esteem because it holds records of how this nation of Zambia was governed.
Yes, there are ways that it could improve, such as having a website which shows what the archives holds so that people don't have to travel long distances to access the collection.

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